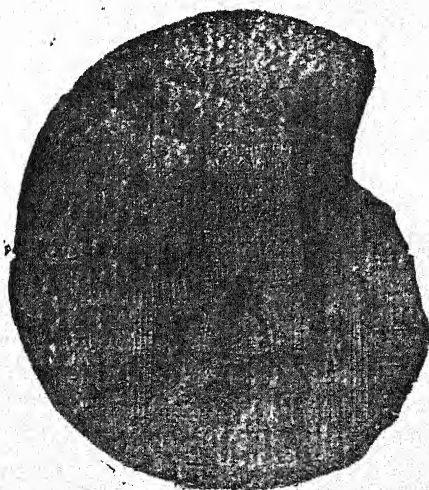


VOL. XIV.

PART I.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

March



1928.

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

Price

Rs. 5.

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VOL. XIV.

PART I.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

March



1928.

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

Price

Rs. 5.

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OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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1928

[PART I.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—The Royal Patrons of the University of Nalanda

By Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.

The authors of ancient Indian history speak at length of the famous Buddhist University of Nālandā, mention the six kings referred to by Hiuen Tsiang in connection with the university, even quote the words themselves of the Chinese pilgrim; but they have never tried to identify the founder and the patrons of that great institution of learning. For there is no doubt that the names of those kings as given by Hiuen Tsiang are, at least, partly unknown.

1. The Founder

The first four kings mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang are the following :—

Śakrāditya.

Buddhagupta-rāja.

Tathāgatagupta-rāja.

Bālāditya-rāja.¹

The fourth of these kings seems to be the same Bālāditya-rāja spoken of by the Chinese pilgrim in connection with the Huna

¹ Beal, *Records of the Western World*, , 11p. 163.

King Mihirakula. He is said there to have "profoundly honoured the law of Buddha,"¹ while in the history of Nalanda he is supposed to have entered the *saṅgha* as we shall see later on. Now Bālāditya-rāja, the defeater of Mihirakula, has already been identified with Narasimha Gupta, one of the later imperial Guptas, whose coins bear the title of Bālāditya.² Hence one of the royal patrons of Nalanda is undoubtedly Narasimha Gupta.

Now the above four kings seem to have succeeded each other according to Hiuen Tsiang. This succession is expressly mentioned in the case of Buddhagupta and Bālāditya. Moreover Hiuen Tsiang clearly says that Buddhagupta, besides being the successor of Śakrāditya, was also his son. Now supposing that Tathāgatagupta was also the immediate successor of Buddhagupta, as the author of the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* says,³ we may present the two following lists, the names of which correspond to each other parallelly :—

Śakrāditya	...	...	Kumāra Gupta I.
Buddhagupta-rāja	...	...	Skanda Gupta.
Tathāgatagupta-rāja	...	...	Pura Gupta.
Bālāditya-rāja	...	...	Narasimha Gupta.

These four identifications may also be confirmed as follows ;—

First. Skanda Gupta was the son and successor of Kumāra Gupta I,⁴ just as Buddhagupta-rāja is said by Hiuen Tsiang to be the son and successor of Śakrāditya. Hiuen Tsiang does not say that Tathāgatagupta-rāja was the son of Buddhagupta-rāja. As a matter of fact Pura Gupta was not the son of Skanda Gupta, but his brother.⁵ Hiuen Tsiang does not say anything either about the succession between Buddhagupta-

¹ Ibid., I, p. 168.

² Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. LV Cf. Heras, *The Final Defeat of Mihirakula*, I. H. Q., III, p. 12.

³ Hwui Li, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 117.

⁴ Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta, Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 55, l. 5 and 6.

⁵ Bhitari seal of Kumara Gupta II, *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 225, l. 4.

rāja and Tathāgatagupta-rāja. Indeed, it seems to be a mere coincidence that modern scholars do not agree as regards the succession of the two kings Skanda Gupta and Pura Gupta; though I am inclined to believe that Pura Gupta succeeded Skanda Gupta, or perhaps reigned contemporarily with him in another province of the empire.¹ As regards the last two kings, Hiuen Tsiang expressly says that Balāditya-rāja succeeded to the empire after Tathāgatagupta-rāja, just as Narasimha Gupta succeeded his father Pura Gupta.²

Second, Professor Samaddar, in order to calculate the date of the foundation of Nālandā, gives twenty-five years of reign on an average to the four kings mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.³ We know that Balāditya-rāja was contemporary of Mihirakula whose reign began in 502.⁴ Taking also this year as the initial year of the reign of Balāditya and following the calculation of Professor Samaddar, we reach the year 427 as the initial year of Śakrāditya's reign. This date comes very near the earliest known date of Kumārāgupta I, that is 415-6, of the Bilsad inscription.⁵ Accordingly the foundation of Nālandā took place round 427. In fact Fa-hien, who passed through Nālandā in the early years of the fifth century, did not see the university as yet.⁶

Third. Hiuen Tsiang does not seem to give the original names of the Gupta Kings, but their titles, or perhaps some names taken in a later period. Thus Balāditya is one of the titles of Narasimha Gupta, we read in his coins.⁷ Thus Śakrāditya also sounds as a title of Kumara Gupta I. Now the latter's coins bear witness of his having used the title of Mahendrāditya.⁸ Now Mahendra is the same as Śakra, two

¹ Cf. Hwui Li, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 117.

² Bhitari seal of Kumara Gupta II, l. C.

³ Samaddar, *The Glories of Magadha*, p. 135 (Second edition).

⁴ Cf. Pathak, *New Light on Gupta Era and Mihirakula*, R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 217.

⁵ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43.

⁶ Giles, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 49.

⁷ Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. LV.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xliii.

different names of the god Indra. Hence Śakrāditya is the same title of Kumāragupta I referred to in his coins.

Fourth. As regards the other two names Buddhagupta-rāja and Tathāgatagupta-rāja both reveal the leanings of these two monarchs towards Buddhism. Were Skanda Gupta and Pura Gupta so inclined to the Buddhist faith? History does not say anything of the former in connection with Buddhism. As regards the latter our information is quite convincing. Paramārtha in his life of Vasubandhu, the great Buddhist scholar of the fifth century, says that King Vikramāditya became the patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu, and even sent his wife and his crown prince Balāditya to study under him.¹ Now this Vikramāditya, father of Balāditya, cannot be other than Pura Gupta, one of whose coins bears the reverse legend *Śrī-Vikramah*.² Hence it is not a matter of surprise to see him mentioned under the name of Tathāgatagupta-rāja, by the Chinese pilgrim.

Through the identification of these four kings mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang we are made aware that Kumāra Gupta I was the founder of the Nālandā University, a fact of great importance in ancient Indian history. Let us now examine the possibility and probability of such an event.

The foundation of the university of Nālandā undoubtedly took place in a period of glory for the civil power that undertook such an enterprise. Now the reigns of Chandra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta I (if we prescind of the last years of the latter) mark the climax of the Gupta power. The country was well and peacefully administered, as Fa-hien informs us; literature and art were passing through an epoch of uncontroverted renaissance; Kumāra Gupta I himself had defeated his enemies, according to the Gadghwa and Bilsa inscriptions,³ and even had performed the *asvamedha* sacrifice⁴

¹ Takahasu, Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 44

² Allan, o. c., p. li.

³ Fleet, o. c., p. li, l. 1, and p. 44, l. 6.

⁴ Allan, o. c., p. xliii.

a privilege reserved only to Samudra Gupta and to Kumāra Gupta I among the Gupta emperors.

But the foundation of Nālandā by Kumāra Gupta I was besides probable. He was the sort of a man to commence such a centre of learning. His father Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya, is supposed to be the patron of the nine gems of Sanskrit literature that flourished at Ujjain, one of whom was the great poet Kālidāsa.¹ His grandfather Samudra Gupta was himself a poet and a musician, as the lyrist type of his coins show,² and he is said to have "put to shame Kāśyapa the preceptor of Indra, the lord of the gods, and Tamburu and Nārada and others, by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments;" and to have "established his title of king of poets by various poetical compositions."³ Kumāra Gupta I seems to have inherited from his ancestors this liking for literature and learning. The poet Vāmana in his *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sūtravṛtti* says that he was "the patron of eminent men of letters."⁴ Mr. K. B. Pathak sees in this phrase an allusion to Vasubandhu.⁵ I do not deny that Vasubandhu may be, and even perhaps must be, counted among these "men of letters" patronized by Kumāra Gupta I; but I think that the phrase may be more properly applied to all those men of letters who established their chairs at Nālanadā by the service and munificence of Kumāra Gupta. Indeed a founder of a university may rightly be called "patron of men of letters."

Kumāra Gupta I is undoubtedly the founder of the university of Nālandā. Now the history of the foundation is, preceeding of the legendary portion, narrated by Hiuen Tsiang as follows:—

"A former king of this country named Śakrāditya (Kumāra Gupta I) respected and esteemed the (system of the) one Vehicle,

¹ Cf. Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures*, I, p. LXVI.

² Cf. Allen, o. c., pl. V.

³ Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta, Fleet, o. c. p. 14-15, l. 27.

⁴ Cf. Pathak, *Kumara Gupta the Patron of Vasubandhu*, J.B.B.A.S., XXIII, p. 185.

⁵ Ibid.

and honoured very highly the three treasures. Having selected by augury a lucky spot he built this *saṅghārāma*.¹

The Chinese pilgrim does not say that Kumāra Gupta was a Buddhist, but says only that he "respected and esteemed" the law of Buddha and "honoured very highly" the Buddha, the *dharma* and the *saṅgha*. In fact he seems to have been a Vaiṣṇava². But such respect and esteem for Buddhism is not a strange thing in a Hindu monarch. One of his inscriptions commemorates the erection of a seated image of Buddha by the Bhikṣu Buddhāmītra.³

What was the *saṅghārāma* built by Kumāra Gupta I is, I think, not difficult to say. The university was, as we shall see later on, destroyed several times, and the original buildings of Kumāra Gupta do not likely exist at all. Yet we may rightly guess that this first building occupied the place and surroundings of the big central stupa, that enshrines several other stupas underneath. That seems to be the holiest place of the whole university and is perhaps the "lucky spot" spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang. A *saṅghārāma* seems to have contained several buildings, for *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang* says that the pilgrim "went to the college of Bālāditya-rāja and took up his residence in the dwelling of Buddhābhadrā having four stories."⁴ Moreover we cannot doubt that Kumāra Gupta gave some endowments to the university, as some of the other kings mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang also did after him, so that the students being supplied with everything should not require to ask for anything. Thus the university could be called from the beginning of its existence Nālandā, i.e. "charity without intermission."⁵ As a matter of fact I-Tsing records the fact that the lands possessed by the university, that contained more than 200 villages, had been bestowed upon the institution "by kings of many

¹ Beal, o. c., II., p. 168.

² Gadhwā inscription of Kumāra Gupta I, Fleet, o. c., p. 41, l. 1.

³ Fleet, o. c., p. 47.

Hwui Li, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 109.

⁵ Cf. Beal, o. c., II, p. 167; Hwui Li, o. c., p. 110.

generations.”¹ Among these kings of many generations, it will not be fair to deny a place to the founder of the university.

2. Skanda Gupta

Of this king Hinen Tsiang says “Buddhagupta-rāja..... continued to labour at the excellent undertaking of his father. To the south of this he built another *saṅghārāma*.”²

Accordingly Skanda Gupta continued the policy of his father towards the university. His patronage was specially shown in the fact that he built another *saṅghārāma* to the south of that erected by his father. Such enlargement of the university was most likely carried out by Skanda Gupta after his victorious return from the west where he had crushed the power of the Hunas, then for the first time invading the plains of Āryāvarta.³

3. Pura Gupta

Pura Gupta is said by Hinen Tsiang to have “vigorously practised the former rules (of his ancestors), and he built east from this another *saṅghārāma*.”⁴ These words of the Chinese pilgrim point out two facts: first, the building of another college east of the one built by his brother; second, a more vigorous patronage policy in favour of the university, probably by granting privileges and endowments to the institution. We have already mentioned the fact of Pura Gupta's great devotion to Vasubandhu. It is not strange therefore that, either on his own accord or perhaps influenced by Vasubandhu, Pura Gupta should favour the institution even more than his deceased brother.

4. Narasimha Gupta

Hitherto the famous university had not apparently suffered as yet any attack of any enemy. But by this time the Gupta Emperors had already lost their paramount sovereignty and had

¹ I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 65 (Trans. by Takakasu).

² Beal, *o. c.*, II, p. 168.

³ Bhitari inscription of Skanda Gupta, Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 55, l. 10.

⁴ Beal, *o. c.*, I, p. 169.

become feudatories of his foreign enemies the Hunas.¹ The latter's king Mihirakula, whose capital seems to have been somewhere in Malwa, issued a decree during Narasimha Gupta's reign, by which he declared his purpose "to destroy all the (Buddhist) priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining."²

The greatest number of Bhiksus undoubtedly resided in the kingdom of Narasimha Gupta. So this king, a fervent disciple of Vasubandhu, and who is said by the Chinese pilgrim to have "profoundly honoured the law of Buddha," as soon as news of the persecution begun by Mihirakula reached his ears "he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute."³ This was a declaration of war on the part of the Gupta sovereign. The Huna king accepted the challenge, entered the kingdom of Magadha and pursued Narasimha Gupta till the bay of Bengal.⁴ In the course of this campaign Mihirakula at the head of his army had to pass very near the university of Nalanda, for he first undoubtedly marched on Pataliputra, and only when he realised that the Gupta sovereign had fled towards the sea then he continued his march till the bay of Bengal. This inroad of the Huna army was bound to be fatal to the kingdom of Magadha and specially to the Buddhist religion then protected and patronized by the Gupta monarchs. Mihirakula, beyond doubt, in his hatred of Buddhism destroyed all its buildings that he found in his way, and killed all its priests—cruelties which he was shortly afterwards to repeat in his exile of Kashmir.⁵ Nālandā University was not far from the capital, Pataliputra, and its fame had also reached Mihirakula's ears. The buildings of Nālandā were then

¹ Ibid., I. p. 168.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 168-169.

⁵ Cf. Rajatarangini, I, p. 19-21 (Trans. by Dutt).

probably destroyed for the first time," and its priests and students dispersed and perhaps killed.¹

But Mihirakula was finally defeated by the Gupta army and exiled to Kashmir by the victor.² After this Narasimha Gupta, the great patron of Buddhism, could not permit that such an important institution of learning should perish. Hiuen Tsiang tells us that he built another *saṅghārāma* on the north-east side of the one built by his father.³ This *saṅghārāma* was still called "the college of Bāladitya-rāja" in the time of Hiuen Tsiang.⁴ Moreover he constructed a great *vihāra* 300 feet high. "With respect to its magnificence," says Hiuen Tsiang, "its dimensions, and the statue of Buddha placed in it, it resembles the great *vihāra* built under the Bodhi tree."⁵ But besides the building of the *saṅghārāma* and the *vihāra* Nālandā undoubtedly owed to Narasimha Gupta the restoration of the whole university after the destruction of the Huna King. The new *saṅghārāma* mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang was only an enlargement of the university; but the old buildings were partly reconstructed or newly built over the ruins of the former ones. This has been evidently proved in the course of the excavations. They have shown that some of the monasteries and other buildings have been erected on the ruins of earlier ones.⁶ Moreover in the time of Harṣa-varḍhana the main hall built by Kumāra-Gupta I was still existing, either in its primitive form or partially reconstructed; ⁷ this shows that after the destruction of the university the pristine plot was not abandoned.

After this work of restoration was done and after the new *saṅghārāma* and *vihāra* were finished, Narasimha Gupta decided

¹ Heras, *A Note on the Excavations at Nalanda and its History*, J.B.B.R.A.S., II, N. S., p. 215-216.

² Beal, o. c., I, p. 169-171.

³ Ibid, II, p. 168.

⁴ Hwui Li, o. c., p. 109.

⁵ Beal, o. c., p. 173-774.

⁶ A.S.I. Report, 1923-24, p. 70.

⁷ Beal, o. c., II, p. 170.

to commemorate the event with a great assembly. Hiuen Tsiang says that he "invited common folk and men of religion without distinction." The meeting of this assembly was a great success; 10,000 priests flocked to Nālandā from every corner of India and even two monks came from far-off China.¹

Narasimha Gupta, on seeing the faith of these two foreign monks coming to the great celebrations at Nālandā from so distant a country, "was filled with gladness," says the biographer of Hiuen Tsiang.² This gladness seems to have been the effect of a great spiritual consolation, for the Chinese pilgrim himself says that "the king then was affected by a profound faith."³ The result of this faith and gladness was that Narasimha Gupta resigned the crown and entered the *saṅgha* as a monk. We cannot doubt these two facts; Hiuen Tsiang records that "he gave up his country and became a recluse,"⁴ while his biographer states even more explicitly that "he gave up his royal estate and became a recluse."⁵

We know of only one episode of the life of Narasimha Gupta in the *saṅgha*. The Chinese pilgrim relates that "he (before being fully ordained) placed himself as the lowest of the priests, but his heart was always uneasy and ill at rest. 'Formerly (he said) I was a king, and the highest among the honourable; but now I have become a recluse, I am degraded to the bottom of the priesthood'." The poor ex-king, though living within the walls of his *vihāra*, was still wishing to be the recipient of the worldly honours which he had been accustomed to in former days. He consequently manifested his grievance to the superiors of the *saṅgha*. It was consequently resolved in order to please the royal disciple that those monks who had not yet received the full orders should be classed not according to the number of years they had been lay disciples, but according to their natural

¹ Beal, o. c., II, p. 169.

² Hwui Li, o. c., p. 111.

³ Beal, l. c.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Hwui Li, l. c.

years of life till the time of receiving full ordination. Narasimha seems to have been pleased with the decision. The only thing he could not stand was to be the last of the whole community. According to this change in the monastic customs, he had all the young monks behind—as he was then an old man—and his ambition was satisfied. “This saṅghārāma,” adds the Chinese pilgrim, “is the only one in which this law exists.”¹

We do not know whether Narasimha Gupta was finally fully ordained.

5. Kumara Gupta II

After narrating Narasimha's life in the *saṅgha*, Hiuen Tsiang adds: “The king's son, called Vajra, came to the throne in succession.” According to the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta II, the latter was the son and successor of Narasimha Gupta.² Hence Vajra, whose name I cannot satisfactorily explain, must be Kumāra Gupta II. Narasimha, when retiring to the *saṅgha*, resigned the crown in his favour. He is said to be “possessed of a heart firm in the faith.”³ This phrase seems to point out his decided Buddhist religion. But his own Bhitari seal seems to contradict this statement, for he is said to be “the most devout worshipper of the Divine One.”⁴ This phrase refers sometimes to Viṣṇu and sometimes to Śiva.⁵ Buddha himself is called “the Divine One” in the Mankuwar inscription of Kumāra Gupta I.⁶ But the Bhitari inscription uses this expression apparently in a Vaiṣṇava sense when speaking of Chandra Gupta II.⁷ May we accept two different meanings of the same expression in the same inscription?

Whatever his religion may be, it is a fact recorded by Hiuen Tsiang that “he again built on the west side of the convent a *saṅghārāma*.”⁸

¹ Beal, l. c.

² *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, l. 6-7.

³ Beal, o. c., II, p. 170.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, l. 7.

⁵ Cf. Fleet, o. c., p. 38, 40, 41, 44, 51, 54, 123, 217, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, l. 3.

⁸ Beal, l. c.

6. Other Kings

"A long succession of kings," says Hiuen Tsiang, "continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvellous to behold."¹ These kings are most likely some of the later Gupta kings mentioned in the Apshad inscription of Ādityasena.²

The appearance of the university after all these *saṅghārāmas* and buildings had been constructed is said to have been "truly marvellous" by the Chinese pilgrim: Indeed his biographer writes a fine description of the university, like a bird's-eye view, which is worth quoting as showing what the university looked like during the first half of the seventh century A.D., after all those kings had embellished its monasteries and decorated its towers and observatories. Hwui Li's description is to the following effect :—

"The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours of the morning, and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms, and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and moon may be observed. And then we may add how the deep translucent ponds, bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the Kie-ni (Kanaka) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Āmra groves spread over all, their shade. All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene."³

¹ Ibid. This phrase we read after the allusion to Harsha must refer to the kings prior to him; for the Chinese pilgrim himself was at Nalanda during Harsha's time. Hence he cannot speak of Harsha's successors.

² Fleet, o.c., p. 206.

³ Hwui Li, o. c., p. 111-112.

During this period there occurred in Magadha several wars, which by the natural havoc consequent on any war, may also have been destructive at Nālandā. The above-mentioned Apshad inscription of Ādityasena mentions two defeats inflicted on king Īśānavarman, the first by one Kumāra Gupta (probably the same Kumāra Gupta II) and the second by Dāmodara Gupta; while Īśānavarman himself had previously defeated the Hunas. Then Mahāsena Gupta won a victory over Susthivarman.¹ The Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman also refers to the victories of this monarch over the lord of the Andhras "who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants," over the Sulikas "who had an army of countless galloping horses," and over the Gaṇḍas "living on the seashore."² A partial destruction of Nālandā caused by these wars (some of which were evidently fought in the territory of Magadha) may well have taken place.

7. Harsha-vardhana

Vajra, i.e. Kumara Gupta II, seems to be the last king of the Gupta family mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang in connection with the university of Nālandā. Moreover not even other kings of the same kingdom of Magadha, but belonging to other dynasties, are referred to by the Chinese pilgrim. But he adds the name of a king of another kingdom to this list of patrons of the university of Nālandā. After having mentioned Vajra and his doings, he says: "After this a king of Central India."³

This king of Central India, that appears after the extinction of the Gupta family before the arrival of Hiuen Tsiang in India, cannot be other than Harṣa-vardhana of Kanauj. The same Hiuen Tsiang refers clearly to him in other two passages of his account in connection with the university. That this monarch had positive and openly declared leanings towards Buddhism is clear from other passages of Hiuen Tsiang's travels. When we read for instance Hiuen Tsiang's account of the assembly of Kanauj convoked by Harṣa for propagating the

¹ Fleet, o. c., p. 206.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 120.

³ Beal, o. c., II, p. 170.

doctrines of Mahāyāna, we cannot doubt that the great emperor had accepted in his heart the faith of Buddha.¹

The first dealings of Harṣa with Nālandā seem, so it appears, to be connected with a double tragedy of his family. His sister Rājyaśrī had been married to the Maukhari king Grahavarman.² This king, some years later, had been defeated and killed by king Deva Gupta of Malwa and after his death Rājyaśrī had been cast into prison by the victor. Harṣa's brother, Rājya-var dhana, then the king at Thanesar, could not stand this affront on his family, marched against Deva Gupta and defeated him.³ But it happened just at this moment that Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, in Eastern Bengal, entered Magadha as a friend of Rājya-var dhana, but in secret alliance with the Malwa king. Accordingly Śaśāṅka treacherously murdered Rājya-var dhana.⁴ It was most likely on this occasion that he besides destroyed the sacred places of Buddhism, as related by Hiuen Tsiang : "Lately Śaśāṅka-rāja" says he, "when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha, forthwith came to the place where that stone is for the purpose of destroying the sacred marks (Buddha's foot-prints). Having broken it into pieces, it came whole again, and the ornamental figures as before ; then he flung it into the river Ganges."⁵ "In later times," the same Hiuen Tsiang goes on to say, "Śaśāṅka-rāja, being a believer in heresy, slandered the religion of Buddha and through envy destroyed the convents and cut down the Bodhi tree (at Buddha Gaya), digging it up to the very springs of the earth ; but yet he did not get to the bottom of the roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of sugar-cane, desiring to destroy them entirely, and not leave a trace of it behind."⁶ Such was Śaśāṅka's hatred towards Buddhism.

¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, I. p. 217-221.

² *Harsha Charita*, p. 156.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 173-176. Cf. Mukerji, *Harsha*, p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177-178 ; Beal, o. c. p. 210.

⁵ Beal, o. c., II, p. 91.

Ibid., p. 118.

Hence we cannot imagine this king going from the Ganges to Gaya and passing so near Nālandā, the greatest centre of Buddhism in those days, without leaving there the effects of his bigotry. That most likely was a new occasion on which the buildings of Nālandā were razed to the ground and its inhabitants murdered or dispersed.¹

On hearing of the murder of his brother, Harṣa resolved at once to march against the treacherous king of Gauḍa, and both the *Harṣa Charita* and Hiuen Tsiang agreed as to the colossal success of Harṣa's efforts.² After having driven Śaśāṅka to Bengal we cannot doubt that Harṣa, the enthusiastic disciple of Mahāyāna Buddhism, restored the university of Nālandā to its pristine grandeur, just as Purnavarmā repaired the damages caused by Śaśāṅka at Buddh Gaya.³

But this was not all. Harṣa, called by Hiuen Tsiang "a king of Central India," "built to the north of this a great *saṅghārāma*."⁴ The Chinese pilgrim seems to indicate that the *saṅghārāma* built by Harṣa was greater than those built by other kings in the precincts of the university, for this is the only one called "great" by him.

Hiuen Tsiang mentions another building due also to the devotion and munificence of Harṣa. "To the south of this," says he, "is a *vihāra* of brass built by Śilāditya-rāja."⁵ It is well known that Śilāditya-rāja is the name given Harṣa by the Chinese pilgrim, a title which is also confirmed by numismatics.⁶ This *vihāra* was still under construction at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's stay at the university. "Although it is not yet finished," he adds, "yet its intended measurement, when finished, will be hundred feet."⁷ But Hiuen Tsiang's

¹ Cf. Heras, *A Note on the Excavations of Nalanda*, J.B.B.A.S., II, N.S., p. 217.

² *Harṣa Charita*, p. 187; Beal, o.c., I, p. 213.

³ Beal, o.c., II, p. 113.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁶ Mookerji, *Harṣa*, frontispiece.

⁷ Beal, l.c.

biographer, who wrote some years later, seems to have received some more information about this building after its completion. In fact Hwui Li says that "it was renowned through all countries." The *vihāra*, according to Hwui Li's information, was not made all of brass, but only "covered with brass plates."¹ Indeed the appearance of the building was "magnificent and admirable." In fact the Hīnayāna monks of Orissa envied the Mahāyāna monks of Nālandā so rich and gorgeous a building.²

Moreover in the time of Hiuen Tsiang Harṣa had the purpose of dedicating an image of Buddha "in the hall of the monarch who first began the *saṅghārāma*."³ This seems to be an allusion to the first *saṅghārāma* built by Kumāra Gupta I.

Finally Harṣa's patronage is also shown by the numerous endowments he granted to the university. "The king of the country," says Hwui Li, "respects and honours the priests, and has remitted the revenues of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages, day by day, contribute several piculs of ordinary rice, several hundred catties in weight of butter and milk." The biographer here draws a consequence that discloses the great importance of these endowments of Harṣa. "Hence the students here, being so abundantly supplied, do not require to ask for the four requisites (clothing, food, bedding and medicine). This is the source of the perfection of their studies, to which they have arrived."⁴

Hiuen Tsiang himself also informs us that when Harṣa decided to erect an image of Buddha in the *saṅghārāma* of Kumāra Gupta, he said too: "I will feed forty priests of the congregation every day to show my gratitude to the founder."⁵

¹ Hwui Li, o. c., p. 159.

² Ibid.

³ Beal, o. c., II, p. 170. By the words "the King" Hiuen Tsiang evidently refers to the then ruling king, Harsha, called by the former's biographer "the king of the country." Hwui Li, p. 112.

⁴ Hwui Li, o. c., p. 112-113.

⁵ Beal, o. c., II, p. 170.

These endowments and grants of Harṣa were most likely confirmed by official documents adorned with his seal. In fact two seals of Harṣa have been found in Nālandā in the course of the excavations.¹ All these favours and donations of the great emperor were crowned by the construction of a lofty wall enclosing all the buildings of the university.² His intention seems to have been to defend the institution of any other possible hostile inroad.

3. Kings of other Countries

The Chinese pilgrim speaking of a brick *viḥāra* of Nālandā, where an image of Tārā Bodhisattva was venerated, says as follows :—"The kings and ministers and great people of the neighbouring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days."³

Who were these kings of the neighbouring countries in the time of Hiuen Tsiang besides the great Vardhana? Unfortunately the Chinese pilgrim does not give any clue for ascertaining this doubt. Anyhow six were the main kingdoms round Harṣa's empire: the kingdom of the Maukharis, the kingdom of Gauḍa in Bengal, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa in Assam, the kingdom of Nepal, the kingdom of the Valabhis in Saurāṣṭra and the kingdom of the Chalukyas in the Deccan. Let us examine separately the possibility of the patronage of Nālandā by the kings of these countries.

(a) *The Maukharis*.—Some of the Maukharis may undoubtedly be counted among the patrons of Nālandā. Two of their seals have also been found at Nālandā next to the seals of Harṣa.⁴ Moreover Pūrṇavarmā, whom I consider to be the last

¹ *A. S. I., E. C.* 1917-8 p. 44.

² Beal, l. c.

³ Beal, o. c., II, p. 174-175.

⁴ *A. S. I., E. C.*, 1917-8, p. 44-5.

Maukharī,¹ seems to have had great affection for Buddha and his doctrines. Hiuen Tsiang tells us that when hearing of the destruction caused to the Bodhi tree by the fanaticism of Śaśāṅka, Pūrṇavarmā exclaimed: "The sun of wisdom having set, nothing is left but the tree of Buddha, and this they now have destroyed; what source of spiritual life is there now." "He then," continues Hiuen Tsiang, "cast his body on the ground overcome with pity; then with the milk of a thousand cows he again bathed the roots of the tree, and in a night it once more revived and grew to the height of some 10 feet. Fearing lest it should be again cut down, he surrounded it with a wall of stone 24 feet high."² Such a great devotion for the law of Buddha surely compelled also Pūrṇavarmā to patronize the Nālandā University, specially after its destruction by the same Śaśāṅka who had uprooted the Bodhi tree. In fact the same Hiuen Tsiang mentions a "pavilion of six stages" made at Nālandā by Pūrṇavarmā to enshrine a copper statue of Buddha 80 feet high.³

(b) *Gauḍa in Bengal*.—We have seen that its king Śaśāṅka was a declared enemy of Buddhism. His relations with Nālandā seem to have been purely negative and destructive.

(c) *Kāmarūpa in Assam*.—The king of Kāmarūpa contemporary of Harṣa was named Bhāskaravarman. He was a Brāhmaṇa by caste and by faith,⁴ but he respected and was much interested in the law of Buddha. When he came to know of the existence of a Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, at the Nālandā University he sent him three different messages inviting him to his court, till his wish was satisfied.⁵ Later on we see him accompanying Harṣa-vardhana in the great Buddhist assembly of Kanauj, where Mahāyāna Buddhism

¹ Cf. Aravamuthan, *The Kaveri. The Maṇḍarīs and Sangam Age*, p. 111.

² Beal, l. c., p. 118.

³ Ibid, p. 174.

⁴ Beal, o.c., I, p. 196.

⁵ Ibid., p. 196-198.

was propounded.¹ He must undoubtedly be counted among the patrons of the Nālandā University. One of his seals, found at Nālandā next to those of Harṣa, seems to prove the same fact.²

(d) *Nepal*.—Hiuen Tsiang gives some information about this country and its king. His name was Amśuvarman, the founder of the Thakuri dynasty. He was a descendant of the Licchavis. The Chinese pilgrim refers to his intellectual abilities and to his religion. As regards the former he says that he "was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on 'sounds'; he esteemed learning and respected virtue, and his reputation was spread everywhere." As to his religion Hiuen Tsiang says as follows: "His mind is well informed, and he is pure and dignified in character. He has a sincere faith in the law of Buddha."³ In fact one of the inscriptions of this king, published by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, shows on the top the wheel of the law, between two deer, that is a symbol of the first sermon of Buddha at the Deer Park, Sarnath.⁴ The literary likings of this king and his religious faith make quite probable that he himself patronized in some way or other the university of Nālandā, specially if we consider that he paid homage to Harṣa-vardhana, as the introduction of Śrīharṣa era clearly shows,⁵ and that he visited Harṣa's kingdom, a fact recorded in the *Parvatīyā Vāṃśāvalī*.⁶

(e) *The Valabhis of Saurāṣṭra*.—According to Hiuen Tsiang the contemporary Valabhi king was Dhruvapata.⁷ He seems to be king Śīladitya VI, who is also surnamed Dhruvabhata or Dhruvabhata, i.e. "the constant warrior."⁸ About his

¹ Ibid., I, p. 217—218

² J.B.O.R.S., 1919, p. 302; 1920, p. 151.

³ Ibid., II, p. 81.

⁴ Ind. Ant., IX, p. 169.

⁵ Cf. Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 40—41.

⁶ Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 133.

⁷ Beal, o.c., II, p. 267.

⁸ Ind. Ant., VII., p. 80.

religion the Chinese pilgrim says "Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the three 'precious ones' (Buddha, *dharma* and *sangha*)."¹ He moreover describes his character and likings as follows: "He is of a lively and hasty disposition, his wisdom and statecraft are shallow. He esteems virtue and honours the good; he reverences those who are noted for their wisdom. The great priests who come from distant regions he practically honours and respects."² This seems to give some probability to his being one of the benefactors of Nalanda University.

(f) *The Chalukyas of the Deccan*.—The contemporary sovereign of the Deccan was Pulakesin II, the greatest monarch of the Chalukyan dynasty. Hiuen Tsiang says that "his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance."³ Nevertheless we are not aware of his leanings towards Buddhism. Moreover, himself being an enemy of Harṣa, whom he defeated near the Narbada,⁴ it is not probable that he would favour the Nalanda University within the boundaries of his enemy's dominions.

Besides these sovereigns there were in northern India several petty rajas who had acknowledged the sovereignty of Harṣa. They also perhaps favoured at times the university of Nalanda. Hiuen Tsiang says that there were twenty of these kings round Harṣa at the Charity Assembly he witnessed at Prayāga (Allahabad).⁴

9. A Plan of the University of Nalanda

As a complement of our study about the royal patrons of Nalanda, a probable plan of the university at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, and according to the data furnished

¹ Beal, l. c.

² Ibid, p. 256.

³ Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 10, l. 23.

⁴ Beal, o. c., I, p. 213. The king of Kamarupa and the Valabhi king were among the twenty. One of these twenty also was the king of Nepal mentioned above. The *Parbhatya Vamsavali* records his visit to Prayaga. Cf. Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 133.

by him, will not, I think, be out of place. Certainly this plan cannot be without errors. The information is not great and scattered here and there without giving the distances between buildings and buildings, excepting in two or three cases. Anyhow this rough sketch will give a general idea of what that famous institution was like and will show the munificence of its royal patrons and benefactors.

1. *Saṅghārāma* or college built by Kumāra Gupta I "on a lucky spot." (Beal, o. c., p. 168.)
2. To the south of this, *saṅghārāma* built by Skanda Gupta. (Ibid.)
3. To the east of this, *saṅghārāmā* built by Pura Gupta. (Ibid.)
4. On the north-east side, *saṅghārāma* built by Narasimha Gupta. (Ibid.)
5. On the west side of the convent, I understand, of the first original monastery, *saṅghārāma* built by Kumara Gupta II (p. 170). The *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 111, disagrees. Hwui Li says only that this *saṅghārāma* was "to the north." This uncertainty and the fact that he never saw Nālandā causes me to prefer Hiuen Tsiang's statement.
6. To the north of this, great *saṅghārāma* built by Harṣavardhana (Beal, o. c., p. 170.) The *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, l. c., says that this *saṅghārāma* was built "by the side" of the one built by Kumāra Gupta II.
7. "On the western side of the *saṅghārāma*, at no great distance, is a *vihāra*." (Beal, o. c. p. 172.)
8. "To the south 100 paces or so is a small *stūpa*." (Ibid.)
9. "On this southern side is a standing figure of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva." (Ibid.)
10. "To the south of this statue is a *stūpa* in which are remains of Buddha's hair and nails." (Ibid., 173.)
11. "To the west of this, outside the wall, and by the side of a tank, is a *stūpa*." (Ibid.)

12. Tank. (Vide No. 11.)
13. "To the south-east about 50 paces, within the walls, is an extraordinary tree, about eight or nine feet in height, of which the trunk is twofold." (Ibid.)
14. "Next to the east there is a great *vihāra* about 200 feet in height." (Ibid.) In the plan I placed this *vihāra* much towards the east; otherwise there is no room for the following *vihāras* north of this. According to this arrangement, the *vihāra* No. 16, built by Narasiṃha Gupta, comes in the neighbourhood of the *saṅghārāma* built by the same monarch, a fact that does not look improbable.
15. "After this, to the north 100 paces or so, is a *vihāra* in which is a figure of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva." (Ibid.)
16. "To the north of this *vihāra* is a great *vihāra*, in height about 300 feet, which was built by Bālāditya-rāja." (Narasimha Gupta) (Ibid.)
17. "To the north-east of this is a *stūpa*." (Ibid. p. 174.)
18. "To the north-west is a place where the four past Buddhas sat down." (Ibid.)
19. "To the south of this is a *vihāra* of brass built by Śilāditya-rāja." (Harṣa-vardhana) (Ibid.) Accordingly this *vihāra* built by Harṣa is not far from the great *saṅghārāma* also built by him.
20. "Next to the eastward two hundred paces or so, outside the walls, is a figure of Buddha standing upright and made of copper. Its height is about 80 feet. A pavilion of six stages is required to cover it." (Ibid.) This is the pavilion built by Pūrṇavarmā.
21. "To the north of this statue two or three li, in a *vihāra* constructed of brick, is a figure of Tārā Bodhisattva. This figure is of great height and its spiritual appearance very striking." (Ibid.)

22. "Within the southern gate of the wall is a large well." (Ibid, p. 175.) The phrase of the pilgrim seems to show that this well was close to the gate. I had no special reason for putting it on the east side of the same.
23. "High wall" built round these edifices by Harṣa-vardhana. (Ibid., p. 179.)
24. The only gate to enter the premises of the university. (Ibid.) Further on Hsuen Tsiang says that this gate was "southern." (Ibid., p. 175.) The following quotation discloses the importance of this gate. "If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer, and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new books before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers, have to show their ability by hard discussion, those who failed compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten." (Ibid., p. 171.)

The precise extension of the area covered by the buildings of the university is not said by Hsuen Tsiang. Anyhow Hwui Li states that this *saṅghārāma* (the whole university) "is the most remarkable for grandeur and height" all over India.¹ He also states that "the priests belonging to the convent, or strangers residing therein always reach to the number of 10,000."² Finally I-Tsing, who travelled through India towards the close of the same century, informs us: "There are eight halls and three hundred apartments in this monastery."³ These scanty data will give some idea of the great extension of the university of Nālandā.

¹ Hwui Li, o. c., p. 112.

² Ibid.

³ I-Tsing, o. c., p. 154.

II.—Revised Notes on the Brahmin Empire*

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

IV.—Revival of Asvamedha.

An interesting history of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice is to be found in the *Hari-vamśa* attached to the *Mahā-Bhārata*. In its Book III, 'Future History' ('*Bhaviṣya-Parva*'), chapter 2, Vyāsa, the historian of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, tells King Janamejaya that after the *Asvamedha* by the king no more sacrifice of *Asvamedha* was to be performed in future by the Kshatriyas :—

स्वया हृतं क्रतुं चैव वाजिमेधं परंतप ।

क्षत्रिया नाहरिष्यन्ति यावद्भूमिं धरिष्यति ॥ 35¹

The king was distressed to hear this, and with great concern requested the historian-sage to say if there was any hope for a revival of the sacrifice (II. 36-38) :

यद्यस्मि पुनरावृत्तिर्यद्वास्याश्वायस्व माम् ॥ 38.

Vyāsa replies :

"After Your Majesty's sacrifice, it will be again revived by the Brāhmaṇas. When majesty has been removed from majesty it must rest again in majesty. There will be (in future) an upstart, a *Senāni* (Commander of the Army), a Kāśyapa Brāhmaṇa, who will in *Kali Yuga* (age) re-establish *Asvamedha*." (39-40).

उपात्तयन्तो देवेषु ब्राह्मणेष्वावत्स्यते ।

तेजसा व्याहृतं तेजस्तजस्येवावतिष्ठते ॥

भौद्विजो भविता कश्चित् सेनानीः काश्यपो द्विजः ।

अश्वमेधं कलियुगे पुनः प्रत्याहरिष्यति ॥

That the family of the *Senāni* really became an imperial dynasty is shown by the next line :

"In that age one of his family will perform even the *Rāja-sūya* sacrifice "

* Continued from *J.B.O.E.S.*, IV, 265.

¹ Texts are taken from the printed edition of Pingé, Gopal Narayan Press, Bombay, 1895.

[तद्युगे तत्कुलीनश्च राजसूयमपि क्रतुं ।

आह्वयिष्यति राजेन्द्र

...

...(41)].

Then follows a description of the time after "the end of the *Yuga*," that is, of the next or Kali age.¹ This description is somewhat similar to the one in the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the Garga-Samhitā relating to the times of the Greek invasion and the end of the reign [of the descendant] of Śaśisuka (Maurya) and the retirement of the Greeks, followed by the Śaka invasion. The chief feature is the preponderance of Buddhism, decay of Brahminism, and the rise of non-Kshatriya, greedy rulers :

अरक्षितारो हर्त्तारो बलिभागस्य पार्थिवाः ।

युगान्ते प्रभविष्यन्ति स्वरक्षणपरायणाः ॥ III. 5.

राजवृत्तिस्थिताश्चैरा राजानश्चैशीलिनः ॥ III. 9.

शूद्राधम (धर्म²? धर्माः?) चरिष्यन्ति, शाक्यबुद्धोपजीविनः ॥ III. 15.

Like the *Yuga Purāṇa* it ends with the description of a great famine almost with the same details. Its so-called future vision ends in despair and does not know the Hindu revival of the Gupta times. The description was composed at a time when Buddhism was still the ruling religion, even after the *Asvamedha* of the upstart Brahmin *Senāni*, and the Buddha was still distinguished as the *Śākya Buddha* (c. III, verse 15). We may take its age to be the early Kushān times.

We can easily recognise in the *Brahmin Senāni* and the founder of a dynasty, the *Senāni* Pushyamitra Śuṅga. His *gotra*, given here as *Kāśyapa*, was evidently forgotten.²

The important datum we get here is the express statement that the Brahmin *senāni* revised the Vedic political rite of *asvamedha* which had been for centuries given up and had become obsolete. It is certain that the Mauryas did not perform

¹ It goes over to the next chapter.

² It should have been called either Bhāradvāja (*J.B.O.R.S.*, IV. 259), or Viśvāmitra, unless Kāśyapa has the later significance of a gotra-less Brahmin. The Śuṅga was a *dvāmushyāyana* or Niyoga-born (mixture) family of the two families mentioned above according to family books.

Two *asvamedhas* were also performed by a contemporary Brahmin king (*Sāta-vāhana*) according to the Nānāghat inscription (cf. Cambridge History, p. 318.)

this. There is evidence, both traditional and inscriptional, that the Nandas inclined towards Jainism.

About the Śiśunāgas, in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, Rājasekhara says that certain Sanskrit letters were not pronounced in their palaces,¹ which reminds us of the speech of the Vṛātyas.² We can safely infer that they spoke Prakrit as opposed to orthodox Sanskrit. The Purāṇic description that they were not Kshatriyas proper, and their association with *Arhats* like the Buddha and the Mahāvira point to the fact that they were of that class of non-Vedic Kshatriyas who according to the Sūtras had *Arhants* among them instead of Brahmins.³ This would explain why Ajātsatru not being a follower of the Śākya Buddha still claimed his ashes, for he was a Kshatriya as the Tathāgata, that is, they were both *Vṛātya* Kshatriyas. Evidently the term *Vṛātya* indicated those who had the tradition of the Jinas and Buddhas amongst them even before the sixth century B.C. Buddha and Jina (Śākya Simha and Vardhamāna).⁴

The Śiśunāgas thus were not, evidently, the people who would have performed any horse-sacrifice. Mr. Chakravarti classes the *Sāketa* family in the same class.

As far back as historical memory goes the datum of the Harivamśa stands confirmed that the Aśvamedha had not been performed before the Senāni for a long time. It seems to be perfectly true that since the time of Janamejaya the rite had remained in abeyance. That would indicate that the Vedic families of the Madhyadesa dwindled in political significance after Janamejaya. About the time of the early life of the Buddha we do find them on the point of disappearance. Pañcālā in her attempt to conquer the kingdom of Kauśāmbi

¹ Dalal, K. M., p. XXI.

² "They call what is easy of utterance difficult to utter." Panchaviṃśa Br. XVII. 1, 2. Cf. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Ed. Gaṇapati Sāstri, II, p. 332, for definite linguistic characteristics.

³ Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii. 343.

⁴ Cf. Chakravarti, *Jain Gazette*, 1925, vol. 21, no. 6.

disappeared in the lifetime of Udayana.¹ The Kuru land had become a kingless country. The Vatsa king depended on the strength of his father-in-law (Mahāsena Pradyota) in the west and his brother-in-law (Darsaka) in the east. The Śūrasena dynasty had already gone.

The political and social import of the Aśvamedha is seen from the inscription of Samudragupta who emphasises the revival of Aśvamedha by himself. After Pushyamitra it again, i.e. in the Kushan times, fell in disuse. It was not only revived but kept up by the Guptas for generations.

It is a matter of satisfaction to get some light on the Śuṅga history even from such an unexpected quarter as the Harivaṃśa. We know from it that the revival theory originated with the first Śuṅga whose descendants however did not repeat it but performed a *rājāsūya*.

¹ The fact is gathered from the historical plots of the dramas in the *Pratijñāyagandharāyaṇa*, *Śvapna Vās* and *Tūpasa-Vatsarāja* (R. K. Kavi, J.A.H.R.S.)

III.—Jaina Record on Toramana

By N. C. Mehta, I.C.S.

I propose here to summarise some important conclusions which Muni Jina Vijayji of the Gujarāt Vidyāpiṭha has brought forward in a long article in Gujarātī in a sectarian quarterly Jaina Sāhitya Saṃsodbhaka for Aṣāḍha v.s. 1953 as a result of his examination of a Jaina romance of the eighth century. The work is called *Kuvalayamālā* by Uḍyotana Sūri alias Dakṣiṇya-chihna and was written in Prākṛit at Jābālipura now in Marwad but then included in Gujarat, and completed on the 14th day Chaitrā Vadi Śaka Samvat 699.

It is a miscellaneous work of the type designated as Champū, and consists of prose and verse in something like 2,600 lines. From the kind of Prākṛit which is of the southern type—Mahārāṣṭrī, and the use of the śaka year as well as from the popular name of the writer which is in the original—*dakṣhiṇa-mūḷha* (literally in Sanskrit, *dākṣiṇa-chihna*,¹ but rendered by the Sanskrit translator as *dakṣiṇya-chirna*) Uḍyotana Sūri would appear to have been a resident of Mahārāṣṭra or at least lived long enough there to use local words of the [current] dialect and to describe places in the Deccan. One of his *gurus* was the famous Jaina scholar Haribhadra Sūri, who according to Jaina tradition is reputed to have been the author of some 1,400 to 1,440 books—small and big. One of his well-known works, perhaps the most popular of the old Jaina romances, is *Samarācchha-kahā* or *Samarāditya-kahā* written mostly in prose and in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit.¹ The story is simple, but according to the fashion of the day is embroidered with a variety of incidents to bring out the necessary moral for the pious reader. In the town of Kṣīti-pratiṣṭhita there was a king by the name of Pūrṇachandra, who had a son called Guṇasena by his wife Kaumudī. The young prince was by nature full of animal spirits and fun and used to take the very life out of his ugly

¹ Recently edited by Professor Jacobi and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal

companion Agniśarman—the son of the king's purohita, Yajña-datta. Poor Agniśarman, tired by ceaseless torture at the hands of his royal friend, decided to leave the world and to perform penance so that he may not have the same lot in a future existence. He left the city and went to an ascetic and under his directions began the life of penance and austerity. In course of time the young Guṇasena who was now the king, meets his former companion Agniśarman, now an anchorite, and realising the consequences of his horse-play is sincerely repentant, asks him for forgiveness, and invites him to his palace for his monthly alms, for the ascetic used to go out but once a month to beg and live on what he got in one day for the rest of the period. The king then returned to his palace and forgot all about Agniśarman, so that when the latter went for alms at the end of the month, he had to return with empty hands for there was nobody to take notice of a beggar in the midst of festivities which were in progress to celebrate the birth of a son to the king. The ascetic came back and went on with his second month of fasting without a break. When the king heard of it, he immediately repaired to his erstwhile friend and begged for pardon and invited him to break his fast at the end of the month at his house. But this time too Guṇasena's memory played the same trick and the wretched Agniśarman went without alms. This happened four times, and at last the ascetic lost his patience and vowed eternal vengeance on the king in return for all the accumulated merit of his austerities. The enmity between the two went on for nine existences, at the end of which Guṇasena attained liberation, while Agniśarman sank deeper and deeper in the grave he himself had dug for the futile purpose of mere spite. This simple tale furnishes Haribhadra the framework within which he weaves the main tenets of the Jaina doctrine.

Udyotana Sūri seems to have written his *Kuvalaya-mālā* closely on the model of *Samaraditya-kathā* by his master. Most of the story-literature of the Jainas is subsequent to the tenth century, and when it is considered that there are not even ten

such works, at present known, which can be confidently ascribed to the first millenium after Christ, the importance of Udyotana Sūri's book can easily be gauged. There are but two MSS. extant of the *Kuvalaya-mālā*, differing in some important particulars. One of them is the Jaisalmir MS. on palm-leaf and written on Sunday Phālguna Vadi 1 Samvat 1139 and is preserved in the local Bhāndār. The other is the paper MS. of about the fifteenth century in the Government library at Poona. I have designated the two MSS. as J and P respectively in the quotations to be given below.

Udyotana Sūri gives at the end of his work detailed and extremely important information about his family, teacher, time, place and other matters, which will be briefly noted.

- (१) अथि पुहईपसिद्धा दोण्णि पहा दोण्णि चैय देसत्ति ।
तथ्यत्थि पहं णामेण उत्तरावहं बुहज्जणाइण्णं ॥ *
- (२) सुइदिअचारुसोहा विअसिअकमलाणणा विमलदेहा ।
तथ्यत्थि जलहिदइआ सरिआ अह चंदभाय त्ति ॥
- (३) तीरस्मि तीय पयडा पव्वइया णाम रयणसोहिहा ।
जत्थित्थि ठिए भुत्ता पुइइ' सिरितोरराएण ॥ *
- (४) तस्स गुरु इरिउत्तो आयरिओ आसि गुत्तवंसओ ।
तीय णयरीय दिण्णो जेण णिवेसो तहिं काले ॥
- (५) तस्स विसिस्सो पयडो महाकई देवउत्तणामोत्ति ।¹
..... सिवचंद गणी य मयहरो त्ति ॥(?)²
- (६) सो जिणवंदणहेउ' कहवि भमंतो कमेण संपत्ती ।³

The first two verses are not in the P. MS, which begins with—

‘अथि पयडा पुरीणं’¹ P तोरमाणेण ।

¹ P has as follows in place of this line :

[तस्स] बहुकलाकुसलो सिद्धान्तवियाणओ कई दक्खो ।

आयरिय देवगुत्तो ज[स्स]ज्जवि विज्जरए किच्ची ॥

² P has as follows :

सिवचन्दगणी अह मयहरो त्ति सो एत्थ आगओ देसा ।

³ Not found in P.

सिरिभिल्लमालणयरम्भि संठिओ कप्परुक्खोव्व ॥

(७) तस्स खमासमणगुणा णामेणं जक्खयत्तगणिणामो ।
सौसो महइ महप्पा आसि तिलोए वि पयडजसो ॥

(८) तस्स य बहुया सौसा तववीरिअवयणलद्धिसंपण्णा ।⁴
रम्भो गुज्जरदेसो जेहिं कओ देवहरएहिं ॥

(९) णागो विंदीमम्भड दुग्गो आयरियअगिसम्भोय ।
छट्ठो षडंसरो कम्महस्स य (व?) अणस्स ते आसि ॥⁵

(१०) आगासवप्पण[य]रे जिणालयं तेण णिम्मवियं रम्भं ।⁶
तस्स मुहदंसणे च्चिय भवि पसमइ जो अब्भत्थो (व्वो) वि ॥⁷

(११) तस्स वि सौसो अन्नो तत्ताअरिओ ति णाम पयडगुणो ।⁸
आसि तवत्तेयणिज्जियपविगहमोहो⁹ [दिणयर व्व] ॥

(१२) [जो दूसमसलिलपवाहवेगहीरन्तगुणसहस्साण] ।¹⁰
सौलंगविडलसालो लक्खणरुक्खो व्व निक्कं पो ॥¹¹

(१३) सौसेणतस्स एसा हिरिदेवीदिण्णदंसणमणेण ।
रइया कुवल्लयमाला विलसियदक्खिणइन्धेण ॥

(१४) दिण्णजहिच्चियफलओ बहुकित्तीकुसुमरेहिरामोओ ।
आवरियवीरभट्टो अत्थावरो¹² कप्परुक्खोव्व ॥

⁴ P तववीरियलद्ध(द्धि)चरणसंपण्णा ।

⁵ P has not got this verse.

⁶ P has as follows :

आगासवप्पणयरे वडेरसरो आसि जो खमासमणो ।

⁷ P अहव्वो वि ।

⁸ P has as follows :

तस्स य आयारधरो नत्तायरिओ ति नामसारगुणो ।

⁹ J has this incomplete ; but P has the whole :

आसि तवत्तेयनिज्जियपावतमोहो दिणयर व्व ।

¹⁰ From P.

¹¹ P लग्गणखंभो व्व निक्कं पो ।

¹² P अवाधरो ।

- (१५) सो सिन्धन्तेण गुरु; जुत्तिसत्थेहि जस्स हरिभद्दो ।
बहुसत्थगंधवित्थरपत्थारियपयडसच्चत्थो ॥¹³
- (१६) आसी तिकम्माभिरम्भो महादुष्कारिणि खत्तिओ; पयडो ।
उज्जोअणो त्ति णामं तच्चिअ परिभुंजिरे तइआ ॥¹⁴
- (१७) तस्स वि पुत्तो संपद्द णामेण वडेसरो त्ति पयडगुणो ।¹⁵
तस्सु ज्जोमणगामो तणओ अह विरइया तेण ॥
- (१८) तुंगमलंघं जिणमवणमणइरं सावयाडुलं; विसमं ।
जाडालिपुरं¹⁶ अट्ठावर्यं व अह अत्थि पुहईए ॥
- (१९) तुगं धवलं मणहारियणपसरंतधयवडाडोघं ।
उसहजिणिंदायतणं करावियं चोरभहेण ॥
- (२०) तत्थद्विपणं अह चोहसीए चेतस्स कण्हचक्खमि ।
णिम्मविआ बोहिकरी भव्वाणं होउ सव्वाण ॥
- (२१) परभडमिडडिभं नो पणईयणरोहणो कलाचंदो ।
सिरिवच्छरायणामो णरहत्थी पत्थिवो जइआ ॥¹⁷
- (२२) को किर वच्चइ तोरं जिणवयणमहोअहिस्स दुत्तारं ।
थोअमइणा वि वट्ठा एसा हिरिदेवि वयणेण ॥¹⁸
- (२३) जिणवयणाओ जं णं अहियं व विरूढयं व जं वडं ।
तं खमसु संठवेत्तसु मिच्छा अह दुक्कडं तस्स ॥¹⁹

¹³ This verse was the principal data for fixing the date of „Haribhadra.
P has:—

सो सिद्धान्तगुरु पमाणनापण जस्स हरिभद्दो ।
भ(ब)हुगन्धसत्थवित्थरपयडसच्चत्थो ।

¹⁴ P has not got this.

¹⁵ P has a different line:

राया[य]खत्तियाणं वंसे जाओ वडेसरो नाम ।

¹⁶ P misses out this word.

^{17, 20} Not found in P.

(२४) चंदकुलावयवेणं आयायउज्जोअणेण रइया मे ।

सिवसंतिबोद्धिमोक्खाण साहिया होउ भवियाण ॥²⁰

(२५) एयं कहं करेउं जं पुण्णं पावियं मए विउलं ।

साहुकिरिया सच्चित्तं भवे भवे होउ मे तेणं ॥

(२६) सगकाले बोलीणे वरिसाण सएहि सत्तेहि गयहिं ।

एगदिणेणूणेहिं रइया अवरण्हवेलाय ॥

(२७) ण कइत्तणाहिमाणो ण कव्ववुद्धीए विरइया एसा ।

धम्मकइ त्ति णिवद्धा मा दोसे काहिह इमौए ॥²¹

It is unnecessary to translate the verses literally. It will suffice to give an abstract thereof.

1. There are but two countries famous on earth, of which Uttarāpatha is known as the land of the wise.

2. Through it flows the river *Chandbhagā* = *Chandrabhāgā*.

3. On its banks is the celebrated town of *Pavvaiyā* where lived Śrī *Torarāya*, or (according to P.) *Toramāya* enjoying the sovereignty of the world.

4. His guru was *Hariguptā* who himself was a scion of the *Guptā* family and who too lived there.

5. *Devaguptā* was the pupil of this master and himself a great poet. His pupil was *Śivaohindra Gaṇī*.

6. He with a view to pilgrimage came in course of time to *Bhinnamāla*.

7. He had a great pupil, *Yakṣadatta Gaṇī*, whose fame spread throughout the three worlds.

8. He had several capable disciples who beautified the *Gūrjara-deśa* by constructing many temples.

9. Among them were *Nāga*, *Vinda*, *Mammada*, *Dugga*, *Agñisarmā* and *Vadesara*—the chief disciples ;

10. Of whom *Vadesara* built a beautiful Jaina temple in the town of *Agāsavappa*.

11. His pupil was *Tattvāchārya*.

13. His pupil was the author of *Kuvalayamālā*, known by the sobriquet of *Dakṣhiṇa-indha* ;

²¹ Not found in P.

14-15. Whose gurus are Achārya *Virabhadra* like the veritable *Kalpa-taru* and who taught him the *Siddhāntas* ; and *Haribhadra* in *Yukti-śāstra* who spread the truth by writing many works.

16. The reigning king was the Kṣatriya Udyotana famous in the *Mahāduvāra*.

17. His son was Samprati also known as Vadesara, whose son was Udyotana, the author of this work.

18—20. He finished this work on the fourteenth day of Chaitra Vadi in the temple of Rīṣabha Jina constructed by Virabhadra in the town of *Jābālipura* full of *śrāvaks* and beautiful Jaina temples.

21. Śrī Vatsa-rāja was the king.

24. This has been written by Achārya Udyotana, the scion of *Chandra-kula* ;

26. And finished in the afternoon of the last but one day required to finish seven hundred years of the śaka era.

The mention of the king Torarāya is especially interesting, for there can be hardly any doubt about the identity of this name with the celebrated Huna monarch Toramāna, who shook the Gupta empire to its very foundations and extended his sway as far as Malwa (circa 499—510 A.D.). While we know that Sākal—modern Sialkot in the Punjab—was the capital of his famous son Mihirakula, we have been hitherto totally ignorant of the headquarters of Toramāna himself. Now we know it to have been Pavvaiyā on the banks of the Chenāb—the Chandra-bhāga. This is the *Po-fa-to* or *Po-la-fa-to* of Hiuen Tsang ; but what its modern equivalent is, must be left to future investigation. What is however of especial interest is the statement that Toramāna or Toraraya had a guru by the name Harigupta who was himself a scion of the family of the imperial Guptas. The writer of the *Kuvalaya-mālā* has particularly noted the family as a mark of distinction, and though he does not specifically state it, the inference from the verses that follow, is that Harigupta was a Jaina. Is it possible then that the fiery Huna paid homage to a Jaina preceptor and

a descendant of the very Guptas whom he had so completely humbled? If the reference to Harigupta's lineage were to some more common stock than that of the royal house of the Guptas, there would have been no point in mentioning it. On the other hand if we accept the somewhat bold conclusion that Torarai was the disciple of a mild Jaina of the defeated Gupta family, we must also admit that there was at least one among the Guptas, the worshippers of Viṣṇu, who had renounced the ancestral faith in favour of the austere cult of Mahāvira. The author of the Kuvalya-mālā refers in verse five, quoted above, to one Devaguptā who was a great poet—*Mahā Kai* and a disciple of Hariguptā. The Poona manuscript calls him बहुकला-कुशलो सिद्धान्तविदाणो कईकवी—versed in many arts, learned in the Siddhāntas and an accomplished poet. In the introduction to Kuvalaya-mālā is mentioned one Devaguptā Rīṣi—वंसे गुप्ताय रायरीषौ—of the royal house of the Guptas, and the author of *Tripuruṣa charita*. There can be no doubt that Devaguptā Mahākavi and Devaguptā Rājarsi of the Gupta family are the one and same individual—the disciple of Harigupta. Now the question arises, who was this royal sage? Cunningham found in 1894 at Ahichchhatrā a copper coin with the inscription महाराज देवगुप्तस्य and the well-known Jaina symbol of a *Kalasa* with a flower on the reverse. This symbol survives among the Jains even at present as the pot and flower, which occur as the auspicious marks on every festive invitation-letter. It is to be noted that the usual Gupta symbol on the coins is an image of the bull, a horse, Lakṣmi or a warrior with a bow usually according to the cult of the reigning sovereign. The marks of the *Kalasa* and flower would be appropriate if Devagupta were a Jaina. From the epigraphical evidence of the coin this Devagupta Mahārāja has been assigned to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. This tallies with the age of the Devagupta mentioned by Udyotana Sūri, and styled by him as the royal sage—Rājarsi, the pupil of Harigupta and contemporary of Torarāya.

It is noticeable that even in this early period Bhinnamāl or Shrimāl—the original capital of old Gujarat—should have been famous as a place of Jaina pilgrimage, where Devagupta's pupil Shivachandra Gaṇī had repaired. Kuvalaya-mālā notes that Shivachandra's pupil had beautified Gujrat by constructing many Jaina shrines. In other words, Jainism had made considerable progress in western India some time prior to its fight with Shaivism in the south and its virtual expulsion in the ninth century from the ancient Dakṣiṇāpātha. In the tenth gāthā the city of Āgāsavappa=Ākāśavapra is mentioned, which may correspond to modern Vadanagar—the old Ānandapura, for Ākāśavapra means one which has the sky for the walls, i.e. an unfortified town. Ānandapura got a wall around only in 1157 A.D. during the reign of Kumārapāla.

In verses 18 to 20 Udyotana mentions Jābālipura as the place where he composed his work. This town is even now the headquarters of a district in the Jodhpur state and is well known as one of the important centres during the days of the Chālukya kings of Anhilwād-Pātan. Udyotana says that when he composed his book, Vatsarāja was the reigning monarch. He is called the elephant among men—नरइत्ती and the vanquisher of enemy-warriors परभट्टकुटिभंजक and is most probably the well-known ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty, who beginning his life in ancient Gujarat extended his sway over the empire of Kanauj. The oldest record about him is five years later than the date of the Kuvalaya-mālā and is by Jainasena Āchārya—the author of *Jaina Harivaṃṣha-purāṇa*, dated 705 Śaka era. It runs as follows:

“In Śaka year 705 when Indrāyudha reigned in the north,
शाक्यवृद्धशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां

पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवक्त्रमे दक्षिणाम् ।

पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्साधिराजेऽपरां

सौर्या(रा)णामधिमण्डले (सं) जययुतेष्वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Śrī Vallabha son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa was the ruler in the south and Avantirāja in the east, Vatsarāja in the west and Jayavarāha

in the regions of the Sauryas." The greatness of Vatsarāja is further attested by an inscription of the time of Mihirabhoja—the great-grandson of Vatsarāja himself.²² Here he is described as having forcibly seized the sovereignty from the famous Bhandi family, which may be the Varma dynasty of Kanauj.²³ It would appear that Bhinamāl had already been given up in favour of Jābālipura as the royal capital after the attacks of the Arabs in the time of Nāgabhaṭa. Jābālipura or Jhalor retained this position as the principal place in Marwad for about 600 years till it was sacked by Allaudin Khilji in 1311 A.D.

To summarise the information given by Kuvalaya-mālā :

1. Udyotana Sūri, who was a Kṣatriya, wrote it in Jābālipura during the reign of Vatsarāja—the Pratihāra king, which was already the capital in place of Bhinnamāla.

2. Udyotana was the pupil of the famous Haribhadra.

3. Torarāi or Toramāna was the sovereign of Uttarāpatha and his capital was at Pavvaiyā on the Chenab or the Chandrabhāgā.

4. This Torarāi who is undoubtedly the Huna king known to history as Toramāna acknowledged as his spiritual preceptor Harigupta—a scion of the Gupta—probably the royal Gupta family.

5. Harigupta's pupil was another Gupta—Devagupta, who may be the Gupta king defeated by Rajyavardhana, the brother of Harsa of Kanauj. Devagupta may have become

²² तत्सूनुः प्राप्य राज्यं निजमुदयगिरिस्थितिं भास्वत्प्रतापः

क्ष्मापाळः प्रादुरासीन्नतसकलजगद्वत्सलो वत्सराजः ।

यस्यैतास्सम्पदश्च द्विरदमदसुरास्वादसान्द्रप्रमीदाः

पद्माक्षीगक्षिपन्त्यः प्रणयिजनपरिष्वङ्गकान्ता विरिजुः ॥ ६

ख्याताद् भाण्डकुलान्मदोत्कटकरिप्राकारदुर्लभतो

यः साम्राज्यमधिष्ण्वकाम्मुकसखा संख्ये हठादग्रहीत् ।

एकः क्षत्रियपुङ्गवेषु च यशोगुर्वीर्ध्वरं प्रोद्वह—

न्नक्ष्वाको : कुलसमुन्नतं सुचरितैश्चक्रे स्वनामांकितम् ॥

²³ Against this view see Ojha's *Rajputana ka Itihas*, p. 160 ; also p. 159.

an anchorite after his defeat and is probably the king whose coin was discovered by Cunningham in 1894.

6. Both Harigupta and Devagupta were Jains ; and though Torarāi may not have been a Jaina himself, there can be no doubt that he must have been considerably influenced by his Jaina Guru.

7. Jainism had made great strides in Western India by the eighth century, for by that time Bhinnamāla was already known as the centre of Jaina pilgrimage.

IV.—Account of the First Sayyad King of Delhi

By Kamal Krishna Basu, M.A., T. N. J., College Bhagalpur

Khizr Khān is the first of the four kings constituting the Sayyad house which is verily regarded as the fourth dynasty of the kings of Delhi. His tenure of power for about seven years¹ is one unbroken and dreary chain of military campaigns and punitive expeditions undertaken against the vassal chiefs or the independent rulers, partly Muslims and mostly Hindus, whose states encircled the reduced boundaries of the old Pathan kingdom. The invasion of the famous conqueror Tamerlane, denominated the "Scourge of God," gave a shattering blow to the reigning house in particular and the political state of the country in general, affording ample opportunity to the ambitious and the greedy to make a bid for the throne and present an animated opposition to the ruling authority.

Comprising a few incidents of note, Khizr's rule consisted mainly in a never-ceasing conflict to retain some sort of authority over the small territory still attached to the kingdom of Delhi. There had been of late in that disturbed period a recrudescence of the Hindus who fished in troubled waters and set at naught the central power. So long as there was the compelling force to exact revenue, the refractory Hindu chiefs kept their fealty, but, following the wake of the returning army they withheld tribute, and shook off the yoke of the Muslims. Wishing to profit by the general anarchy, the people of Mewat wavered in their allegiance. The repeated insurrections of Tughan, the chief of the Turkbachas in Sirhind, gave the Sultan neither any rest nor any peace of mind. The annual campaigns against the powerful Hindu states, such as Katehr (Rohilkhund) Mewat, Etawah, Chandawar and Bayana,² fully engaged the attention of the king and kept him ever on the alert.

¹ From 16th Rabiul-auwal 817 H, corresponding to 6th June 1414 A.D. to 17th Jamadiul-auwal 824 H or May 1421.

² In Bharatpur state, Rajputana.

A great and wise king, kind and true to his word, Khizr was beloved by his subjects great and small. Like a true Sayyad, he ever refrained from indulging in wanton bloodshed and undertook campaigns only when they called for immediate action and were of absolute necessity. Hard put to it to hold his own against the miscreants, Khizr got no spare time to try his hand at the solution of civic problem, or the reform of the constitution.

Native historians trace the family of Khizr to that of the Prophet of Arabia, and they accordingly style him and his successors *Sáddt*, which is the plural of *sayyad*, meaning the chief of the family of Muhan.mad. What the nature of consanguinity of Khizr to the Prophet's family was, Yahiyá, the author of *Tárikh-i-Mubdraksháhi*, does not tell us. Relying on the reported evidence of Jalalu-d-din Bokhary, the head of the Sayyads, in favour of Khizr's pretension to the honour of his being a member of the Prophet's family, Yahiyá calls him a *Sayyad*.

It is interesting to notice how the aforesaid author, like the other native chroniclers, give no title of *Bádsháh* or *Sultan* to Khizr. To compensate for this apparent absence of any regal title, some curious appellations were called into requisition. Thus, the expression *Masnad-i-a'alá*, signifying "the exalted throne" has been invariably made use of so long Khizr did not ascend the throne; but after his accession the title undergoes an alteration to *Ráyat-i-álá* meaning "exalted standard." Nizám-uddin Ahmed, the author of *Tabákát-i-Akbari*, and Al Badoni of *Muntakhab-ul-Tawárikh*, prefer the designations of *Ráyat-i-a'alá* and *Masnad-i-a'alá* respectively. This prevalence of unanimity among the Indian historians in depriving Khizr of the usual honories assigned to rulers, give a strong and irrefutable support to the proposition that, he made no pretension to be more than a deputy of Timur with whom he had not imprudently cast in his lot. It has been alleged that, Khizr gave out in public that he held the government for Timur. The coins were struck and the *khutba* read in the name of the "noble Tartarian," after whose death, the name of his successor Sháh Rukh was used;

and to the latter, occasional tribute was despatched at his capital Samarkand. Further, the supposition, that Khizr deprived himself of the common nomenclature befitting an independent ruler on the ground that this measure would disarm the jealousy which the nobles of the late government would have felt towards him, and that it would bring them to submission instead of preventing them from submitting to his authority, may not be entirely without any foundation.

The march of events illustrating the chequered career of the pioneer of the Sayyad house, from the gubernatorial office at Multan which had been conferred upon him by Sultan Firozshah Tughlak, till his accession to the throne of Delhi, have been traced in the last issue of the *J.B.U.R.S.* The present issue which deals mainly with the incidents of his reign as a subordinate Sultan of Delhi, is based entirely on the text of *Tārīkh-i-Mubdrakshahī*, a Persian work of Yahiya.

Khizr Khān was the son of Maliku-sh Shark Malik Sulaiman, who was adopted in childhood and brought up by Malik Nasiru-l Mulk Mardān Daulat.³ The chroniclers opine⁴ that, he was the son of a Sayyad. (Once) when refreshment was served before *Bandagi Makhdum*, the chief and the origin of the Sayyads, Jalal-ul-Huqu-sh Sharau-d-din Bokhārī—May God be pleased with him! in the house of Malik Mardan, Malik Sulaiman was ordered (by his adoptive father) to wash the hands of the guest. The latter said that, he (Malik Sulaimān) was

P. 211*
Bandagi raiyat-i-
aala,¹ Khizr Khan,
tab sarahu,² his
lineage and cha-
racter

* The page reference in the margin indicate the pages of the MS.

¹ Service of the exalted (or imperial standards).

² Let the blessing of God be on his tomb.

³ Properly put the sentence would stand thus:—

پسر ملک الشرق ملک سلیمان کہ ازرا ملک نصیرالملک مردان دولت در حال طفلی
پسر کرده پرورده بود —

The absence of *کہ* before *از* in the MS. makes Khizr Khan to be the adopted son of Nasiru-l Mulk, an evident error in view of the fact that, the Muslim historians such as Nizamu-d-din Ahmed, Badanni, and Ferishta make Malik Sulaiman the adopted son of Nasiru-l Mulk.

⁴ Here the MS. is unintelligible owing to its being eaten by insects.

a Sayyad, and (as such) was unfit for such a work as that. Thus, when *Bandagi Makhdam*, the head of the Sayyads, bore testimony to Sulaiman's being a *Sayyad*, there remained no doubt about his pedigree. Another proof of his being a *Sayyad* is, that he was generous, brave, kind, humble, and true to his promise; these are all the virtues which were conspicuous in Hazrat Mustafá (the Prophet)—with Him be peace! and were manifest in him.

To sum up, on the death of Malik Mardán Daulat, the fief of Multan devolved upon Malik Shaikh, his son, and soon after the latter's demise, to Malik Sulaimán, who also expiring in a short time, the country along with its dependencies and suburbs fell upon *Bandagi Rayat-i-a'alá* from Sultan Firoz Shah. God the Almighty

**Multan success-
sively under Malik
Mardan, Malik
Shaikh, his son,
Sulaiman and
Khizr**

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had selected him (Khizr) for great work and his stateliness waxed from day to day. The incidents of his campaigns and successes before he completed the subjugation of *dár-ul-mulk* Delhi, by the Grace of the All-powerful God, have been previously related.

On the 15th Rabíu-l auwal, 817 H. (4th June 1441 A.D.) *Khizr's entry into Siri. Allowances to ruined inhabitants and bestowal of offices and fiefs on Amirs*

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Ráyat-i-a'alá made an entry into the fort of Siri and his army encamped in the palace of Sultán Mahmúd. The inhabitants of the city, who during the course of late events had become ruined and indigent, were rewarded with gifts, pensions and proper allowances. The fortune of Khizr gave them rest. Malik-sh Shark Malik Tuhfa obtained the designation of Taju-l Mulk and the vizirate. Sayyad Sálím,¹

¹ Sayyad Sálím was the chief of the fraternity known as the Sayyad family of Bárha, whose ancestors seem to have settled in Muzaffarnagar in the Meerut Division of U. P. In course of time they became daring military leaders and helped the emperors on all services of danger. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they shouldered their way to great emience and filled many important offices about the court.

the chief of the sayyads, received the *ikhtá'* (fief) and *shikk* (district) of Saharanpur¹. All the affairs (of the state) were set in order. Malik 'Abdur Rahim, adopted son of late Malik Sulaimán, got the title of 'Aláu-l Mulk and the *ikhtá'* and *shikk* of Multan and Fathpur.² Malik Sarup³ became the governor of the city⁴ and the vicegerent. Malik Khairu-d-dín Kháni was appointed the muster-master.⁵ Malik Kálú keeper of the elephants⁶ and Malik Daud the secretary.⁷ The district in the Doab⁸ was entrusted to Ikhtiyár Khan. The slaves of the *ci-devant* Sultan were confirmed in the *pergannahs*, villages and the fiefs which they enjoyed in the late reign. They were despatched to their *pergannahs*; the affairs of the state were set to rights.

In 817 H. (1414 A.D.) Maliku-sh-shark Tajul Mulk⁹ was sent off with an army to Hindustan,¹⁰ while Khizr himself remained in Delhi. The former crossed the river Jaun and reached Ahár¹¹; (then) having forded the Ganges he went to Katehr,¹² plundered

¹ Saharanpur, a district in the Meerut Division of the United Provinces, lying between 29° 34' and 30° 24' N. and 77° 7' and 78° 12' E., forms the northerly portion of the Doáb or alluvial plain between the Ganges and Jumna.

² Fathpur, in Multan district, Punjab; fifty miles south-east of Multan. Lat. 29° 4' long. 72° 10'.

³ In Elliot IV. Malik Sarwar.

⁴ شحنة شهدي رنائب نيديت

عارض ممالك

⁵ شحنة پيل

⁶ نائب شغل ديدي

⁷ The name Doáb, meaning "two rivers," is commonly applied to the land between the confluence of any two rivers, but especially to the tract between the Ganges and the Jumna in the United Provinces, extending from the Siwálíks (a range of hills in Northern India, running parallel to the Himálayas for about 200 miles from the Beas to the Ganges) to the junction of the two rivers at Allahabad.

⁸ According to Badauni Tajul Mulkk's former name was Malik Naho; but according to Ferishta his name was Malik Tuhfa.

⁹ The name implies the "place of the Hindus": it has been applied to a vaguely-defined area. In Muhammadan histories the term is used for that area which comprises the east of the Punjab and Rájputána and the greater part of the United Provinces.

¹⁰ In the Bulandshahr district; between Bulandshahr and Moradabad: lat. 28° 27', long. 78° 18'.

¹¹ Identified with the present province of Rohilkhand. See Elliot IV. 49 in, 3

and devastated the territory of the infidels. Rai Har Sing fled to the mountains of Anwála¹ and feeling himself distressed at the advent of the Muhammadans, he paid them taxes, tribute and money.² Mahábat Khán, the *amir* of Badayun,³ also had an interview with Malik Taju-l Mulk. Thence pursuing the course of (the river) Rahab, he came to the ford Sargdawár⁴ and crossed the Ganges; brought to book the infidels of Khorah⁵ and Kampil⁶ and proceeded to Parham⁷ via Sakhit.⁸ Hasan Khán *amir* of Rapri⁹ and Malik Hamza his brother, joined Malik Taju-l Mulk. Rai Sabir¹⁰ did homage to him; the infidels of Gwálíor, Seorí and Chandawár¹¹ paid taxes and tribute and put their heads under the yoke of obedience. He (Taju-l Mulk) wrested Jaleswar¹² from the unbelievers of Chandawár, handed it over to the Musalmans, who formerly owned it and placed his own officials there. From that place he took the course of the black river¹³ and inflicting penalty on the infidels of Etawah returned to Delhi.

¹ The MS. has أنواله; it is a copyist error for كوه أنواله. Elliot (47) has "mountains of Anwala." Identified with Aoula, Aounlah or Aoulaganj, a town in Bareilly district. Lat. 28° 16' 25", long. 79° 12' 25".

² معصوم و مال و خربتي

³ Badaun District, south-western district of the Bareilly division, United Provinces.

⁴ In Elliot. IV. 47, Sarg-dwari: Badaoni (p. 275) سرگدواری located in Farrukhabad district.

⁵ كهره: In Elliot. Khur; identified with modern Shamsabad in the Farrukhabad district in U. P.; 18 m. north-west of Fategarh town. Badaoni, p. 276, says:—
كهركه دالاً بشمسآباد مشهور است

⁶ In Elliot, Kambil; in Badaoni, ibid, كنپله. Kampil is in Farrukhabad district, lat. 27° 37', long. 79° 1'.

⁷ In Elliot, Bádham. In Badaoni بادهم

⁸ Ibid, Sakfna; In Badaoni سكينة between Kampila and Rapri, 12 m. south-east of Etah town.

⁹ In Mainpuri district (in Agra division) situated on the left bank of Jamuna, about 44 m. south-west of Mainpuri.

¹⁰ In Badaoni, 276. راي سد

¹¹ Situated on the Jamuna, a few miles below Agra.

¹² 38 m. east of Muttra: in Etah district, lat. 27° 28', long. 78° 20' 30".

¹³ Refers to *Kālī Nadi*, a tributary of the Ganges—the chief river in the district of Etah in Agra division. *Kālī Nadi* is a corruption of *Kāṇḍī*.

In 818 H. (1415 A.D.) Khizr Khán conferred upon his illustrious son, Maliku-sh Shark Malik Mubarak¹ proper authority, (in addition to) the districts of Firozpur,¹ Sirhind and all the *ikta's* of Bairam Khan, the deceased. (Further) he put him in command of all the western countries, and appointed Malik Sadhú Nádira *naib* or deputy of Shahzada Mua'azam. After the affairs of the country had been put into order, the Prince returned with Malik Sadhú Nádira, Zirak Khán, *amir* of Sámáná² and the other *amirs* and *maliks*, to Delhi in the month of Zil hijjah.

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Taju-l Mulk to Bayana, Gwalior, Kampila and Pattiali

In 819 H. (1416 A.D.) Ráyát-i-a'alá dispatched Taju-l Mulk with a large force to Bayána and Gwalior. On his reaching the confines of Bayána, Malik Karimu-l Mulk, brother of Shams Khán Auhdi, came to wait on him. From thence he continued his way to Gwalior which he sacked, and having exacted money and servitude from (the Raí of) Gwalior and the other *rais* he crossed the Jamuna opposite Chandawár, and wended his way to Kampila and Pattialí.³ Raí Har Sing the lord of Katehr,

Submission of Har Sing of Katehr

swore fealty; so after realising money and subjection Taju-l Mulk went back to Delhi. Malik Sadhu Nádár⁴ who had been ordered to Sirhind⁵ as the agent of Prince Mua'azam (Mubárák) was assassinated in Jamadú-l auwal by some of the Turkbáchás of the family of Bairam

¹ Firozpur or Ferozepore; a district in the Jullundur division of the Punjab

² In Patiala State, Punjab, situated 85 cosses on the west of Delhi.

³ In Badauni, 236. بیتلی; In Etah district, situated in lat. 27° 41', long. 79° 4'; 44 m. north-west of Fategarh.

⁴ Ferishta, p. 509, calls him Mullik Ladho.

⁵ Tract in the Punjab, consisting of the north-eastern portion of the plain which intervenes between the Jamuna and Sutlej rivers.

Khán and Sirhind was taken possession of by them. Ráyát-i-a'alá sent Malik Daud the secretary, and
P. 215 Zirak Khan to put down the miscreants.

The Turkbáchás took to their heels across the Sutlej and resorted to the mountains, where the Imperialists, too, went in their pursuit. This state of affairs continued for a couple of months; (but) as the mountains were impregnable the royalists wheeled round. In the meantime it was reported in the month of Rajab that, Sultan Ahmad of Gujrat had invested Nágár.¹ Ráyát-i-a'alá set out for Nágár and traversed *enroute* Tonk² and

The Sultan to Today.³ On being informed of this Sultan
Nagar, Gwalior Ahmad of Gujrat retreated towards
and Bayana Dhar.⁴ Then Khizr Khán proceeded to

the new city Jháin⁵ and Ilyas Khán, the *amir* of that place, obtained the eminence of kissing the feet (of the Emperor). Having put down the rebellion of that country, Khizr came to Gwalior and besieged its *amir*. As the fort was exceptionally strong it could not be conquered; so accepting money and revenue from Gwalior, the Sultan proceeded to

¹ Here the manuscript is faulty. It has :—

نكره — معصركون ان قاع مذكر
 A town in Jodhpur State, Rajputana, situated 75 miles north-east of Jodhpur, in lat. 27° 11' 15", long. 73° 46' 15".

² In Rajputana, lat. 26° 10', long. 75° 56'.

³ In Jaipur State, Rajputana, 63 miles south by west from Jaipur, lat. 26° 4', long. 75° 39'.

⁴ Capital of Dhar State, Central India Agency. Lat. 22° 36', long. 75° 20'.

⁵ The manuscript has—شهر نواجهاين

The *Tabakat-i Akbari* calls it :—شهر نواجهاين

Al Badoni, in his *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 237. *Bibliotheca Indica* series A. S. B. states simply جهاين

Ferishta Tr. by J. Briggs, vol. I. p. 509 has "*Jalwar*" which probably owing to his misreading of *Tabakat-i Akbari*, he connotes as "Bride of the universe." The application of the term "bride" to the virgin fortress refers to the fact that it was till then unconquered. The similarity in sound may probably lead to the identification of "*Jalwar*" with "*Jalur*"—the latter being situated in Patiala State, Punjab, near the banks of the Gaggar river, on the direct route from Hansi to Ludhiāna, and sixty-two miles north of the former town.

His return to the Capital

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Bayána, where Shams Khan Auhdi offered him money and homage. After this he picked his way to Deihí.

In 820 H. (1417

A.D.) it transpired that Túghán Rais and some of the Turkbachas, who murdered Sadhu, had rebelled. Zirak Khán, the *amir* of Sámána was sent out with a big force to suppress the rebellion. As the

Rebellion of Tughan Rais and the Turkbachas

(imperial) army neared Sámána, Túghán and sundry other Turkbáchás, who had laid siege to Malik Kamál Badhan, the representative of Khánzáda Mua'azzam in Sirhind, raised the siege and retired to the mountains. Zirak Khán gave them a chase so far as Bail,¹ compelled

Their retreat and submission

Túghán to pay a fine, and to expel the Turkbáchá murderers from his own camp, as well as to give up his son as a hostage.

Zirak Khán despatched both the hostage and the amount (realised from Tughan Rais) to Delhi and himself withdrew to Sámána.

In 821 H. (1418 A.D.) Khizr Khán sent Malik Taju-l Mulk

Taj-ul Mulk sent against Rai Har Sing of Katehr (second expedition)

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with a numerous army to put down the rebellion of Har Sing² of Katehr. When the force went across the Ganges, Har Sing laid waste Katehr and receded to the forests of Anaulá which was twenty-four kuroh³ in width. The

army of Islam settled down in the forest, and Har Sing being enclosed therein had to fight. With the assistance of Almighty God, the army of Islam came off with flying colours and all the furniture,

Latter's defeat

¹ The manuscript has بايل Bálil may be identified with *Baila* or *Byla* in Dehra Dún district on a high mountain. Lat. 30° 45', long. 77° 47'. In Elliot, p. 49, Bail; Ferishta *ibid* I, 510, Pail.

² Ferishta, *ibid* Nur Sing. Al Badaoni, p. 237 (Bibliotheca Indica series) has Harsing Deo (हरिसिङ्ग देव)

³ In Elliot, *ibid*, 24 kos.

baggage, arms and horses fell a prey to the victor. Har Sing retired to the mountains of Kumáyún. Next day some 20,000 cavalry were sent in pursuit of the fugitive, whilst Taju-l Mulk remained there (Anaula) with his troops and requisites. The royal forces waded through the river Rahab and followed up the enemy to the hills of Kumayun. Har Sing emerged from the mountains and on the fifth day, the Imperial army returned, having laid hold on a large plunder. Thence, Taju-l Mulk passing along the vicinity of the district of Badayun came near the bank of the Ganges and went across it at Bajlána.¹ Mahábat Khán the *amir* of Badayun was permitted to go, while Taju-l Mulk continued his way to

**First expedition
against Etawah:
Rai Sabir, the
ruler of Etawah
renders tribute**

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Etawah which he overran. Rái Sabir the chief of Etawah was hemmed in, till peace was effected on his rendering tribute and homage. From that place the victor returned in triumph to Delhi in the month of Rabiul ákhír (821 H).

He then placed before Raiyat-i-'alá the money and tribute which he had exacted of the Rái and was (in return) encompassed with special favours.

In the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.), Khizr Khán advanced to

**Khizr to Katehr,
Kol, Rahab and
Sambal**

Katehr. Chastising the recalcitrants of Kol,² he scoured the forests of Rahab and Sambal³ and overthrew their refractory inhabitants. From thence, in the month of Zil-kaad, he marched to Badayun⁴ and crossed the Ganges near Pattiali. Overcome with terror at the approach

¹ بهلانه Identified with Bijnaur, a town in Bijnaur district, North-Western Provinces, lat. 26° 56', long. 80° 84'.

² In Badaoni, ibid مہابت خان حاکم بدایون

³ Identified with Kola in Kumayun district, North-Western Provinces.

⁴ سنبھل is copyist error for Sambal. In Kashmir State, Punjab; 12 m. north-west of Srinagar. Lat. 34° 11' long. 74° 47'.

⁵ Ferishta states (Brigg I. p. 510) that the Sultan after having laid waste the country of Sambal and Katehr returned to his capital, and after remaining at Delhi only a few days, moved towards Badayun.

of Khizr, Mahabat undertook preparations for standing a siege. In the month of Zil-hijjah, Khizr Khan invested Badayun and Mahabat held out for six months. When victory was imminent, news arrived that some of the *amirs* and *maliks*, such as Kawám Khan, Ikhtiyár Khan and the attendants of Mahmud Shah, who having been overpowered by Daulat Khan had joined Rayat-i-alá,¹ formed a conspiracy against the life of Khizr Khán. Whereupon he raised

**Khizr retires to
Delhi**

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the siege of Badayun and retired to Delhi. On the way, by the banks of the Ganges, on the 20th Jumáda-l auwal 822 H, (July 18, 1419 A.D.) having seized Kawám Khan, Ikhtiyár Khán, and the partisans of Sultan Mahmud, Khizr put them to death for their conspiracy, and then returned to Delhi.

About this time, news arrived of a swindler who took upon himself the appellation of Sarang Khán.

**Rebellion of an
impostor who
called himself
Sarang Khan**

It transpired that a certain individual had appeared in the mountains of Bájwára,² a dependency of Jálandhar,³ and had given himself out to be Sarang Khan. Some foolish and ignorant people joined forces with him.

**Sultan Shah Lodi
deputed against
the rebel**

The Sultan bestowed the fief of Sirhind upon Malik Sultan Shah Lodi and deputed him to suppress the insurrection. In the month of Rajab, Malik Sultan Shah proceeded with his forces to Sirhind. The *soi-tisant* Sarang, with his rustic adherents, sallied forth from Bájwára, and when he neared Sutlej, the inhabitants of Rupar⁴ joined hands with him. In the month of Shábán the forces neared each other

¹ The MS. is here illegible.

² باجواره in Hoshiárpur district, Punjab. Ferishta (ibid, page 511) reads Machiwara; Nizamud-din Ahmed (Tabakát-i-Akbari) and Badauni ibid, p. 288, make it Bájwára. The text runs—etc. etc., جالندھر (؟) مال (؟) دركوة باجواره اعمال (؟) جالندھر.

³ Jullundar, division of the Punjab; between lat. 30° 56' 30" — 32° 59' and long. 75° 6' 30" — 77° 49' 15".

⁴ In Umballa district, Punjab; situated on the south bank of the Sutlej, 43m. north of Umballa City.

near Sirhind. In the conflict that took place, Malik Sultan
Defeat of the Shah Lodi won the laurels, and Sarang
insurgent the deceiver, retired to Laharsarai, ¹

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one of the dependencies of Sirhind. Khwaja Ali Indarabi, ²
 the amir of Jhath, ³ with his followers had an interview with
 Sarang. Likewise, did Zirak Khan the amir of Samana, and
 Tughan Rais (chief) of the *Turkbachas* of Jalandhar, co-operate
 with Malik Sultan Shah. At the approach of the Malik's army
 to Sirhind, the aforesaid Sarang ran away to Rupar. Khwaja
 Ali deserted Sarang for Zirak Khan. The following day when the
 victorious forces ran in pursuit of the pretender to Rupar, the latter
 withdrew to the mountains. Here (Rupar) the royal army
 encamped. In the meantime Malik Khairu-d-din Khani was
 (also) sent with a force to quell the rebellion of Sarang. In the
 month of Ramazan Malik Khairu-d-din reached Rupar, and
 there the forces united, and marched into the mountains in
 pursuit of the impostor. Sarang Khan's followers were van-
 quished and helpless, but the mountains were not easy of
 conquest so the victorious army went back after some time.
 Malik Khairu-d-din Khani took his way to the capital, and
 Zirak Khan went to Samana, leaving Sultan Shah Lodi with a
 force in possession of the thanah Rupar.

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So the (royal) army was dispersed.

In Muharram 823 H. (1420 A.D.) the aforesaid Sarang
 Khan joined Malik Tughan, rais
 (chief) of the *Turkbachas*, when Tughan
 treacherously got the former into his
 power, made him a prisoner, and later
 put him to death. ⁴ That year Rayat-i-alá

**Taju-l Mulk sent
 against Etawah
 (second expedition)
 823 H. 1420 A.D. ; its
 ruler besieged**

¹ In Elliot (page 51) Tarsari. In *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, Lahori. Badauni (ibid.) states that Sarang Khan, meeting with reverses, fled to the hills (پکڑھستان) Ferishta, p. 511, supports Badauni.

² The MS. reads *مارہدراہی خواجه عالی* we have adopted Elliot, page 51.

³ The MS. makes it *چہت* Jat in Gurgáon district, Panjab, 48m. south-west of Delhi.

⁴ On discovering that his colleague possessed a large quantity of jewels, Mullik Tughan caused Sarang Khan to be assassinated. Ferishta 511.

remained in the capital and sent away Malik Taju-l Mulk with a strong contingent against Etawah. Marching through the town of Baran,¹ this army came into the country of Kol, and after extirpating the rebels in that quarter, it moved to Etawah and there destroyed the village of Delhi, one of the strongholds of the unbelievers. It then marched against Etawah and besieged Rai Sabir,² who sued for peace and paid his annual revenue and tribute. The victorious army (then) proceeded to the country of Chandawár, which it plundered, and laid waste.

**Tajul Mulk returns
to Delhi via Chan-
dawat and Katehr**

From thence it passed on to Katehr, where Rai Harsing its chief, paid revenue and tribute. Triumphant and victorious, Malik Taju-l Mulk then returned to the capital. In the month of Rajab, news arrived that Tughán

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insurrection, and that, having laid siege to the fort of Sirhind, he had pillaged the tract lying between Mansurpur³ and Báil. Ráyáti-'alá again sent Malik Khairu-d-din Kháni with a powerful force to coerce the rebel.

**Second rebellion
of Tughan and his
failure**

The latter proceeded to Sámána. From thence the joint forces of Zirak Khán and Khairu-d-dín ran after the insurgent, who being apprised of their approach, crossed the Sutlej near Ludhiana and stood facing the Imperialist from the other side of the river. But the waters were at a low ebb, and the royal forces went across. Meeting with reverses Tughan ran away to the territory of Jasrath Khokhar. The *ikta* belonging to the fugitive was bestowed upon Zirak Khán, and Malik Khairu-d-din wheeled off to Delhi.

¹ In Bulandshahr district.

² In Elliot (52) Rai Sarwar, and Saru in Tabakat-i-Akbari. Ferishta (ibid, p. 512) calls him Soomur Ray. (Badoni (p. 293) has Rái Sír.

³ In Patiala State, Punjab.

In the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Ráyát-i-alá set out towards Rayat-i-ali to Mewat.¹ Some of the Mewáttis were besieged in the *kotlah* (fortress) of Bahadur Nahir, while sundry others extended their hands of fellowship to Khizr Khan. Ráyát-i-alá encamped himself near the *kotlah* and the people of Mewat offered him resistance. In Jamádíu-l-auwal the fortress capitulated and the besieged retired towards the mountains. Having razed the fortress to the ground, Khizr took his way to Gwalior. Meanwhile, on

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the 8th Muharram, 824 H.² Malik Taju-l Mulk breathed his last, and the office of *wazir* and the affairs of the state were entrusted to *Maliku-sh Shark*³ Malik

Death of Taju-l Mulk 8th Muharram 824 H. 14th January 1421 A.D. Siege of Gwalior Reaching Gwalior, Ráyát-i-alá invested the chief of the place, ravaged the country and returned to Etawah, exacting tribute from the Gwalior raja. Rai Sabir, the ruler of Etawah was dead, and his son made his submission and consented to pay tribute and accept servitude.

Rayat-i-ali returns from Etawah and breathes his last during the campaign, returned to Delhi where he passed away on the 17th 17th Jamadiu-l-auwal 824 H. May Jamádíu-l-auwal 824 H. 20, 1421 A.D.

Couplet

Before each evening there is a (time of) *chást*
(middle hour between sunrise and meridian),
At the end of each *dásh*t (i.e. time), there is a
second *dásh*t below.⁴

¹ The historical name (now almost obsolete) of a territory situated to the south of Delhi, comprising part of Mathura district, Gurgaon district, Punjab, and Alwar and Bharatpur States, Rajputana. The history of Mewat merges from the year 1775 in that of Alwar and Bharatpur.—E. Thornton, *Gazetteer of India* (1886) p. 592.

² In Elliot, the date is 7th Muharram.

³ The title denoted "The lord of the East (or Hindustan)," synonymous with a tract between Benares and Oudh, where the Hindus remained unsubdued.

⁴ In the second line of the couplet, there should be *هرداشت* instead of *برداشت*. The line would then read as *آخر هرداشت فردا شست*

May God the Great and the Glorious, immerse the soul (of the deceased sovereign) in the (ocean of) divine mercy : and may He also in the name of *Naibu-l Mukhtar* (Prophet Mahomed) and his descendants who are immaculate,—keep the memory of the *Badshah*, the refuge of the world, everlasting till the end of the universe and the cessation of the progeny of Adam !

V.—Two Forgotten Mutiny Heroes

By J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

In the course of his official tour, Mr. G. E. Fawcett, M.A., I.E.S., O.B.E., C.I.E., the Director of Public Instruction of Bihar and Orissa, saw the graveyard at Chatra in the district of Hazaribagh (Chota Nagpur), where were buried 56 men of Her Majesty's 28rd Regiment of Foot and a party of Sikhs on 2nd October 1857 in action against mutineers of the Ramgarh Battalion. There is no inscription at all in the graveyard and Mr. Fawcett requested me whether any light could be thrown on the question. He also drew my attention to the Hazaribagh District Gazetteer, p. 172, where occurs the following:—

“In the course of the Mutiny Chatra was the scene of a small but locally important engagement between the rebels and the British troops. The Ramgarh Battalion had mutinied at Hazaribagh and Ranchi, and though the sepoy had received very little local support they were strong enough to compel the retirement of the Government officials, and for two months they were masters of the situation. They then decided to leave the province by way of Chatra and join Kuar Singh at Bhojpur. At Chatra they were attacked by a mixed force consisting of a portion of the 53rd Regiment of British troops and a detachment of Rattray's Sikhs, numbering in all 320 men. Apparently they were to some extent surprised; but they took up a strong position on the brow of a hill, and resisted stubbornly; for in the orders conferring on them the Victoria Cross Lieutenant J. C. C. Daunt of the 70th Bengal Native Infantry and Sergeant Dynon of the 53rd Foot are stated to have acted with conspicuous gallantry in capturing two guns by pistolling the gunners, who were mowing down the detachment with grape. The rebels lost 150 men killed, and all their guns and ammunition; and those who scattered and escaped ceased to be a military force. There is a graveyard in Chatra where are buried the Europeans who were killed in this fight.”

I lost no time in availing myself of the offer to elucidate the facts and immediately sought the advice of my friend, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., the worthy Keeper of the Imperial Records, and in the course of our investigation we came across the three following documents :—

A.

No. 83-8.

Message received by Electric Telegraph from Sherghatty, Saturday, 3rd October, 9-23 p.m. from Lieutt. Stanton.

To Calcutta.

To Secretary to the Government of India.

Following message received from Major English at Chuttra, I had a severe engagement yesterday with the Ramghur Battalion, defeated them, taken four guns complete and forty-five cartloads of ammunition. I have had forty-five men killed, and wounded, and am not strong enough to escort what I have through the Jungles surrounding me. Filled as they are with disbanded sepoys, and plunderers I take upon myself to order you to send me one hundred men if possible. Telegraph to Calcutta when you have done so. With reference to the above I have only twenty-five Sikhs here. Shall I detain a detachment of Europeans and march on Chuttra to assist in bringing in the ammunition.

Calcutta,
Electric Telegraph Office,
the 4th of October 1857.

(Sd.) L. E. W. O'BRIEN,
3rd Assist. in Charge.

Despd. 8-25.

B.

No. 89.

Message received by Electric Telegraph.
From Chuttra via Burhee, 4th October, 9 a.m.

From Major English.

To Calcutta.

To General Mansfield.

I came upon the Ramghur Mutineers at nine o'clock this morning, encampd on the West side of the Town after the enemy, their Guns are captured and their whole camp. We have taken

four Guns and Waggon complete, ten elephants and much ammunition. Our loss is severe, thirty-six of Her Majesty's 53rd and six of the Sikhs killed and wounded, all officers are safe, the Men and officers behaved nobly.

Calcutta E. T. office, (Sd.) L. E. W. O'BRIEN,
4th October 1857, 9 P.M. 3rd Assist. in charge.

Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department.

C.

No. 152.

Message received by Electric Telegraph.

From Chuttra via Burhee, 7th October, 8-30 a.m.

From Major English.

To Calcutta.

To General Mansfield.

I have moved my camp to the east of the Town on a fine open plain. Major Simpson buried seventy-seven of the enemy yesterday, and reports that above one hundred are lying wounded in the Jungles and that the mutineers have dispersed. Two Subadars were brought in yesterday and hanged this morning. For the sake of the wounded I shall return to Hazaribagh by easy marches. The road is through Jungles in many places and my party very weak to escort the line of the wounded, carts, Guns and Waggon. One hundred men would be great assistance, the Guns will have to be dragged across many swamps and the road is very difficult; send me without delay Hospital Bedding and clothing for thirty men, hospital comforts and two casks of Rum, some treasure has been given over to Major Simpson.

Calcutta, E. T. Office, (Sd.) L. E. W. O'BRIEN,
7th October 1857. Pro Head Assistant in charge.

The Imperial Record Department archives also gave us the information that the following men belonging to Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment were killed during the action at Chatra on the 3rd October 1857, viz.—

1. Private William Cullen.
2. Private Patrick Burke.
3. Private John McAndrew,

Privates James Ryan and William Ashton subsequently died of their wounds.

The paper in the Commissioner's office which is given below gives us a vivid account of the engagement, while the attached plan places before us the plan of the battle, though the position of the second gun of the mutineers has not been shown. The Commissioner's office paper, however, does not mention the heroism of the winners of the Victoria Crosses which we gather from Philip A. Wilkins' *The History of the Victoria Cross*, London, 1904, and which is as follows :—

John Charles Campbell Daunt,
(Lientenant, afterwards Lieut-Colonel),
11th (late 70th) Bengal Native Infantry.

Decorated for conspicuous courage at Chatra, Bihar, on 2nd October 1857, when in action against the mutineers of the Ramgurbh Battalion one-third of the detachment had been mown down by grape-shot from two guns, when Daunt, in company with Dennis Dynon (V.C.) charged at the gunners, shot them down and captured both pieces.

Lieutenant Daunt was also specially mentioned for his gallantry on 2nd November 1857, when he pursued the mutineers of the 32nd Bengal Native Infantry. Driving them across a plain into a thick cultivation, he, with a small party of Battray's Sikhs, followed and attacked them, being himself dangerously wounded in the struggle. The mutineers greatly outnumbered Daunt's little force, and the ultimate preservation of any of the Sikhs was due to his courageous conduct and skilful leading.

Dennis Dynon, (Sergeant) 53rd Regiment.

Associated with Lieutenant J. C. C. Daunt, v.c., in heroically dashing at and capturing two guns from the mutineers of the Ramgurbh Battalion on 2nd October 1857 at Chatra, Bihar.¹

¹ *The Victoria Cross*. An official chronicle of the Deeds of Personal Valour achieved in the presence of the enemy.....from the institution of the Order 1856 to 1880. Edited by Robert W. O'Byrne, supports the above statements thus: "The 53rd Foot. Denis Dynon, Sergeant. Date of act of bravery, 2nd October, 1857—For conspicuous gallantry in action on the 2nd October, 1857, with the mutineers of the Ramgurbh Battalion at Chota Behar, in capturing two guns, particularly the last when he rushed at and captured it by pistolling the gunners, who were mowing the detachment down with grape, one-third of which was *hors de combat* at the time."

Copy of the paper from the Commissioner's office.

From Hazaribagh district (old correspondence), 1856-57,
vol. VII (spare copy).

To Captain E. F. Dalton, Offg. Commissioner, Chota Nagpur.
Sir,

My demi-official notes of the 30th, 1st and 2nd instant will have informed you of the advance of the force under Major English on Chitra and the defeat of the mutineers, Ramgurnh Battalion with detail of artillery and capture of four six-pounder guns on the 2nd of this month.

2. The mutineers had taken up a strong position on the west of Chutra with the whole of the city on their east, the narrow streets of which could not be passed through without endangering our small force. The road leading to the town is over a bridge and to the north of the bridge is one succession of deep ricefields which it would have been difficult to pass with rapidity. After Major Smyth had drawn up a rough plan of the town and approach, it was determined by Major English to make the attack rounding the south of the city and coming opposite the position of the mutineers at the old jail, etc.

3. On the advanced guard passing west of the jail, the main body of the mutineers were discovered on the heights and skirmishers were immediately sent off by Major English to the north across a narrow belt of rice ground, and soon got into action with the rebels. The first Enfield rifle ball discharged at a distance of 900 yards, it was supposed, took effect and was immediately followed by round shot from the enemy fired in the direction of our approach. But as the main party of the Europeans and Sikhs had nearly crossed the rice ground marked A when the guns opened, providentially the fire did not do much harm. One ball, however, shot dead the horse, an assistant apothecary attached to the Europeans was riding, when the owner a mere lad proceeded on foot manfully with the advancing column.

4. The Europeans on crossing the rice ground, went by the east of the village of Kullotea, and Lient. Earle commanding

the Sikhs with myself and a party of men proceeded through the hamlet which brought us in proximity to the position of the mutineers and on emerging from the lane of the village we found the Europeans hotly engaged with the rebels at the tops of trees marked B and on looking towards the old jail I observed a considerable number of the mutineers rushing up in skirmishing order and advancing on the rear of our attacking party. The attention of the Sikhs was immediately directed to this threatened danger, and taking up a position in the grove we fired steadily upon the enemy, killing and wounding some amongst the former a Jemadar with a blue coat whose body I found the following morning with a sepoy at the spot I saw them when aimed at.

5. After the main party of the Sikhs had beaten off this attack from the south-east, they joined the attack on the two remaining guns which were pouring grape shot, etc., upon us as we passed through the grove. It was there many of the Europeans and some of the Sikhs fell and it was not until the determined intrepidity of Lieut. Daunt, who by a rush on the left flank of the remaining gun, captured it, that the mutineers discontinued to serve it, as after many of their party must have been killed and wounded by Enfield rifles, yet the shot of this gun was still directed at our advancing party within the grove, and every round was tearing away the branches or ploughing up the ground in our vicinity, and had there not been the trees to afford partial cover to the men, the loss on our side must have been much greater.

Our killed and wounded aggregate 56 men,—46 Europeans and 10 Sikhs ; of these the wounds of some of the Europeans are very severe, four of them having undergone amputation.

6. The conduct of the troops under Major English in the battle on the 2nd instant was beyond all praise, the cool intrepidity of the detachment Her Majesty's 53rd with every officer attached to it well seconded in the attack by the Sikhs under Lieut. Earle, and the excellent arrangements of Major English and his staff rendered success certain, and although it has been achieved at considerable loss, yet the object gained

has been great and I trust will ensure the speedy tranquillity of the whole of the province of Bihar, if not add considerably to the security of the country from the Son to Calcutta.

We changed our camp this morning from the west of the town to this place, which is two miles off, in consequence of the offensive smell in the vicinity of camp where the engagement took place. There were 77 bodies of the mutineers buried in one pit on the 3rd instant and the number of wounded must have been very large. Several of the wounded and absconded, both native officers and men, have been apprehended and brought in by the rural police and villagers since the battle, and numbers of the mutineers have abandoned and thrown away their arms which have been picked up and brought in to me.

7. Jai Mangal Pandey and Nadir Ali, Subadars of the Battalion both present in the engagement of the 2nd (the latter wounded) were taken in the jungle and brought to me on the 3rd. These two principal mutineers were tried under the provisions of Act XVII of 1857 and sentence of death, passed upon them by my court in my capacity of Commissioner under the above law, was duly carried into effect this morning on the very ground where they had made such an obstinate resistance to the British troops two days previously. The confessions of these men recorded in detail are valuable and copies will be forwarded for the use of your office. From these it would appear that several of the Jagirdars, Lalls, or relations of the Raja of Chota Nagpur were cognizant, if not implicated in the proceedings of the mutinous sepoys. One of them, the Lal of Sulgee Jagatpal Singh in particular, appears to be a son-in-law of Kocar Singh and to have held correspondence with that individual who would seem to me to have deputed eight of the sepoys of the two companies 8th Regiment Native Infantry (who mutinied at Hazaribagh) to attend upon the Lal and to keep up the excitement and spirit of rebellion already engendered in the Ramgarh Light Infantry by the machinations of the Jemadar Madho Singh,

8. One of these men of the 8th I am led to believe was shot in the engagement of the 2nd. The mutineers had entertained a number of recruits, men from Bhojpur, Mugga, or Bihar, and other parts, as also some discharged sepoy, and were actually teaching these with blank cartridge the morning we approached Chuttra. Their ignorance or want of belief in our approach was most fatal to them as a party was actually plundering in the town at the time we were rounding the southern extremity of the city and within two gunshots of us. These men could have scarcely rejoined the main body before we attacked them and only knew of our approach from the top of a house, into the upper story of which they had proceeded for the purpose of looting the owner's property.

9. The Jemadar Madho Singh, I fear, has escaped. Some say he went with a detachment into the town either to look out for our advance, or with some other object—may be plunder. Bhola Singh Burail of Chorea seems to have been a zealous coadjutor of the mutineers in plundering the mahajans of the town, and was killed by the people of the place with several sepoy on our attack.

10. The Thakur Bishwanath Singh with Ganpat Roy, former dewan of the Nagpur Raja, seem to have fled in the commencement of the fight; the Thakur's palanquin was brought in to me the following day from the jungle; two servants of the Barkagarh Thakurs have also been apprehended, and are forwarded to the Senior Asstt. Commissioner, Lohardaga, for investigation into their case.

11. The amount of ammunition recovered has been very large, so much so as to excite suspicions that ammunition from other quarters may have been under charge of the mutineers. I would strongly recommend enquiry to be made as to what ammunition was actually in store at Doranda when the mutiny broke out.

12. I have placed my seal on five boxes containing or supposed to contain treasure, two of those with Chubb locks for want of keys we have been unable to open. In the other boxes

there was found a good deal of small coins, pie, pice, etc., etc., some rupees; also a chest of opium, all which I imagine must have belonged to the Lohardaga treasury.

(I observed an office seal in one of the boxes), and on reaching Hazaribagh I will have the whole carefully examined and duly brought to the credit of Government.

13. I have sent on a party in advance to prepare the road to Hazaribagh for the guns, etc., etc., we have captured, and Major English proposes to reach that station by easy marches as soon as possible to get the wounded under shelter.

14. I would have submitted this report earlier but as you may suppose under the circumstances detailed, have had little time to myself. Since the engagement the providing several requisites for about 50 wounded is no trifling task, and the means of moving them from a place which has been plundered and rifled by a mutinous battalion is no easy matter. However I trust our efforts will result in the admission of Government that we have all endeavoured to do our duty.

15. I annex a small sketch map of Chuttra and the position of the mutineers which will elucidate and explain the first portion of this communication.

Princl. Asst. Commr's Office,
Hazaribagh Division,
Camp Kalapahari near Chitra,
The 4th October 1857.

I have the honour to be, etc.
(Sd.) J. SIMPSON,
Principal Asstt. Commr. of
Hazaribagh.

Such in short is the plain and unvarnished history of two soldiers who sacrificed their lives for their king and country. No comments are necessary, no remarks are needed, but to them are very well applicable the pregnant words of Gray :—

“ Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”

My object in bringing the above little facts to the notice of the learned historians assembled here¹ and, through them, to the authorities concerned, is that proper and systematic arrangement may be made so that proper tombstones may be erected and placed to perpetuate the memories of such heroes who for their king and country sacrificed themselves on the fields of glory.

¹ This was read at the tenth Indian Historical Records Commission held at Rangoon.

VI.—A Deed of Acquittance in Sanskrit

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

Written on a palm-leaf, 13" × 1½", in three lines, there is an interesting deed of acquittance in Sanskrit, dated in the year 508 of the Lakshmana Sena Era (1627 A.C.). It is given below. This is a specimen giving the style of Hindu deeds come down in Mithila.¹ The executant was evidently illiterate, for he has made his signature in the form of a mark (*rekhā*, "sign" or "line"). The legal position of the wife in the transaction is noticeable. The document is in the library of Pandit Jāgeśvara Jhā, Hanumānnagar, district Darbhanga. The text is edited from a copy made by our search Pandit (Pandit Vishnupal Sāstrī).

The Text.

निस्तार-पत्रम् ॥

न (०) सं (०) ५०८ चैत्रशुक्ल चतुर्थी शनौ मधुपुरग्रामे
श्री रघुनन्दनशर्मसु श्री गुणाकरशर्मा सपत्नीकः
ऋणनिस्तारपत्रमर्पयति [] तादर्थ्य []
भवत्पित्रा या रूप्याद्वादशमुद्री ऋणत्वेन
मत्तो गृहीता [यव?] लाभ्यां पर्याप्ता
अष्टादशमुद्राः समादाय भवन्तो निस्तारिताः []
अतस्परमावयोष्कोष्यर्थसम्बन्धो नास्तीति []
साक्ष्यमत्र महो (०) श्री बाबूशर्म-महो-श्रीमधुशर्म-
श्रीवल्लभदशमणां [] लिखितमुभयानुमत्या
श्रीभवानीनाथेनेति ॥
सपत्नीकस्य गुणाकरस्य स्वहस्तविज्ञापिकेयं रेखा ॥

¹ For Hindu forms and precedents in Western India see *Lekhapaddhati* (Baroda, 1925, G.O.S., XIX) wherein Sanskrit forms of mortgage deeds, sale deeds, treaties, etc. are given, cited from actual deeds in the royal secretariat dating from the ninth to the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era. [The *Lekhapaddhati* is a unique work, and has some valuable information on the Hindu 'Secretariat' (*Śrī-karāṇa*).]

Translation :—

Deed of Release.

In L.S. (Lakshmana Sena Era) 508, on Chaitra Ś 4th, Saturday, in the village of Madha-e-pura: To Sri Raghu-nandana Śarman, the deed of release in respect of debts is offered by Śrī Guṇākara Śarman along with his wife, to wit, the amount of twelve coined rupees which your good-self's father had taken from me, by way of loan, sufficient.....¹eighteen coins having been taken, your good-self is released. After this no more monetary obligation between us two subsists.

Attestation herein: Of Mahāmahopādhyāya (Professor) Śrī Bābū Śarman. Of Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrī Madhu Śarman.

Written at the request of both sides by Śrī Bhavānī-nātha. Declaration by sign manual, this sign, of Guṇākara, along with his wife.

¹ One word is not readable.

VII.—Primitive Religion in Chota Nagpur

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

In a well-known passage in his *Report on the Census of India* for 1901 (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 352ff), Risley said that in trying to find out what "the jungle dwellers in Chōṭā Nāgpur really believe," he was led to "the negative conclusion that in most cases the indefinite something which they fear and attempt to propitiate is not a person at all in any sense of the word." "If one may state the case in positive terms," said Risley, with his wonted eloquence, "I should say that the idea which lies at the root of their religion is that of power, or rather of many powers. What the animist worships and seeks by all means to influence and conciliate is the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or influences making for evil rather than for good, which reside in the primeval forest, in the crumbling hills, in the rushing river, in the spreading tree, which gives its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake, which generates jungle fever, and walks abroad in the terrible guise of cholera, small-pox or murrain. Closer than this he does not seek to define the object to which he offers his victim, or whose symbol he daubs with vermilion at the appointed season. Some sort of power is there, and that is enough for him..... All over Chōṭā Nāgpur we find sacred groves, the abode of equally indeterminate things, who are represented by no symbols and of whose form and function no one can give an intelligible account. They have not yet been clothed with individual attributes; they linger on as survivals of the impersonal stage of religion."

This oft-quoted passage is unfortunately not as accurate as it is eloquent. To some extent, it is even misleading. True,

the religion of the Chōṭā Nāgpur aboriginals is that of power or of many powers. But it is not true that all of these powers are either indeterminate or devoid of form and function.

It will require no argument to establish that the Chōṭā Nāgpur aborigines have long outgrown the essentially primitive stage when their far remote ancestors, not having yet perhaps attained to a distinct conception of their own personality, could not and did not credit their surroundings with similar personal life and will,—when vague ideas of an *impersonal* power or powers had not been replaced even in part by the idea of *personal* indwelling spirits. Although I do not for a moment contend that a personal correlate of the sentiment of the supernatural and the sacred is essential, any one who has devoted some time to a serious study of these tribes cannot fail to find that they have long attained the stage when man not only *objectifies* but *personifies* the supernatural powers to whom he has learnt to turn for the preservation, increase, and ennobling of life, or, at any rate, for security from known and unknown, foreseen and unforeseen, risks and dangers. The Chōṭā Nāgpur tribes have come not only to give to a few of the more important of these supernatural unseen powers of their pantheon local habitations and names but also invested them with distinctive shapes and functions. Their various conceptions of different supernatural beings have produced thought-forms which the more sensitive among them have actually visualised, at least as they think, and described to their tribe-fellows as real entities that appeared before them.

Nay more, the principal Chōṭā Nāgpur tribes have advanced one stage further: they have now attained to a conception not only of *personal* spirits with fixed abodes (or *āsthāns*, as they call them) and definite forms and functions, but also of *individual* spirits as distinguished from "group-spirits" of which there may be many of the same kind or species, so to say. When a foreign writer, particularly a hard-worked and high-placed European official who was also a pioneer in the field of Indian Ethnology (but had to depend mostly on information

supplied by Sub-inspectors of police, Sub-inspectors of schools, and in fact all and sundry who had little interest in the matter,—when such an officer gives an inaccurate characterisation of the religion of obscure Indian hill tribes the inaccuracy is excusable; when a stay-at-home European anthropologist quotes the passage and extols it as “of the highest value in helping us to realise the pre-animistic stage of religion,”¹ we can very well understand him. But when Indian scholars who have themselves been among these tribes tell us in printed accounts of one or other of these tribes that they know only “*mere impersonal* powers.....without any shape or form,”² or that “religious fervour is wholly unknown”³ amongst them, we are painfully surprised and distressingly perplexed. We are at a loss to understand how such conclusions were reached or even what is actually meant.

The term “impersonal” as applied to the sources of supernatural power, may, I think, mean either of two things. It may refer either, on the one hand, to the most rudimentary stage of religion now called by anthropologists “animatism”, of which traces only survive in existing religions and which enter into their magic-religious system, or it may be applied, on the other hand, to such a highly philosophic religion as original Buddhism which recognised no external personal power or divinity but prescribed for man a way of salvation in which the efficient power is an indwelling psychic principle, or to such a religious and metaphysical system as Vedantism which conceives of a formless and passionless Absolute from which all things proceed, in which all things live, move and have their being and into which all finally merge, or to the deification of such abstract ideas as Truth or Humanity.

¹ Edward Clodd, *Animism* (Constable, 1905) pp. 24, 25.

² Anathnath Chatterjee and Das, *The Hos of Seraikela* (University of Calcutta, 1927) p. 58.

³ B. C. Mazumdar, *The Adivines of the Highlands of Central India*, University of Calcutta, 1927) p. 77.

In neither of these two senses, however, can the term "impersonal" be applied to the supernatural powers to whom the Chōtā Nāgpur aboriginal appeals for help, or failing that, for immunity from trouble. The impersonal stage indicated by the term "animatism" was outgrown or rather relegated to the background perhaps milleniums ago by the tribes in question. And as for the other and far higher "impersonal" stage—that of Vedantism, original Buddhism, or even Positivism or the religion of Humanity of Comte,—the Chōtā Nāgpur tribes have certainly not risen, and in the ordinary course of things, cannot be expected to rise, in the near future, to such lofty conceptions. Even such highly advanced religions as Christianity and Islam do not subscribe to or at least pin their faith on an Absolute, Impersonal Deity, but worship a personal "Our Father which is in heaven," though they make no form or image of Him.

A third sense in which the expression "personal god" might perhaps be employed—as it is sometimes done, though without the sanction of authoritative anthropological usage—is that of a guardian spirit or a familiar of an individual. But even in this sense, the Chōtā Nāgpur aboriginals cannot be said to be without a "personal" god,—for guardian spirits or familiars of individuals variously known as "sādhak bhūt" or "pūgri bhūt" form a well-recognised class of spirits in the primitive demonology of Chōtā Nāgpur.

The aboriginal tribes of Chōtā Nāgpur and Central India, like other tribes on the same level of culture in other parts of India and elsewhere, have come to people the world with invisible supernatural powers and beings or rather felt or fancied their presence. Human desires and wants and, in some cases, human shapes have been projected to them, though shape-shifting is often attributed to them and no image in wood or stone or clay may have been made.

To take one instance, that of the presiding spirit of the principal—and in many villages the only—sacred grove to which Risley refers in the passage quoted above. That spirit

is known variously as Chālā Pāchchō or Jhākṛā Būṛhiā or Sarnā Būṛhiā,—terms which may be translated as the “Old Lady of the sacred grove” who is indeed the Earth goddess or the Spirit of Vegetation. Almost every aboriginal tribe in Chōṭā Nāgpur offers periodical sacrifices to this spirit, particularly in spring when the new *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) blossoms and other vegetation come out. This deity is then ceremonially married to the Sun-God, the village-priest acting as the proxy of the latter and his wife of the former. The *Sarnā Būṛhiā* is always described as an old lady with matted locks of white hair. She is provided with a seat on a winnowing-basket in a room in the house of the village-priest, and the door of this room must always be kept open so that she may go in and come out whenever she pleases. She is believed to take particular delight in sharing the joys of her votaries and joining them in their dances at the village *akhra* when these are at their height. On the day of the annual Khaddi or Sarhūl festival, she is conducted in procession on her winnowing-basket from the village-priest’s house to the sacred grove. She herself makes a periodical selection of her priest through the medium of some sensitive boy or young bachelor. In times of epidemic, people of a psychic temperament are said to see this deity parading the village, followed by her attendant or sepoy the *Dārkhā* spirit who is seen in the guise of a stalwart young man. The latter spirit has his seat on a plot of land which must be left fallow, on or near the boundary of the village, and his function is to keep guard over the village and prevent the intrusion of strange spirits from outside. The Old Lady of the Grove is thus not only a personal spirit but a distinctively individualised spirit, and in respect of her, at any rate, the original attitude of fear has been tempered in her votaries by a tinge of something of reverential love.

Time will not permit me to cite more instances. But this one instance, I hope, will convince anyone that it is not correct to say that these aborigines know only “mere impersonal powers without any shape or form.”

I have indicated how the Chōṭā Nāgpur aborigines not only personify the supernatural entities who rule their destinies but also individualise the more important among them. I may go further and say that they not only personify or rather personalise as well as individualise them, but, in a sense, "socialise" them. Their attitude towards the supernatural world has naturally been determined and influenced by their contact and conflict with, on the one hand, the forces of Nature around them, and, on the other, with the social authority to which these tribes have been subject. Under the Rājā of the country, who stands apart from the tribal organisation, there are headmen of groups of villages, and under them a secular headman and a sacerdotal headman for each separate village unit, and their *bhāyāds* or near agnates known variously as *Khūṇṭhāṭṭidārs* and *Bhūṇṭhārs*; next in rank to them are the 10th rāiyats or descendants of a subsequent or second band of old settlers in each village; and below them again the *gairōs* or ordinary rāiyats; and lowest of all the destitute beggars and non-aboriginal village servants and village artisans who live on the wages or doles they receive from the other classes described above. The supernatural world, too, has come to be similarly arranged by these tribes in a corresponding hierarchy. Highest in rank stands the Creator—the Singbonga of the Mundā-speaking tribes and Dharmes of the Dravidian-speaking Orāons. Though acknowledged as the Supreme Deity, He, too, like the Rājā of the country, ordinarily stands apart and does not interfere in the ordinary routine life of the people. Next there are the tutelary deities and spirits of each separate village who have the largest hand in the well-being of the people and consequently receive the most elaborate sacrifices. Then come successively the family spirits including the ancestor spirits, the clan spirits, the class spirits and the familiar spirits of individuals. Lowest and most insignificant of all is a class of miscellaneous minor spirits and tramp spirits called *bhūṭās* or wanderers who are not objects of worship at

all but are either sent away with a casual dole of food or expelled by force or exorcism.

All these cannot be said to be the marks of an indeterminate *impersonal* stage of religion. Again, for purposes of scientific classification, the deities and spirits of the aborigines of Chōṭā Nāgpur might be broadly divided into the two main classes of Nature Spirits and Spirits of dead human beings, and each of these two classes might again be subdivided into Greater and Lesser or Superior and Inferior gods and spirits. So far as the spirits of dead human beings or "persons" are concerned, they cannot certainly be called "impersonal," and so far as the Greater Nature Spirits are concerned, they too have in most cases been personified and in a few cases individualised. It is the Chōṭā Nāgpuri's ideas about these superior spirits of nature and of dead human beings and their methods of dealing with them, or rather entering into relations with them, that may be said to constitute his religion proper. Most of the inferior Nature spirits, too, enter their religion, and though they are not ordinarily accorded individual sacrifices, yet during the periodical sacrifices to the more important spirits these, too, are generally invoked for help under the group name of *Gārḥā-dhōrḥa-chaṭūr-simān* "the spirits of rivers, streams, and of all the four boundaries." It is his ideas about the inferior human spirits and the innumerable supernatural impersonal forces or energies that confront man at every step, and in Risley's words "give its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake," and so forth—and his methods of dealing with them or rather dodging, controlling or pressing them into service that constitute his magic or, if you will, his "magico-religious" ideas and practices. Whereas these magical practices or rites are all performed only as a means to definite practical ends, the religious rites of the Chōṭā Nāgpur aboriginals, though mainly concerned with the immediate practical interests of life, are really ends in themselves and hallow and consecrate everything they touch—food, sex, life

and health—and stimulate emotion beyond mere response to practical needs.

True, fear is the dominant note in the religion of these tribes, but in the case of the ancestor-spirits and a few or at least one of the principal village deities, a touch of reverential love has, as I have said, now come to temper the old attitude of fear.

This brings me to a consideration of the statement sometimes made about the total absence of religious fervour among these tribes,—another assertion hard to understand and impossible to accept. In fact, religion can only arise, function and thrive in situations of emotional stress. It is during periods of crisis or danger or at the turning-points in the life of an individual or a community that man instinctively turns to higher powers for security and restoration of confidence.

Thus the religion of a people answers to a psychic need—a need of the emotions even more than that of the intellect or the will. And it is the religious thrill that is the reaction in man of his contact with the mysterious unknown and the sacred. I do not understand how one who really knows the Chōṭā Nagpur or Central Indian aborigines and has seen them at their religious festivals and sought to enter into their feelings, can assert that they do not experience the distinctive religious thrill.

The instinctive need for entering into relations with the higher supernatural powers has, as we have seen, led to their personification among these tribes. The actual supersensual experiences of certain gifted or sensitive individuals amongst them who have had visions of the spirits and narrated their experiences about them to their fellow-tribesmen must have helped in giving definite shapes and forms to some of these beings and brought the gods closer to man. The emotional reaction generated by situations of stress and risk has resulted in the practice of rituals which in their turn has helped to intensify the effective tinge peculiar to the sacred. The visions or experiences of generations of primitive seers have woven round these supernatural beings, legends and myths, though as yet rather scanty, which have further helped to quicken the emotion.

Collective ritual and collective emotion at feasts and festivals and religious processions and dances have served to intensify the emotional appeal of religion among the Chōṭā Nāgpur aborigines as among more advanced communities.

Thus it will be seen that the religion of the Chōṭā Nāgpur tribes is not only concerned mainly with personal spirits but is also marked by religious fervour. Indeed they may, in a sense, be called more religious than many of their civilised fellow-men. They actually regard themselves as living, moving and having their being in a world of supernatural entities, and these do not all form a "shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers and influences making for evil rather than for good."

These unsophisticated simple folk conceive of everything in nature and art as instinct which life and soul or with a potentiality of life and soul. In some objects this soul lies dormant and ineffective, but may under certain circumstances be roused to life and activity; in others the soul is active and effective but exert its influence for good or evil without a conscious will; in yet others the existence of an action of an indwelling spirit is dimly recognised; and finally there are the supernatural personal beings of different grades with conscious will and personality. Objects with dormant and ineffective souls hardly count, those with an immanent soul-force or "*mana*" unconsciously and involuntarily exerting this spiritual energy are dealt with through magic rites, observances and taboos; the third class of supernatural objects in which the existence of a shadowy indwelling spirit is dimly recognised may be said to stand on the borderland between the realms of religion proper and magic, and finally the definite personal supernatural powers — spirits and deities — whom they recognise are the entities with which the religion proper of the Chōṭā Nāgpur aboriginals is primarily concerned. The religion of these tribes may, I think, be characterised as a system of animism or rather spiritism set on a background of a much more primitive and vague animatism in which the soul or spirit is not discriminated from the body or object it inhabits; and under favourable conditions this spiritism

may not improbably develop into a full-blown polytheism. Totemism has practically lost its religious aspect and fetichism and shamanism are involved more in their magic than in their religion proper.

Although there is a general similarity in the religious systems of the different hill-tribes of Chōṭā Nāgpur, what they really differ in is the relative weighting of the different classes of supernatural powers recognised in their respective pantheons. Thus, whereas the Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes attribute most of the ills of life to the direct action of the spirits, the Dravidian-speaking Oraons regard the spirits as ordinarily quiescent, —if not actively beneficent, and only roused to mischievous activity by the “evil eye” or the “evil word” or *mantram* of the shaman or sorcerer; whereas the Supreme God or Dharmes, on the one hand, and the powers of the “evil eye” and “evil word” on the other, are what the Oraons are particularly solicitious about, it is the spirits on whom the Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes concentrate most of their religious thought and attention.¹

¹ This paper is adapted from a paper read before the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress, held at Calcutta on 5th January 1928.

VIII.—Weights in Ancient India : Patna Cylinders

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)

During the excavations for the sewage system in the neighbourhood of the Patna College, five small cylinders were discovered by the late Principal Jackson. Four of these are of the same material, a white semi-diaphanous and hard material (chalcedony or quartz). The fifth is of a different type, a handsome warm red and yellow shaped stone not quite so hard. This as well as one of the smaller cylinders has unfortunately been broken, but all resemble one another in having the outward ends highly polished and slightly convex while the sides are less highly polished.

A similar cylinder of the white quartz-like type has been recently discovered at Bulandibāgh.

The weights of these cylinders are at present—

No. 1	52.91 grams	or allowing for	53
2	47.82 „	some chipping	48
3	20.77 „	which is evident,	20.9
4	18.01 „	approximately :	18.2

The theory is that these are jewellers' weights. Assuming that they had some common factor, I came to the conclusion that this was between 1.33 and 1.35 grams, according to which they are as follows—

No. I.	Actual	Allowing for chipping.
$\div 1.33$ { 39.77 units = 40		$\div 1.35$ 39.26 $\div 1.33$ 39.85
35.95	36	35.55 36.09
15.62	16	15.48 15.72
13.54	14	13.48 13.68

Evidently a unit of about 1.33 grams is most suitable. The ancient unit is the Dharana, 42 grains = $\frac{30}{11}$ grams = 2.727 grams.

Dividing by this approx we get

19.4	$\times 2 = 38.8$	or 19.48	$\times 2 = 38.96$
17.53	35.06	17.6	= 35.2
7.615	15.23	7.67	= 15.34
6.6	13.2	6.67	= 13.34

Whatever way we look at this therefore, we have to account for a system of *weights* (?) in the ratio of 7, 8, 18, 20 dharapas. But we are told that the ancient system of Dharapa weights was 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 20, 30, 40, 100 and it seems difficult to fit in with this system.

Weights 18 and 20 were found in the septic tank excavation and 18 is the more reliable, being better preserved.

Weight 7 was found in B.C.E. trench and is badly chipped.

Weight 8 was found in Bulandibagh and is well preserved. But nothing can reconcile the figure with the ancient system.

However, there was a vajra-dharapa of a different and doubtful unit. Group weights 20 and 8 together, giving more importance to the latter; group weights 18 and 7 together giving more importance to the former and assume that they both were meant to represent 8 and 20 dharapas.

Those of the units for the respective dharapas are 2·6 and 2·4

$$\begin{array}{r} 53 \\ \hline 2\cdot6 \end{array} \text{ and } \begin{array}{r} 20\cdot9 \\ \hline 2\cdot6 \end{array} \text{ give } 20\cdot4 \text{ and } 8\cdot04$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 48 \\ \hline 2\cdot4 \end{array} \text{ and } \begin{array}{r} 18\cdot2 \\ \hline 2\cdot4 \end{array} \text{ give } 20\cdot0 \text{ and } 7\cdot58$$

So as a mere theory, Principal Jackson suggested that the ratio $\frac{\text{vajra}}{\text{common}} \text{ dharapa} = \frac{13}{12}$. It is unfortunate that we have two broken specimens and more perfect specimens are required to throw further light.¹

A short description of the cylinders.

White cylinder—Length—(central axis)—2·63 cm.

$$\frac{2\cdot63}{3\cdot02} = 1\cdot15 \quad \text{D i a m.}—3\cdot04 + 3\cdot02 + 2\cdot99 + 3\cdot05 + 3\cdot03 + 3\cdot01 \text{ cm.}$$

Weight in air—47·82 gm.

„ in water—29·820 gm.

Temp. 33°6c.

Sp. gr.—2·66.

¹ Principal Jackson wanted to write a note on the subject and had consulted some members of the Indian Geological Survey at Calcutta.

White cylinder—Length—(central axis)—2.78 cm.

$$\frac{3.055}{2.78} = 1.10$$

D i a m.—3.04 + 3.08 + 3.02 + 3.05 + 3.05 +
3.09 cm.

Weight in air—52.920 gm.

„ in water—32.988 gm.

Temp. 33.°4c.

Sp. gr.—2.66.

Dirty white cylinder—Length—(central axis)—1.95 cm.

$$\frac{2.107}{1.93} = 1.08$$

D i a m.—2.11 + 2.10 + 2.06 + 2.08 +
2.14 + 2.15 cm.

Weight in air—18.03.

„ in water—11.24.

Temp. 33.°4c.

Sp. gr.—2.66.

Dirty white cylinder—Length—(central axis)—1.15 cm.

2.21

Diam.—2.22 + 2.18 + 2.24 cm.

1.1 —2.0

Weight in air—10.738.

18.83

„ in water—6.700.

Temp. 33.°2c.

Sp. gr. 2.66.

Red and yellow cylinder—Length—(central axis)—1.15 cm.

$$\frac{2}{1.1} = 1.8$$

D i a m.—1.99 + 2.00 + 2.01 + 1.99
cm.

43

Weight in air—9.808 gm.

36

„ in water—6.130 gm.

258

Temp. 33.°2c.

129

Sp. gr.—2.67.

15.5 gm.

(6 dharanas.)

Red cylinder—Length—(central axis)—1.14 cm.

11)1.79

Diam.—1.79 + 1.78 + 1.79 + 1.79 cm.

.06

Weight in air—7.782 gm.

.136 x 80

„ in water—4.900 gm.

57

Temp. 33.°0c.

10.90

Sp. gr.—2.70.

(4 dharanas.)

Dharanas—4, 6, 7, 8, 18, 20.

References to Weights in Ancient India

Substance.—"Weights (*pratimānāni*) shall be made of iron or of stones available in the countries of Magadha and Mekala ; or of such things as will neither contract when wetted, nor expand under the influence of heat." [Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra, Ch. II. section xix.]¹

"That is to say, neither rises in weight owing to absorption of moisture nor falls lower in weight when dry." [Shama-sastri, Eng. Trans., 1923, p. 124, footnote 1.]

[cf. the three pieces of quartz found near the Patna College and one piece at Bulāndibāgh.]

Weights in Ancient India.

Unit.

I. Vedic.

[Taittirīya Saṃhitā, iii. 2. 6. 3 ;
vi. 4, 10, 2 ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,
i. 3, 7, 7 ; 7, 6, 2 ; Śatapatha
Brāhmaṇa, v. 4, 3, 24 ; 5, 5, 16,
etc.]

A *kṛṣṇala* or *Raktikā*, i.e. the berry of the *Guñjā* (*Abrus precatorius*) was the unit of *Māna*, a measure of weight.

Each *guñjā* berry averages about $1\frac{5}{8}$ grains (troy.)

II. Post-Vedic.

(a) Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra, Ch. II. Section XIX.

[J.B.O.R.S., 1926, March, pp. 110—1 Text.

Shama Sastri, Ed. 1919, pp. 103—5.

Translation, Ed. 1923, pp. 123—4.]

"The Superintendent of Weights and Measures shall have the same manufactured.

10 seeds of *māsha* (*Phaseolus Radiatus*) or

5 seeds of *guñjā* (*Abrus Precatorius*) ... = 1 *Suvarṇa māsha*.

¹ प्रतिमानान्ययीमयनि मागधमेकलशैलमयानि, यानि वा नोदकप्रदहाभ्यां वृद्धिं गच्छेयुर्गणेन चाद्वासम् ।

16 Suvarṇa māśhas ... = 1 Suvarṇa or karsha.

4 Karshas... = 1 pala = 320 guṇḍijas,
27·27 gms. = 420 grains.

88 white mustard seeds ... = 1 silver māśha.

16 silver māśhas or 20 Saitya seeds... = 1 dharāṇa.

20 grains of rice = 1 dharāṇa of a diamond [?]

“Ardha-māśha (half a māśha), one māśha, two māśhas, four māśhas, eight māśhas, one suvarṇa, two suvarṇas, four suvarṇas, eight suvarṇas, ten suvarṇas, twenty suvarṇas, thirty suvarṇas, forty suvarṇas, and one hundred suvarṇas are different units of weights.

“Similar series of weights shall also be made in dharāṇas.”

(b) Manusamhitā (Ch. VIII. 136, etc.), Yājñavalkya-smṛti (Ch. II. 362—5) etc. follow more or less the above system.

Manu viii. 131-32, etc.

1 Rati or Raktika Guṇḍa or Kṛṣṇala (*Afrus*

precatorius) ... = 1·8 grain.

8 Ratis or Kṛṣṇalas = 1 māśha (*Phaseolus*) 14·4 „

80 Ratis = 1 kārsha (*Terminalia* 140 „
Bellerica) 144 „

{ 1 Kārshapaṇa

{ 1 Purāṇa

{ 1 Dharāṇa

For Copper.

Cowries.	Panas.	Names.	Weight to ratis.	Grains.
80	1	Pana or Kārshapaṇa ...	80	144
100	1½	...	100	180
120	1½	...	120	216
140	1½	...	140	252
160	2	Dvi-pana ...	160	288

For Silver.

Papas.	Kārchas.	Names.	Weights.	
			Ratis. Grains.	
16	1	(Kārshā p a ṇ a , Purāṇa, Dhara- ṇa).	32	57·6
100	10	S a t a m ā n a or Pala.	320	576

For Gold.

Names.			Weights.
1 Karsha (full weight)	...	...	57·60
¼ Suvarṇa	...	...	72·00
1 Suvarṇa	...	...	144·00
1 Nishka, Pala or Satamāna	...	...	576·00

Vaira = quartz ?

There is an interesting word in the original—*vajradharaṇa*, i.e., a *dharāṇa* weight made of *vajra* (Arthasāstra, op. cit.) The commentary explains *vajra* as a “precious stone” (*vajra-sonjñāsya ratnasya*, cf. *J.B.O.R.S.* op. cit. p. 111). Shama Sastri mistranslates it as “diamond.” *Vajra* means a hard stony substance (St. Petersburg Lexicon). Vedic references attest its use in the earliest period, cf. Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 237—“*Vajra* in the Aiterya Brāhmaṇa vi. 24, 1 denotes according to Geldner, the ‘handle’ (*Vedische Studien*, I. 138), while *kūṭa* means the ‘head’ of the hammer.” The classical Sanskrit and modern Indian idea of *vajra* = ‘Thunder’, is derived from the supposed hard stony weapon with which Indra pierced the clouds.¹ Its hardness as well as

¹ The Indian association of *Vajra* with lightning is possibly true even from the point of view of Physics, as *Vajra* (= quartz) becomes positively electrical by friction.

resistance to heat and moisture would be useful as jewellers' weights.

Vajra-Dharaṇa = 20 silver grains of rice.

Ordinary Dharaṇa = 16 silver māshas.

2 Kṛṣṇala = 1 silver māsha } Yājñavalkya, ch. II. 364.
16 silver māshas = 1 Dharaṇa } Manu, Ch. VIII. 136.

1 Kṛṣṇala = $1\frac{5}{16}$ grains troy. Unit of weight—Vedic (*see above*).

∴ 1 Dharaṇa = $16 \times 2 \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ grains. (16 silver māshas \times 2 kṛṣṇala \times $1\frac{5}{16}$ grains = $32 \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ = 42 grains $\frac{30}{11}$ = + 2.727 grains.

1 Vajra-Dharaṇa—roughly $(32 + 4) \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ grains.

cf. The quartz weights near the Patna College and at Bulāndibāgh [allowing for loss in chipping].

53 [+?] with a unit of 1.35 or 1.32 grams = 8 silver māshas.

48	40	20	} Dharaṇas. for 8 7
20.9	36	18	
18.2 [+?]	15 or 16		

Appendix

Samples from the Patna Museum

	No.	Wt. in air in grms.	Wt. in water in grms.	Sp. gr.	Wt. in air after filling.	Wt. in water.	Difference.	Wt. if not chipped.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		10 ⁴²			10 ⁵⁵⁵			
Chipped on duller side.	1530 (10)	27.09	17.27 (10.43)	2.08	27.80	17.275	10.525	27.865 unit 2.786
Badly chipped on duller side.	1531 (9)	24.45	15.24 (9.21)	2.08	24.56	15.21	9.35	24.815 unit 2.757
Slightly chipped	1532 (6½)	17.89	11.19 (6.70)	2.07	...	...	...	17.853 2.746
Some chips on duller side.	1533 (5)	14.20	8.686 (5.314)	2.07	...	...	...	14.25— 14.3 2.85
Slightly chipped	1529 (12)	33.15	20.50 (12.65)	2.02	...	...	...	33.25 or 33.3 2.771
Badly chipped one side.	44 bigger (6)	16.57	10.305 (6.175)	2.08	...	...	...	16.7 —16.75 2.783
Badly chipped	44 smaller (2½)	6.55	4.13 (2.43)	2.09	6.572	4.112	2.46	6.63 2.65 2
Badly chipped on duller side.	5 (3)	8.44	5.285 (3.155)	2.79	5.502	5.27	3.232	5.75 2.88
	47	9.808	6.131	2.07	probably	broken	...	...
Jackson's red one.	(3)	7.762	4.9	2.7	...	...	...	...

1530, 1531, 41* small and 45 seem of one material and the others of a thin and less highly polished type. 1533 differs from others.

Average unit of Museum specimens—2.774.

*Patna Museum numbers.

IX.—Enigma in Fiction

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Enigmas are generally employed in folklore to measure the intelligence of the person interrogated, and this intelligence test is used for a variety of purpose. Riddles are proposed with a view to elect a wise king or a wise minister or a wise temporal and spiritual adviser of the king. Not infrequently is it used to discover the intelligence of a bride or a bridegroom with a view to his or her selection in marriage. Enigmas are couched in the form of advice, e.g. given by a dying father to his son, who in his ignorance literally follows it to his own grief and disaster; ultimately somebody disentangles for him the skein which wound up the true significance and reveals the wisdom of the father. The interpreter, often, is a girl who marries the fool. Sometimes the hero falls in with a fellow traveller and talks enigmatically to him. The latter not being able to realise the true import which lies ensconced in the apparently incoherent phraseology used takes him to be a downright fool, or worse still, a miserable lunatic. The daughter of a puzzled man explains the seeming inconsistencies and proves the wisdom of the hero who finding in her his match weds her. Or the father-in-law who regards his son-in-law to be an idiot is disillusioned when his daughter explains and has now a better regard for him. Message is conveyed in enigmatic verse or language used as a sort of code word, but the person for whom it is meant understands it and acts accordingly. It is used "to point a moral or adorn a tale;" for embellishment without affecting the plot or for an important turning that is given to the direction of the story. Sometimes on the true solution of the riddle depends the safety of the person who is asked to explain the problem when, e.g. he is held up by a Yakṣa or a demon.

In the *Gāmaṇi-Canda-Jātaka* (No. 257) before Prince Ādāsa-mukha (Mirror Face) is made king they test him, and he

satisfactorily solves the fourteen problems presented to him. In the Tibetan version of the tale (see Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 30, 31, No. III, *Ādarśhamukha*), the king, at the time of his death, exhorted his ministers to choose as king that Prince who would be able to divine the six objects, viz. the inner treasure, the outer treasure, the inner and outer treasure, the treasure of the treetop, the treasure of the hill top and the treasure of the river shore. Prince Ādarśhamukha rightly guesses the treasure to be inside the threshold, outside the threshold, at the spot where the tree planted by the king casts its shadow at midday, the treasure which is at the bottom of the tank where the king used to take delight and the treasure at the end of the watercourse of the palace. Similarly in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (No. 539) he only is to be made king who can please the princess Sivali, solve the problem of the head of the square bed, string the bow which requires the strength of a thousand men or draw out the sixteen great treasures. These were the death-bed problems set by the late king :

The treasure of the rising sun, the treasure at his setting seen
 The treasure outside, that within, and that outside nor within
 Atth' mounting, at the dismounting, *sāl* pillars four, the *yojana* round,
 The end of the teeth, the end of the tail, the *keḷuka*, th' end of the trees'—
 The sixteen precious treasures these, and these remain, where these are found,
 The bow that tasks a thousand men, the bed, the lady's heart to please.

The Bodhisatta fulfilled all these conditions. The sun is the Pāccekabuddha and treasure was dug out of the place where the king used to welcome the Pāccekabuddha as he came ; at the place where he bid him farewell ; of the threshold within the great gate of the palace ; outside the threshold ; "neither within or without," i.e. from below the threshold ; "at the mounting," i.e. where the gold ladder was planted for mounting the state elephant ; "at the dismounting," i.e. from where he dismounted ; the four *sāl* pillars were, the four feet of the royal couch ; "a *yojana* round," i.e. he dug round the royal couch for the length of a *yojana* or the "yoke of a chariot," the teeth meant the tusks of the elephant, and the tail his tail and from these two places he drew out the treasure ;

keḍuka is the water, so when the water of the royal lake was drawn off, treasure was revealed, and so forth. "Neither within or without" reminds me of "neither in the sea nor in the air" for which a eight-lettered word had to be found out by me when solving a crossword puzzle, and that was the "Overland" car!

In the *Mahā-ummagga-Jātaka* (No. 546) the Bodhisatta solves a series of problems, such as the *Ekūnavīsati pañho* (Nineteen Problems), the *Kakantaka-pañho* (the Chameleon question), the *Sirikālakarṇi-pañho* (Question of Good and Bad Luck), *Meṇḍaka-pañho* (question of the Goat), *Sirimanda-pañho* (question of Rich and Poor), etc. He was made the temporal and spiritual adviser of the king.

In the same *Jātaka* we read that the Bodhisatta went out in search of a suitable bride for himself. He heard that in the North Town there was an ancient and decayed merchant family and in that family was a daughter, the lady Amarā, a beautiful girl, wise and with marks of good luck. The Bodhisatta wanted to enquire if she was wedded or not and questioned her by hand gesture. So standing afar he clenched his fist (*muṭṭhiṃ akāse*). Understanding that he was asking her if she had a husband, she spread out her hand (*hattham vikāse*). From that he knew that she was unmarried, for the closed hand represents the married state (cf. the French *femme couverte*). When asked her name she said "*Ahaṃ atitā nāgate vā etarahi vā yaṃ natthi taṃ nāmikā ti*, i.e. my name is that which neither is nor was, nor ever shall be." He guessed that her name was Immortal (*Amarā*). "For whom do you carry that gruel?" "For the god of old time." "Gods of old time are parents (*pubbhadevatā nāma mātāpitaro*). You mean your father." "Yes, sir." "What does your father do?" "He makes two out of one." "Making two out of one is ploughing; he is then ploughing." "Even so." "Where is he ploughing?" "Where those who come not again." "He is ploughing near a cemetery." "Even so." Then "*Bhadde, ajj'eva essāsīti*." "*Sace essatī na essāmi noce*

essati essāṃṭi" (" Will you come again today, madam? " " If a come I will not come, if a come not I will come. ") " Your father, methinks, madam is ploughing by a riverside, and if the flood come you will not come, if it come not you will. " Then when the Bodhisatta wanted to go to her house, she directs him thus :

" By the way of the cakes and gruel, and the double leaf tree in flower, by the hand wherewith I eat I bid thee go, not by that wherewith I eat not, that is the way to the market town, that secret path you must find. "

The scholiast explains : " Entering the village you will see a cake shop and then a gruel shop ; further on an ebony tree in flower, take a path to the right. "

Further on we find that when the Bodhisatta has gone to the court of Cūḷanī Brahmādatta, a religious woman named Bherī desired to test his wisdom. So she asked him a question by a gesture of the hand : looking towards the Bodhisatta she opened her hand. Her idea was to enquire whether the king took good care or not of this wise man whom he had brought from another country. He answered it by clenching his fist by which he meant that the king not fulfilling his promise kept his fist tight closed and gave him nothing. She understood this and asked " Why don't you become an ascetic like me? " by rubbing her head. He stroked his stomach so as to say, " There are many that I have to support, and that is why I do not become an ascetic. " A different interpretation was, however, put on this conversation by the women who were sent by Queen Nanda who was ill pleased with the Bodhisatta. The Queen complained to the king that Mahōsadha (the Bodhisatta) and the female ascetic Bherī had made a plot to dethrone him and seize his kingdom. She pretended that Bherī asked Mahōsadha : " Cannot you crush the king flat like the palm of the hand or a threshing-floor, and seize the kingdom? " And Mahōsadha clenched his fist making as though he held a sword, as who should say, " In a few days I will cut off his head. " She signalled

"Cut off his head" by rubbing her own head with her hand, he signalled "I will cut him in half" by rubbing his belly.....

The sign is truly interpreted when the signalling goes on between two wise persons, but the fun arises when it is between a wise person on the one hand and a fool on the other, and interpreting the signal in his or her own way the wise person is satisfied that his or her question has been rightly solved by the fool. In the Bengali story Kālidās who was an out-and-out fool before the Muse looked kindly on him and was cutting away the bough of the tree on which he was sitting was taken by the discomfitted *Pandits* to the princess who humbled them. Then followed a mute conversation between the two. The princess raised one finger, Kālidās lifted two. She spread out her hand, he clenched his fist. She thought that Kālidās understood and answered her questions rightly. By lifting one finger she said : "God is one." Kālidās' lifting of two fingers was taken by her to mean that there were *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*. By spreading out her hands she referred to the five elements. The clenching of the fist of Kālidās was taken to mean that there was no need for further discussion, as the *Sastrās* were in his fist. Kālidās however took all this in his own way. He felt insulted when by lifting one finger the princess chid him, he retorted that he would similarly treat her by raising two. If by spreading her palm she indicated that she had a good mind to slap him, Kālidās replied that she would then get fists in exchange. Similarly the Dumb Shepherd in *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (Bompas, Story No. LXIV) raised two fingers to the Raja's one, but when the latter raised three he made a sign of dissent and went away. The Raja considered himself to be the most powerful in the world, the shepherd, he thought, indicated that God was as powerful as he ; by raising three fingers the Raja asked if there was the third, the shepherd indicated "No." The shepherd thought that the Raja wanted one of his three sheep ; by raising two fingers he expressed his willingness to part with two ; but when as he thought the Raja demanded all his three

sheep he dissented and went away. This episode is really an instance of *sign language* to which I would return later on.

In a Tibetan version of the tale named *Mahaushadha and Visakha* (*Tibetan Tales* pp. 156ff.) Mahaushadha meets a fair girl during his researches for a bride who could suit him. "I will now test her intelligence a little," he says.

He went into a wheat field, lifted up his hands and while he flourished his hands on high, he trampled on the wheat with his feet. Then said Visākḥā, the girl, "O Pundit, as you have flourished your hands on high, so ought you to flourish on high your feet."

"This maiden is clever," he thought. Then he said with a smile, "You are very brilliant, O maiden, seeing that you have earrings and armlets."

"The reason is, O Pundit, that both have little oxen," said Visākḥā.

[Note by the Editor—"This seems to refer to the shape of the earrings," says Professor Schiefner, but the repartee still remains obscure. The same remark may be made about several of Visākḥā's wise sayings.]

Then said Mahaushadha, "The maiden is of fair form and charming appearance."

"That is through the favour of the village elder," replied Visākḥā.

"Where has your father gone?" he asked after a time.

"He has gone to make two roads out of one. After collecting the twigs of the thorn-bushes, he uses them for making the road. In this manner he gives men two roads."

"Where has your mother gone?"

"To fetch seeds from the fruits of the field."

"Show me the way," he said, "by which one can go straight and safely to the Kaksha forest."

She pointed out to him a crooked road, and then set out herself along another road. There she took off her clothes beside a tank, shut one eye, and while waiting to see if he would recognise her or not, bowed down upon one side and said,

"In the direction of the hand which is used in eating should one go. From the direction of the hand which is not used in eating should one deviate and so go to the Rice-soup forest."

In a Kashmiri story the *Stupid husband and his clever wife* (J. H. Knowles' *Folktales of Kashmir*, pp. 242ff.) the dying father gives his son the following five pieces of advice: (1) walk not in the sunshine from your house to the shop; (2) let *pilav* be your daily food; (3) take unto yourself a fresh wife every week; (4) on wishing to drink wine go to the vat and drink it; (5) if you want to gamble then gamble with experienced gamblers.

The stupid son understood them all literally. He began with the first advice and made himself thoroughly ridiculous by foolishly spending a large sum over erecting a covered way from his house to the place of business. Equally extravagant was he in eating *pilav* every day. In following the third advice he ruined many a poor, beautiful and guileless lady, and he would invent some excuse in getting rid of a wife when the week was coming to an end. One lady, however, proved too intelligent for him, never gave him any excuse to turn her away, managed to bring him to her father's house and get him to taste some *phukurih* (burnt rice or bread) which, he declared, tasted like *pilav*, when he ate it in hunger sharpened by long waiting. He now learnt the significance of his father's first advice. She then explained to him the meaning of the remaining pieces of advice. The first meant that "she should attend to his business rising up early and retiring late;" the second, that "he should be economical in the way of food, and eat only to satisfy hunger;" the third, that he should not be too much with his wife; "when the wife is away you want her, if you saw your wife once in a week you would return to her as to a new wife and enjoy her society more." She then took him to a gambling den and showed her husband the wretchedness and villany depicted on the countenances of nearly every one of the company. She then took

him to a wineshop and a large vat whose stench was intolerable. What his father meant was to make him desist from the two vices mentioned above if he saw for himself their utter wretchedness.

A similar story of advice imparted by the dying father to his son is told in Dakṣināranjan Mitra Majumdar's *Dādamaśāyer Thale* (pp. 239ff. The death-bed advice of the raja to the prince was—

1. Eat daily the head of a fish at each mouthful.
2. Never take back money after lending money.
3. Always rule your subjects.
4. Take advice from the threeheaded and the three-legged.

The prince became king. He now thought of translating his father's advice into action. He began with the first, and asked all the fishermen of the state to supply him daily with two hundred big fish, such as *rui*, *katla*, etc. The officers were very glad at the idea as they would get the body to eat and they applauded him lustily: "*Dhanya, dhanya, Mahārāja!*" The Rānī had to cook daily two hundred heads of fish for the Raja which he ate. Thus passed the days. The fishermen could no more supply two hundred heads of big fish daily though much was given to them as reward. The result was that the Rāja fell severely ill from eating daily two hundred heads of fish and a corner of his store looked thin. As his illness went on increasing he stopped eating fish altogether, and ascribed all the trouble to his non-observance of his father's second advice. So the doors of the treasury were thrown open, and the Rāja gave his subjects all the money they wanted—rupees and gold mohurs in abundance. The treasury was empty, still money streamed forth and the Rāja stopped not. He would not ask for any return, nay, he would not tolerate it. "What happiness! How splendid! Take as much as you will and never return! Verily this is the *rājatva* (government) of Rāma!" gushed forth the cry of glæ. But there were honest people and they came to return the money to the Rāja. He was taken aback. "No, no, no," said he, "I can't take back the money, I have lent

it—is not that enough? It is not my custom to lend and take back. So please go away with your money.” The people were stunned at this stupendous folly and went back. One day the booby discovered to his utter surprise that his treasury had become empty. “How is this?” he wondered, “perhaps all this comes of neglecting my father’s third advice.”

Then at the Rāja’s word ran his *paiks*, *sipahis* and *sardars* in all directions and bound the innocent ryots, surprising them with a liberal allowance of fists, kicks, and caning—bump, lash, crash! “This *is* the ruling!” exclaimed the Rāja’s ministers and his satellites. The ryots could no longer bear this spicy “rule” and they in a body fled the realm. It became a desert!

The Rāja one day came out of the palace. “Well, the look of things doesn’t seem to be all right. How has it happened all?” enquired the nincompoop. “Verily, my father’s fourth advice has been grievously neglected. Bring me eftsoons the three-headed three-legged!” He gave seven days’ time for the quest. They ran hither and thither, they ran helter-skelter, they scoured the country, they scampered high hill and low dale, they found him not! After much scratching of the head and a painful and laborious research they brought before the Rāja a three-legged fox, a three-legged cat, a three-legged horse and a three-legged ass and hauled them up before the royal presence. “Here, Sire, are the three-legged; the three-headed—we found them not.” The Rāja installed the three-legged quadrupeds on the throne, stood with his queen before them, and with joined palms addressed them reverentially, “O three-legged Sirs, we take refuge in you, give us asylum, we know not your virtues, deliver us from our peril, forgive us our laches and give us wisdom!” The wise quadrupeds were in mortal fear and in great consternation. The awful ceremony frightened them, caterwauled the feline beauty, brayed his asinine majesty, snorted his equestrian grace, howled the bewildered Master Raynard, and they bolted all! Upturned was the throne, worse confounded was the confusion, and the hurly-burly was at its climax.

Thoroughly cowed by his misfortune the crestfallen Rāja left his state and wandered, with his queen and the prince, over the country in search of wisdom. One day he saw at a distance something moving looking like the three-legged. He followed it with his eyes, till it moved further on and sat down in the shade of an ancient banyan tree, and lo! he saw the three-headed. "Eureka!" cried the king, "God be thanked, I have found the three-legged three-headed, at long, long last!" Speeded all to see the mysterious being. But what was the grief and chagrin of the Rāja to see an old man resting his head between the knees! and this produced the mirage of the three-headed from a distance. As he turned to go back, the old man enquired what brought him there and why he was going back. On learning from him everything he explained that his staff which was indispensable to him in his old age was his third leg,¹ and he looked like the three-headed as he sat down to rest, the knee tops looking like heads. He said that the Rāja had not quite understood the meaning of his father's advice. What he meant by the first advice was that the Rāja should, in the first instance, care for his subjects, spend money for good work and should reserve for himself very little. In other words, he was to have been economical; if he ate the heads of little fish, he would not have fallen ill, nor would there have been so much expenditure. The second advice was that loan and gift were not the same thing. If anybody lends, he should take from the borrower sufficient pledge as a guarantee against his loss, so that even if he does not get back his money, his money in fact is not lost. In regard to the third advice he said that rule did not mean torture, but government with justice and equity which redounded to the happiness of the subjects. The old man said it was indeed a great *tamasha* to have followed his father's fourth advice in the way he did. He was to have taken the advice of an old man—that is what his father meant.

There is another version in which the son of a householder is asked to have a market in his house by which the father meant

¹ cf. Oedipus' successful solution of the riddle of sphinx, "man in old age supports his tottering legs with a staff, hence the third leg".

that he should have a kitchen garden so that he might not want vegetables which have, otherwise, to be procured from the market.

In *All for a Pansa* in the *Folktales of Kashmir* a stupid son was asked by his father to bring for one pice at least five things (page 145) "something to eat, something to drink, something to gnaw, something to sow in the garden and some food for the cow." In this way the father desired to test the intelligence of his son. The latter could not solve the puzzle. At last the daughter of an ironsmith came to his help and advised him to go and buy a water melon with the pice. The merchant knew that somebody else helped his son in solving the riddle. On enquiry he found out the truth and with a view to marrying the daughter of the ironsmith to his son went to her house. He asked her, "Where are your parents?" "My father has gone to buy a ruby for a cowrie and my mother to sell some words," replied she, and then explained to the perplexed merchant that her father had gone to buy some oil for the lamp and her mother to arrange a marriage for somebody. The marriage was of course celebrated between his son and the daughter of the ironsmith.

Let us take a tale "Why the fish laughed" from the *Folktales of Kashmir* (pp. 484-490). The story is this.

A. A fisherwoman hawked about fish near the palace. The queen asked her to show the basket. A fish jumped about on the queen's asking whether it was male or female and then laughed aloud. At this misbehaviour of the rude fish the queen became very angry and complained to the king who demanded its explanation of the wazir who must of course lose his head if he could not give a satisfactory answer within six months. For five months the wazir tried his very best to find out an answer but in vain. Apprehending certain death he advised his son to leave the country and save himself.

B. The youth accordingly left the country. One day he met a farmer on the way and proposed to travel together. "The day was hot and the way was very long and weary."

(a) "Don't you think it would be pleasanter if you and I sometimes gave one another a lift?" said the youth.

"What a fool the man is!" thought the old farmer.

(b) Presently they passed through a field of corn ready for the sickle.

"Is this eaten or not?" said the young man.

"I don't know," said the other.

(c) After a little while the two travellers arrived at a big village where the young man gave his companion a clasp knife and asked him to get two horses with it and bring back the knife. The old man pushed back the knife and muttered something to himself.

(d) They now reached a city outside which was the old farmer's house. They walked about the bazar and went to the mosque but nobody saluted them or invited them to come in and rest. "O, what a large cemetery!" exclaimed the young man.

(e) On leaving the city their way led them through a cemetery where a few people were praying beside a grave and distributing *chapatis* and *kulchas* to passersby in the name of their beloved dead. They beckoned to the two travellers and gave them as much as they would.

"What a splendid city is this!" said the youth.

(f) They had to ford a stream that ran along the edge of the cemetery. The water was rather deep, so the old farmer took off his shoes and *pyjamas* and crossed over, but the young man waded through it with his shoes and *pyjamas* on.

(g) The old farmer was convinced that his young companion was thoroughly demented. But he was interested in him and invited him to his house. "Thank you very much," the young man replied, "but let me first enquire if you please, whether the beam of your house is strong" [*viram kari chheyih dar?* Is your beam strong? is a Kashmiri saying to mean "can you entertain me well? Can you make me comfortable?"]

The farmer entered his house laughing and gave an account

of the young man to his daughter who pronounced him to be in his senses and said that the young man's enquiry was

(g) Whether her father could afford to entertain him.

She then explained to her wondering father the rest of the enigma.

(a) "One of you should tell a story to beguile the time."

(b) He wished to know if the owner of the cornfield was a debtor or not; if so "the produce of the cornfield was as good as eaten to him, i.e. it would have to go to his creditors."

(c) He asked you to cut a couple of sticks which are as good as two horses on the road, and not to lose his knife.

(d) The city though crowded was worse than the dead as the people were inhospitable, whereas

(e) The cemetery was hospitable and gave you bread; hence it was like the city.

(f) He was wise in doing so, as the stream was swiftly flowing, and otherwise one might chance to stumble in going over the sharp stones (in the stream) with bare feet.

C. The girl then sent a servant to the young man with a present of a basin of *gyav* (butter), twelve *chapatis*, and a jar of milk, and the following message was communicated to him:

"O friend, the moon is full, twelve months make a year, and the sea is overflowing with water."

On the way the bearer of the present gave some food to his little son. The rest of the food and the message were delivered to the young man. He immediately found out that the food was tampered with, to signify which he used the following code. "Give your mistress my *salam*," he replied, "and tell her that the moon is new, that I can find eleven months in the year and the sea is by no means full." She learnt that her bearer was not honest.

D. The wazir's son told the farmer's daughter everything, whereon she said "the laughing of the fish indicates that there is a man in the palace of whom the king is not aware." He returned with the farmer's daughter to his father and told him

everything. On enquiry it was found that one of the female attendants was indeed a man.

The wazir's son married the farmer's daughter.

It is evident that parts A and D form the main plot of the story. B and C which contain the riddle and the sign language are altogether extraneous to the plot and introduced by way of variety only. Their only utility seems to lie in the discovery of the interpreter of the riddle of the laughing fish, which could have been managed otherwise.

The story "Why the Fish laughed" originally occurs in the Kathāsaritsāgara (see N. M. Penzer's *Ocean of Story*, Vol. I. p. 46, and for variants in the *Suka Saptati*, French Romance of Merlin, *Straparola* in Basile's *Pentamerone*) and it has come down as the folktale mentioned above with the enigma embellishment. The same story reappears in the *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* as story No. XVIII, *The Laughing Fish*. The sons of a merchant present two dead fish to the Raja, and the fish laughed. The merchant was commanded to explain this on pain of death of himself and all his sons. The eldest son in whom the family name should continue was asked by the merchant to flee the country, which he did. The merchant's son at last found a clever princess and married her. She came with him and explained to the Raja: "The reason why the fishes laughed was because among all your wives it is only the eldest Rani who is a woman and all others are men." The enigma portion which is not essential to the story has been left out here.

The Kashmiri tale is therefore a make-up story consisting of the *Kathasarit tale* and some story or stories containing the enigma earlier or later than the Kathasarit tale, probably earlier. The original of the enigma B(d) of the Kashmiri tale is probably the question "Is this city of Vārānasi deserted or inhabited?" asked by the Prince when he was being led by the executioners through the populated streets of the extensive and wealthy city of Vārānasi in the *Dumb Cripple* (page 248) in Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*. The

enigma B(6) "Is this corn eaten or not?" is probably a modified version of the remark of the Prince, "If this heap of grain were not continually devoured at its base, it would become great" (page 249). When his father the king asks him to explain his remarks, he does so.

"Hear, O king, wherefore I said, 'Is Vārāṇasī deserted or is the city inhabited?' It was because when you had condemned me to death without any cause, no one ventured to put the direct question as to how that came about."

"Hear, O king, the reason why, I said that because the tillers of the soil, after they have *borrowed corn, and have used it*, (italics mine) are obliged to give a large heap of corn to the faithful after the labours of the field, so soon as the corn is ripe, and therefore do they consume it at its base..."

[There is another enigma on page 249. The Prince saw four men carrying a corpse, and said "Is this corpse that of a dead man or of a living man?" which he explained (page 251) "the corpse of him who has committed a crime is the corpse of one who is dead. But the corpse of him who has accomplished a good action is the corpse of one who is alive."

In the preface to the new edition of the *Tibetan Tales* in the "Broadway Translation" (1926) Mrs. Rhys Davids (C.A.F.) has given some older Indian versions of the Tibetan Tales, but she has not given any Indian version of the *Dumb Cripple* (No. XIV). I am of opinion that the *Dumb Cripple* is a Tibetan version of the *Muga-pakkha Jataka* (No 538)].

For B (f) compare the following passages on pages 111 to 113 of the *Tibetan Tales*, story of Visākha:—

When the girls had finished their eating and drinking and had enjoyed the charms of the park, they went away. As there was water to be waded through on the road, the girls took off their boots and waded through it, but *Visākha kept her boots on*. (italics mine.) They went a little further and

came to a wood. Into this Amra wood she entered keeping her parasol up, though the others had discarded theirs.....

He asked her, moreover, "While all the world wears boots on dry land, why did you keep yours on in the water?"

"O uncle, the world is foolish. It is precisely when one is in water that one should wear boots."

"For what reason?"

"On dry land one can see tree stems, thorns, stones, prickles, fragments of fish scales, or shells of reptiles, but in the water none of these things can be seen. Therefore we ought to wear boots in the water and not upon dry land."

Then he asked her the question: "These girls kept their parasols up in the sun; you kept yours up in the wood under the shade of the trees. What was the meaning of that?"

"O uncle, the world is foolish. It is precisely when in a wood that one must keep a parasol up."

"For what reason?"

"Because a wood is always full of birds and monkeys. The birds let fall their droppings and pieces of bones, and the monkeys their muck and scraps of fruit they eat. Besides, as they are of a wild nature, they go springing from bough to bough and bits of wood come falling down. When one is in the open this does not happen, or if it takes place, it is but seldom. Therefore a parasol must be kept open in a wood; in the open it is not necessary to do so."

B(a) reappears in the story of *The Bridegroom who spoke in Riddles* (No. LXXXIX in *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*). Kora sets out to find his wife as his brother Bhagrai asked him to arrange his own marriage. He travels with an old man and talks enigmatically to him:

(a) "Let us take in turns to carry each other: then we shall neither of us get tired and shall do the journey more comfortably."

The old man took him to be a fool, but his daughter averred that the youth was sensible and explained to him : " He wanted you to chat with him ' to make the way seem shorter '."

The incident of fording the stream with shoes and *pyjamas* on in the Kashmiri tale and of the holding up of the parasol in the shade of the trees in the Tibetan have their parallels in the Santali tale of the *Father-in-law's Visit* (No. CXXVIII) :

The next day both set off to visit some friends at a distance ; and the son-in-law carried his shoes in his hand except when they came to a river when he always put them on ; and when they were going about in the sun he carried his umbrella under his arm, but when they came to any shady trees he put it up. The old man took him to be a fool and said so to his daughter. She said " No father, he is not mad : he has a very good reason ; he does not wear his shoes on the dry ground, because he can see where he is going ; but in a river you cannot see what is under foot ; there may be sharp stones or thorns and so he puts on his shoes then ; he puts up his umbrella under trees lest falling branches should hit him or the droppings of birds fall on him, but in the open he can see that there is nothing to hurt him."

In the abovenoted Santali story, *The Bridegroom who spoke in Riddles*, the other riddles are mentioned below :

(b) Kora and the man then came to a tank. Kora asked (p. 269) why the owner of the tank put no post in the middle of it, though there was the usual post sticking up in front of them.

(c) Advancing further he asked why the cow buffaloes had no horns, and the cows no bells although they had.

(d) They were now sitting in the cowshed of the man. Kora asked : " Father, why did you not put up a kingpost when you were making this cowshed " at the very moment when he was leaning against it.

The man had no doubt that Kora was an absolute idiot. His daughter listened attentively and said : " I think it is you, father, who have been stupid and not our guest," and she cleared up the riddle.

(b) He meant that the tank should have had trees planted round it ;

(c) there³ was doubtless no bull with either herd ;

(d) there was no crossbeam from wall to wall.

"The girl understood Kora's riddles so well that they seemed made for each other " (p. 271).

Thus Kora found and won his bride as Mahosadha did in the *Jātaka* and *Tibetan Tales*.

I have not been able to find out the originals of these riddles, but I have no doubt that further research may lead to their discovery. It may here be pointed out that many stories of Buddhistic origin, either in Pāli or in Sanskrit (with or without modifications) have filtered down to later times with accretions and have appeared in kaleidoscopic forms. Perhaps it would not be an easy task to trace them in India as much literature has perished *grâce à* the mediæval vandalism and the ravenous tooth of Time. A huge literature of Buddhist-Sanskritic type have been preserved in the ponderous sacred literature of Tibet, China and Japan, but alas what selfless scholar would rise amongst us dowered with the requisite erudition to give us back our own ? Alas for a Kōrōsi !

Advice is sometimes couched in enigmatic language and imparted to the daughter. Dhanañjaya the treasurer gave the following advice to Visākhā before she came to dwell in her husband's family. Her father-in-law was seated in the next room.

"My child, as long as you dwell in your father-in-law's family, the in-door fire is not to be taken out of doors ; out-door fire is not to be brought within doors ; give only to him who gives ; give not to him who does not give, give both to him who gives, and to him who does not give ; sit happily ; eat happily ; sleep happily ; wait upon the fire ; and reverence the household divinities." This was the tenfold admonition.

At one time Migāra sat down on a costly seat and began to eat the sweet rice porridge from a golden bowl. A Buddhist elder on his begging rounds entered the house. Migāra made

as though he did not see him and with head bent down kept on eating.

"Pass on, reverend sir," said Visākha, when she perceived that her father-in-law made no sign, notwithstanding he had seen the elder; "my father-in-law is eating stale fare."

At this Migāra became angry and ordered her to be turned out of the house. She then explained before the eight householders, her judges, that she said this meaning "My father-in-law is not acquiring any merit in this existence, but is consuming old, stale merit." She then cleared up the tenfold enigmatic advice imparted to her by her father.

1. "Dear girl, if you notice any fault in your mother-in-law, or your father-in-law, or your husband, do not tell of it outside in some one else's house. There is no worse fire than this."

2. "If any of your neighbours, whether male or female, speak ill of your father-in-law, or of your husband, do not bring their talk home, and repeat it saying, 'So and so has this or that to say of you.' For there is no fire comparable to this fire."

3. "Give only to those who give borrowed articles back again."

4. "Give not to those who do not give back again what they borrow."

5. "When your needy relatives and friends come to you, you should give to them whether they are able to repay you or not."

6. "Sit happily" meant "when you see your mother-in-law or your father-in-law, or your husband, you should rise and not keep your seat."

7. "Eat happily" meant "you should not eat before your mother-in-law, or your father-in-law, or your husband. You must eat after you have waited on them and they have been helped to everything they wish."

8. "Sleep happily" meant "do not ascend your couch to lie down to sleep before your mother-in-law, or your father-in-law, or your husband; but when you have done for them all the different services which should be done you can afterwards yourself lie down to sleep."

9. "Wait upon the fire" meant "you should look upon your mother-in-law, your father-in-law and your husband as if they were a flame of fire," or a royal serpent."

10. "Reverence the household divinities" meant "you should look upon your mother-in-law, your father-in-law and your husband as your divinities."

The story occurs in the *Dhammapada* commentary (*P.T.S.* Vol. I. pp. 384—419) and in the *Anguttara* commentary and has been translated by Dr. Burlingame in his *Buddhist Legends* (*Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. 2^d, pp. 67ff. cf. story xxi. 8) and by Warren in *Buddhism in Translations* (*H.O.S.* Vol. III, pp. 451—481). See also Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (2nd ed., pp. 226—234).

In the Tibetan version of the tale (Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, story of *Visākhā*, pp. 114, 115; 12^d—4) it is the mother who gave her daughter the following counsel: "O daughter, always honour the sun and the moon, pay attention to the fire, wipe dirt off the mirror, and wear white clothes. You shall take but not give. You shall keep your word. When you rise up, you shall yield your place to none. You shall partake of savoury food. You shall sleep tranquilly. You shall apply a ladder."

When Mrgadhara (*Visākhā's* father-in-law) heard this, he thought that the girl had received quite a wrong piece of advice.

She subsequently explained to her father-in-law that she had obeyed her mother's advice. She said: "The words 'Honour the sun and the moon' signify that the father-in-law and the mother-in-law must be considered by the daughter-in-law as the sun and the moon, therefore have I testified my respect for those relatives. In as much as the words 'Pay attention to the fire' signify that the husband ought to be valued by the wife like fire, impossible to be too well cared for and fostered, therefore have I taken care of my husband as one would of the fire. In as much as the words 'Wipe the mirror clean' signify that the house ought to be swept and cleansed like a mirror, therefore have I cleansed the house every day. The words 'Wear white

clothes ' signify that when one is engaged in house work one wears other clothes, but must put on white clothes for a sacrifice or when about to pass into the husband's presence; to all this I have paid attention. The words ' You shall take but not give ' signify that one should never say a bad word to any one. In this matter also I have followed my instructions. The words ' Take heed to your speech ' signify that no secret ought to be divulged. To this also I have adhered. The words, ' When you stand up, yield not your place to any other person ' amount to this : ' As you are a becoming daughter-in-law, you must sit in a special place.' And I have sat apart. The words ' Eat savoury meats ' mean that one should eat when one has become hungry. I have never taken any food until after giving theirs to the household. The words ' You shall sleep softly ' mean that at night, after all the household work is finished and all implements put away, as there is no need of staying up, one should sleep..... The words ' You shall apply a ladder ' have this meaning. Like as one who having in an earlier state followed the path of the ten virtuous acts, has arrived among the gods, so must you, born here in the human world, attain to that by deeds, bestowing gifts, gaining merits, and avoiding sins. This treasure ladder is like unto a staircase to heaven. All this also have I followed as well as I could."

" Excellent, Viśākhā, excellent ! Your mother is a wise mother, and as you have guessed the meaning of what your mother said enigmatically, you are still wiser than she."

" Eat savoury meats " in the above story reminds us of " Let *pilav* be your daily food " in the Kashmiri tale of the *Stupid husband and his clever wife* above.

In the enigmas (No. CXLI, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*) much fun is created by the advice of the householder to his daughter. A man and his son went to visit the son's father-in-law without notice, and the latter was much put out as he had nothing for their entertainment. He said to one of his daughters-in-law : " Now my girl, fill the little river and the

big river while I am away ; and polish the big axe and the little axe and dig out five or six channels, and put hobbles on these relations who have come to visit us and bar them into the cowhouse. I am going to bathe and will come back with a pot full of the water of dry land, then we will finish off these friends." The visitors who overheard this strange talk did not relish it at all for they thought that their host meant to kill them as a sacrifice and bury their bodies in a river bed ; and hence they began to run away. The woman asked them to stop and laughed at their folly, explaining that her father-in-law asked her to wash their feet and give them a seat in the cow house and make ready two pots of rice beer and polish the big and little brass basins and make five or six leaf cups and he would bring back some liquor and they would all have a drink. At this explanation they had a hearty laugh and came back to the house.

In the *Puṇṇanadi Jātaka* (No. 214) we read that King Brahmadatta of Benares unjustly sent away his chaplain, but having remembered his goodness wanted to recall him and conveyed the message to him in an enigmatic verse which none else than he could decipher.

That which can drink when rivers are in flood ;
 That which the corn will cover out of sight ;
 That which forebodes a traveller on the road—
 O wise one, eat ! my riddle read aright.

This verse did the king write upon a leaf, and sent it to the Bodhisatta. He read the letter and thinking "The king wishes to see me" he repeated the second verse :—

The king does not forget to send me crow, etc.

The king had sent him crow's meat. The first line in the first verse means *kāka-peyya*, the second, *kāka-guḥya*, and the third alludes to the belief in the crow's prognostication. The unriddling of the verse, therefore, implies the above knowledge.

In the *Jāgara Jātaka* (No. 414) a spirit of the tree asks the Bodhisatta :

Who is it that wakes when others sleep and sleeps while others wake ?

Who is it can read my riddle, who to this will answer make ?

He explained the point :—

Some men forget that virtue lies in stern sobriety,
When such are sleeping I'm awake, O spirit of the tree.

Passion and vice and ignorance in some have ceased to be :

When such are waking then I sleep, O spirit of the tree.

The solution of the riddle helped "to point a moral."

Spirits, demons, yakṣas put riddles, failure to answer which is met with death. In the *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka* (No. 546) the deity that dwelt in the royal parasol asked the king four questions. She terrified the king, saying, "If you do not find out this question, you are a dead man." Mahosadha answers them :

Q. 1. "He strikes with hands and feet and beats on the face ; yet, O king, he is dear, and grows dearer than a husband."

Ans. When the child on the mother's lap happy and playful beats his mother with hands and feet, pulls her hair, beats her face with his fist, she says, Little rogue, why do you beat me ? And in love she presses him close to her breast unable to restrain her affection and kisses him ; and at such a time he is dearer to her than his father.

Q. 2. "She abuses him roundly, yet wishes him to be near ; and he, O king, is dearer than a husband."

Ans. The child of seven years.

Q. 3. "She reviles him without cause, and without reason reproaches ; yet, O king, he is dearer than a husband."

Ans. A secret lover.

Q. 4. "One takes food and drink, clothes and lodging,—verily the good men carry them off; yet they, O king, are dearer than a husband."

Ans. Righteous mendicant brahmīns.

We all know the well-known questions "*Kā ca vārta kimāt-caryam kaḥ pañthā kasca modate ?*" put to Yudhisthira by the yaksha in the *Vanaparva* of the Mahabharata. Failure to solve

the riddle was penalised with death. With this the story of *Œdipus* and the riddling Sphinx may be compared. Compare also the story of Vararuci in the *Kathasaritsāgara* (Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, Vol I, p. 51) : "The Rakṣasa said to me : 'Tell me who is considered the best-looking woman in this city?' When I heard that I burst out laughing and said 'You fool, any woman is good looking to the man who admires her' ... I had escaped death by solving his riddle." So in the *Veṭālapāñcavimsdī* incorporated in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* the veṭāla puts a question to king Trivikramasena after narrating a tale and threatens him with death if he fails to solve it rightly (e.g. *tadeṣa satadhā mūrdhā niscitam te sphuṭiṣyati, ajaiṣat jānatāste siro yāsyati khaṇḍasah* etc.) In the story of the *Pandit and Rakshasa* (No. 35) in *Folktales from Northern India* (supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIII, p. 15) the Rakshasa promising his wife the flesh of a man, went to the court of a Raja, dressed as a learned Brahman, and said : "I will ask a question. If any Pandit of the court fails to answer it, he must die; and if I fail to answer, I will kill myself." The riddle was

Na pañc Mi na pañc Si.

Pañc Mi aur pañc Si.

One day remained of the week to solve the riddle, and none could answer. The Rakshasa daily attended the court and went home in the evening. One of the Pandits followed him and overheard him talking to his wife. She importunately asked for the answer of the riddle, and after much yea and nay he yielded. He explained "Five days in the Hindu fortnight end in *Mi*, viz. *Pañchmi*, *Saptami*, *Ashtami*, *Naumi* and *Dasmi*. Five end in *Si*, viz. *Ekādasi*, *Dvādasi*, *Triyodasi*, *Chaturdasi*, and *Purnamasi*. The five which have neither *Mi* nor *Si* for their ending are the *Parivā* (1st), *Dvīj* (2nd), *Tīj* (3rd), *Chaturthi* (4th) and *Shashti* (6th)." The Pandit having heard this gave the correct answer to the Rakshasa who thereupon killed himself on the spot. Dr. Crooke notes : "This story is somewhat on the lines of the English 'Tom Tit Tot' and Grimm's 'Rumpelstiltskin'."

Sometimes the proposer of the riddle has seen some strange event and thinks that nobody else would be able to solve it as evidently he cannot be expected to see it, but a wise man possessed with acute observation in search of the answer sees the event and solves the riddle; e.g. the king asks (in Jat. No. 546): "Two natural enemies, who never before in the world could come within seven paces of each other have become friends and go inseparable. What is the reason?"

The Bodhisatta asking Queen Udumbara the king's whereabouts found a dog bringing grass to his friend the goat and the goat bringing meat to the dog without being suspected. He replied: "..... There might be friendship betwixt ram and dog."

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Penzer *op. cit* Vol. V. pp. 178 ff.) the mendicant who travelled from Kāśmīra to Pataliputra rested at the foot of a tree and overheard the conversation between a Yakṣa and his wife. He related to her the wickedness of the wife of king Simhākṣa of Pataliputra and the wives of his principal courtiers, who misconducted themselves with some diseased persons and had in consequence marks of scratches and bites received in love's dalliance. The king asked his wife: "Who bit you on the lower lip? Who scratched you on the breast?" She told him a fictitious tale, saying: "Ill fated that I am, I must tell this wonder, though it ought not to be revealed. Every night a man, with a discus and club, comes out of the painted wall, and does this to me and disappears into it in the morning....." The foolish king heard the tale told with much semblance of grief and thought that it was all a trick played by Viṣṇu. The mendicant came to the court of Simhākṣa, defeated all the learned men there and then put this question: "What is the meaning of this statement 'a man with a discus and mace comes out of the painted wall, and bites my lower lip, and scratches my chest, and disappears in the wall again.' Give me an answer." The learned men could not solve this riddle as they did not know the real reference. The king said to him "Explain to us yourself the meaning of what you

said." Thereupon the mendicant told the king of the deceitful behaviour of his wife, which he had heard about from the Yakṣa.

In the *Tale of a Merchant* in Stein and Grierson's *Hatim's Tales* the king in disguise followed the wicked wife of a merchant going to her paramour, a faquir, who asked her to bring her husband's head which she did. Her paramour spurned her, whereon she returned, and raised a cry that her husband had been killed by thieves. On the next day she went to burn herself on her husband's pyre, and as she proceeded to leap into the flames the king held her by the hand and asked, "*If this then why that? If that then why this?*" She replied: "By such and such a spring dwelleth my milksister. She will give thee the meaning of this." According to the advice of the spring maiden the king descended into the spring, put a jar upside down, led a goat by the ear, put its head upon the jar and struck it with the sword. Immediately he appeared in a garden of fairies, was transported to paradise where fair women were dancing, and "smitten with love for the entertaining spectacle did the king become." He then mounted a horse, saw the creation of God, "the seven heavens above and the seven earths below" and "for it did he become smitten with love." Then Satan promised to show him more wonderful things. He mounted an ass and was transported back to his palace. Great longing for that garden of paradise came unto the king. He came to the spring and asked the maiden: "Tell me, prithee, *if that then why this? If this, then why that?*" "Bring thine own son," said she, "and bring also a pitcher, and also bring thy sword. Descend thou into this spring, and take down with thee this son. Cast him down and upon the pitcher, and lay thou his head." The king led the lad by the ear and drew his sword. With it he would have struck his son had not the woman seized it. Cried she: "*This it is that is that; that it is that is this.*" Thou becamest smitten with love for the garden, and my sister became smitten with love for the beggarman."

In the Santali story *The Industrious Bride* (No. CIII) a girl says to visitors that her father had gone "to meet water" and her mother "to make two men out of one." The puzzles were explained by their wives. The girl meant that her father had gone to meet thatching grass and her mother to thresh *dul*.

In *Akbar's Riddle* (No. 80, p. 41, supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LV. *Folktales from Northern India*) Akbar asked Birbal to interpret the following riddle: "A lid above and a lid below and between them a melon cut with a waxen knife." Birbal wandered in the fields seeking for an answer. He saw a girl cooking and when he asked her what she was doing; she said, "I am cooking the daughter and burning the mother. My father has gone to mix earth with earth and my mother is making one two." When her father returned, Birbal asked him to explain. "It is plain enough," said he; "my daughter is boiling *arhar* pulse with dead *arhar* stalks. I went to bury a corpse, and my wife is crushing peas, when each grain is split in two." He explained the riddle: "The upper lid is the sky and the lower the earth. Between them is the melon, man, which can be cut in pieces by a knife of wax, because the least thing destroys his life."

In the Santali story of *Goala's daughter* (No. CXLV.) a goala's daughter had no child even after twenty years of married life. She used to weep saying that she had never worn clothes of "Dusty cloth"—a sorrow which her parents could not ease. The parents were puzzled as such a thing could not be had at the bazar. She explained: "What I mean by *Dusty cloth* is the cloth of a mother made dusty by the feet of the child." She wanted a child to be born to her.

In the *Kathāsārītāgāra* (Penzer, Vol. I., p. 45) we read: once upon a time Yogananda went outside the city, and beheld in the middle of the Ganges a hand, the five fingers of which were closely pressed together. That moment he summoned me and said: "What does this mean?" But I displayed two of my fingers in the direction of the hand. Thereupon that hand

disappeared, and the king exceedingly astonished, again asked me what this meant and I answered him : " That hand meant to say, by showing its five fingers : ' What cannot five men united effect in this world ? ' Then I, king, showed it these two fingers wishing to indicate that nothing is impossible when even two men are of one mind."

Dreams are related in Pāli literature where the dreamer dreams of scenes which are enigmatic, and seems to hear sounds weird and mysterious. In the *Mahāsupina Jataka* (No. 77) the king of Kosala dreamt sixteen wonderful dreams, such as cows sucking the milk of calves, a horse with a mouth on either side, eating fodder with both its mouths, etc. reminding us of Pharaoh's dream in the Old Testament. Similarly sounds are heard by him — the syllables *du, sa, nu, so*, uttered by four inhabitants of hell as in the *Lohakumbhi Jataka* (No. 314), or in the *Atthasadda Jataka* (No. 418) which being mysterious frightened him, till they were explained by the Master. [This feature of mysterious sounds and the connected story of David and Uriah *motif* seem to have been popular. Cf. the versions in *Petavatthu Commentary* iv. 1, 216, 217 ; iv. 15, 279, 280 ; S. N., i. 75, 76 ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, Bk. V. (Bālavagga. *The king and the poor man with a beautiful wife*), in *Kandjur* ; for references see *Burlingame, Buddhist Legends*, under Bk. V. 1.] The riddle of *sa, se, mi, re* is well known.

Another phase of enigma is revealed in the sign language—an apparatus very much used in fiction in bringing about the union of lovers. It is rather strange that the cipher is almost invariably interpreted by the friend of the hero. The Prince in *The Ivory City and its Fairy Princess* in the *Folktales of Kashmir* (p. 215) says to his friend : " She covered her face with lotus petals and while I gazed, she took out of her bosom an ivory box and held it up to me " Said the Wazir's son : "..... She is a fairy of the fairies This is none other than *Gul'izar* of *Shahr-i' Aj*. I know this from

the hints she gave you. From her covering her face with lotus petals I learn her name, and from her showing you the ivory box I learn where she lives." In the *Kathāsaritsagara* (Penzer *op. cit.* Vol. I., p. 80) Devadatta beheld the king's daughter at a window. She made him a sign to come near with one finger. Then he came near; she came out of the women's apartments and took with her teeth a flower and threw it down to him. He, not understanding this mysterious sign made by the princess, puzzled as to what he ought to do, went home to his preceptor. He interpreted the riddle to him: "By letting drop a flower with her teeth she made a sign to you that you were to go to this temple rich in flowers called Pushpadanta and wait there." The princess found her lover in the temple but on learning that his preceptor and not he found it out flew into a passion and said: "Let me go, you are a dolt."

In ch. 75 of the *Kathāsaritsagara* Prince Vajramukuta with his friend Buddhīśārīra went out on travel and reached a beautiful tank in the midst of a forest. There he saw a girl of most bewitching beauty and both fell in love with each other. She made the following *saṃjñās* (signs): *Karoti smotpalam karṇe grhītvā, dantaracanām cakāra, padmam sīrasi sakūtam hrdaye cādadhē karṇam*. The Prince was sore smitten with love and was very much dejected. His friend interpreted the signs for him: She was the daughter of the King of *Karnotapala* kingdom, whose name was *Dantaghātaka*, her own name was *Padmāvati*, and she indicated that her life was in the Prince (*tvayi prānāḥ*). The Prince then persuaded an old duenna (*vrddhavyōṣit*) to carry his love message to *Padmāvati*. She strikes the two cheeks of the duenna with camphor which means *Rātrīrdaśa pratīkṣha*.—*adhāvaṃ saṅgamānucitāiti*: wait for the ten bright nights; they are unfavourable to our meeting." She is persuaded to go a second time when *Padmāvati* impresses on her breast three finger marks of lac dye indicating her catamenial flow. When she goes a third time a mad elephant rans amock. *Padmāvati* tells her "Avoid the elephant-infested public road; sit on this

stool, we are dropping you by means of a rope into the garden through the window, climb the tree, clear the wall and hie back to your house." Vajramukuta follows the same road and meets Padmavati.

Maurice Bloomfield gives two more instances in *J.A.O.S.* (Vol. XLIV. pp. 239, 240): "In *Parisiṣṭaparvan* 2. 46ff. a youth, in love with Durgilā, the unchaste and cunning wife of the son of a goldsmith, wins the good graces of a nun by pampering her with food and other gifts. She goes to Durgilā and tells her how much the beautiful youth is longing for her. Durgilā feigning to be outraged at the proposition, drives the nun out, and hits her on the back with her hand which happens to be black with the soot of pots and kettles which she is cleansing. The cunning youth interprets the black marks of the five fingers to mean the fifth night of the dark half of the month. He prevails upon the nun to go once more; Durgilā drives her out again through the back door into an aśoka grove. There the youth fulfils the assignation on the appointed night."

"In the *Mudupāṇi Jātaka* (262), where a nurse is bribed in the manner of a pander nun, the innamorata also conveys information to her lover by sign language, to wit:

A soft hand, and a well-trained elephant,

And a black rain-cloud, gives you what you want.

The king, father of the maiden, never lets her either out of his eyes or out of his hand. When the girl wishes to bathe the king is in the habit of placing her on a lotus ornament outside the window, to bathe in the rain. The maiden chooses a rainy night in the dark half of the month. Her lover comes there with an elephant and a beautiful soft-handed (*mudu-pāṇi*) boy, loosens the bangles off the princess' arm, and fastens them on the arm of the boy. The princess substitutes the boy's hand for her own which the king is ever grasping, and goes off with her lover on the elephant. The king realises that it is impossible to guard a woman, gives her in marriage to her lover, and makes him viceroy." The lover was the nephew of the king.

Sign language, as has been already said, is largely used in fiction. See Stein and Grierson's *Hatim's Tales*, pp. 21, 22; Swynnerton's *Indian Nights' Entertainments*, pp. 167ff.; Burton's *Nights*, ii. pp. 302ff., ix. 269, etc., and Penzer's *Ocean of Story*, Vol I., pp. 80ff. for references.

There is in Sanskrit no insignificant riddle literature consisting of *prahelikā*, *pratimālā*, *antarlāpikā*, *bahirlāpikā*, *kūṭa slokas*, *śamasyā* and *udbhat slokas*.

X.—The Baud Plates of Kanakabhanja

By R. D. Banerji, M.A.

The inscription on the Baud plates of Kanakabhanja are very important for the critical study of the history and chronology of the different dynasties which ruled over Orissa in the later mediæval period. The distinctive feature of this inscription is that it brings to light a line of three new kings with the affix *Bhanja* to their names but who belonged to a different *gotra* and whose emblem (*lāñchhana*) is also different from that of all other Bhanja kings known to us.

The inscription on these plates was published first of all by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, B.L., who has published so many mediæval inscriptions of Orissa.¹ The crudity of the manner of editing this grant and certain curious circumstances connected with its discovery compelled me to start the present enquiry. The tangle in the chronology of mediæval Orissan dynasties from the seventh to the fifteenth century still remains unravelled. Different theories have been advanced by different scholars about the dates of these dynasties, e.g. the Sailodbhavas, Karas, Sulkis, Bhanjas, etc. Among these we possess a large number of records of the Bhanjas only. Among these Bhanja records the Baud plates of Kanakabhanja stand out conspicuously as being out of the ordinary.

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar informs us in the second volume of this journal that these plates were in the possession of a Khond peasant of Baud. Nothing is known about the manner in which they came into the possession of this peasant. Later on, these plates, in the possession of a subject of the Baud State, were purchased by the Naib Tahsildar of Sonpur. In the heading of this paper Mr. Mazumdar places the inscription to "Circa 1475 A.D." I cannot conceive how a scholar conversant with the history and chronology of Orissa can assign the date 1475 to a copperplate grant of Orissa which was not

¹ *Ante*, Vol. II, pp. 356-74.

issued by any of the Emperors of Orissa of the Sūryavamśa dynasty. Unfortunately this date, to which the plates of KanakabhaŅja have been assigned, has been accepted by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his article on certain recently discovered grants of the BhaŅja dynasty.¹ There cannot be any doubt about the fact that Kapilendra or Kapileśvara of the Sūryavamśa dynasty was secure on the throne of Orissa in 1435. It is absolutely inconceivable how a petty chief of the BhaŅja family could be so presumptuous as to issue a grant of land independently without referring to his suzerains.

Even if I neglect this important factor in considering questions connected with the Baud plates of KanakabhaŅja there are certain others which go directly against the record. Inscriptions of the time of Kapilendra, his son Purushottama and his grandson Pratāparudra are by no means uncommon in Orissa, and though it may be claimed that Sonpur was a part of an independent kingdom when the Sūryavamśi Emperors carried everything before them almost as far as the gates of Bidar and Vijayanagara, it cannot be denied that the duct of writing should be the same in the area between Ganjam and Balasore. If we examine the form of the grant and the duct of the writing of the Baud plates of KanakabhaŅja we shall find that there is a good deal of difference between this grant and the majority of other BhaŅja grants in the form of the grant itself. In the grant of KanakabhaŅja the name of the king occurs only once in line 13, which is the third line on the first side of the second plate. There is no mention of the king's name for the second time and there is no mention of the officers concerned. There is also no mention of the details of the two villages granted. Let us compare the forms of other known BhaŅja grants :—

I. In the Baud plates of RaṇabhaŅja I of R.Y. 54 the full titles of the prince are given in lines 12-13. The situation of the land granted and the officers concerned are given in lines 13-16.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 292.

The king is not mentioned a second time in the prose portion but the last plate mentions his name and the 54th year of his reign.¹

II. In the Tasapaikera grant of the 16th year of Rāṇabhañja I we find that the king is mentioned quite naturally in the beginning of the grant as "Rāṇaka Sri Rāṇabhañja-devaḥ Kuśali." The editor uses the short *i* by mistake for the long *ī* quite clear in the facsimile. The officers mentioned and the details of the grant are given in the well-known form in lines 17-23. There are numerous mistakes in these lines due to the unfortunate defect in the eyesight of the editor. In line 18 he reads "*Kumāra-Mānya*" instead of "*Kumār(ā)mātya*." In line 19 "*ḍṇḍapāsika*" is read as "*ḍanuṣāshika*." In line 20 "*yā hārhi*" is read as "*yātharha*" and "*vodhayati*" as "*baudhapati*." The editor has also failed to notice the mistakes in spelling "*pratibaddha*, *Mahānadī* and *prukshālita*."²

III. In the Kumarakela grant of Śatrubhañja³ we find that the king is mentioned as "Sri-Śatrubhañja-deva Kuśali" in line 15. The details of the two villages granted, with the lists of officers required, are given in lines 16-19. The king is mentioned as the donor once more in lines 24-5.

IV. In the Bamanghati plate of Rāṇabhañja II⁴ the king is mentioned very naturally in line 15. Though the word "*kuśalī*" is omitted, the form of the grant in the use of the phrase "*ś-ānunaya prāhaḥ*" is also quite becoming. The villages granted are given in detail in lines 16-23.

V. In the second Bamanghati plate, Rājabhañja, son of Rāṇabhañja II, uses the same form as his father and the details of the village granted are to be found in lines 15-19.⁵

VI. In the Gumsur plates of Netribhañja⁶ the king is mentioned in the time-honoured phraseology as "*kuśalī*." The

¹ *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XII, pp. 323-25.

² *Ante*, Vol. II, pp. 167-77.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 429-35.

⁴ *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XL, 1871, pt. 1, pp. 165-67.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-69.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, 1836, pp. 667-71.

village granted and the officers required are given in detail in lines 4-9.

VII. In the Ganjam plates of the same king¹ the form used is the same as that in the previous grant and the details of the village granted are to be found in the natural form in lines 12-17.

VIII. In the second Ganjam plates of the same king, the king is mentioned in the same form and the details of the grant and the list of officers are to be found in lines 13-17.²

IX. In the grant of Vidyadharabhañja, the king is mentioned in the same form as in the plates of Netrabhañja. These plates are supposed to have come from some part of modern Orissa, but their exact find spot is not known and they were edited by the late Professor Kielhorn.³

X. In the Ganjam plates of the same king the time-honoured formula is used and the details of the grant are to be found in lines 12-15.⁴

XI. In the Khandadeuli plates of Narendrabhañja (which were formerly taken to be of Raṇabhañja II) we find the same form as in the Bamanghati plates of Raṇabhañja II and the details of the grant are to be found in lines 21-22.⁵

XII. In the Daspalla plates of Netrabhañja⁶ the old form of the grant is used and the details of the land granted and the officers required are to be found in lines 11-22.

XIII. The same is the case in the Daspalla plates of the year 24 of Raṇabhañja where the details are to be found in lines 19-23.⁷

In the unpublished inscription of Raṇabhañja I of the year 22, which I am editing, the form of the grant is the ancient

¹ *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 293-95.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. IX, pp. 271-77.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 296-98.

⁵ *Ante.* Vol. IV, pp. 172-77.

⁶ *Ante.* Vol. VI, pp. 276-79.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 269-73.

one and the details of the land 'granted as well as the officers required are to be found in lines 21-26.

XIV. We now come to the latest grant of the Bhañja family, the Antirigram plates of Yaśobhañja, and, strange enough, the form of the grant in these plates also is the ancient one, where the king Yaśobhañja is once mentioned in the metrical portion (line 13) and again in the prose portion in line 16 with the word "Kusalī." The details of the land granted and the officers required are mentioned in detail in lines 16-19.¹

Therefore in these Bhañja plates we find three forms of grants—

I. The old form in which the king is mentioned once or more but in which his name is always introduced with the affix "*Kusalī*."

II. The form of the Bamanghati plates and Khandadeuli plates in which the term "*Kusalī*" is omitted but in which the phrase "*s-ānunaya prāhaḥ*" is always used after the king's name and in which the details of the land granted are always given afterwards. Only three kings, Raṇabhañja II of the Bamanghati plate, Rājabhañja of [the] Bamanghati plate and Narendrabhañja of the Khandadeuli plates use this form. In the last named grant the phrase "*s-ānunaya prāhaḥ*" is used, but at a distance from the name of the grantor and in connection with the name of his ancestor Raṇabhañja II.

III. The Baud plates of Kanakabhañja stand in a class apart in the long range of Bhañja inscriptions in the form of its grant. The king's name is followed by several lines of meaningless adjectives. Immediately after the king's name come the details about the donee but not the details of the land granted, a feature almost unparalleled among Bhañja grants. As I have stated above, the Antirigram plates of Yaśobhañja and his brother Jayabhañja² are the latest in the chronological order because in these plates we find the proto-Oṛiyā characters

¹ *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XIX, pp. 41—4.

² *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XIX, pp. 41—45.

introduced for the first time in Bhañja inscriptions. But as I have shown above in these plates also the king's name is introduced with the affix "*Kusalī* " and we find the following details : " in the district of Voḍā, the village of Komyāṇa." In the Antirigram plates of Yaśobhañja's brother Jayabhañja the king is mentioned once in the metrical portion and again with the affix "*Kuśalī* " in the prose portion. The details of the village granted are to be found in lines 11-12 and the names and designations of the officers in lines 19-22.

The inevitable conclusion is therefore that either intentionally or unintentionally the time-honoured method of drafting grants of land has been ignored by the scribe of chief Kanakabhañja.

I am compelled to differ once more from those scholars who hold that Raṇabhañja of the Bamanghati plate was the ancestor of Netribhañja or Vidyādharaḥabhañja of Gumsur and Ganjam. With at least sixteen genuine grants of the different branches of the Bhañja family it is now possible to affirm that Raṇabhañja II, son of Digbhañja, is quite a different person from Raṇabhañja I, son of Satrubhañja. In the first place the form of the characters show that the grants of Raṇabhanja I son of Satrubhañja, Netribhañja, Vidyādharaḥabhañja are much earlier than those of Raṇabhañja II of the Bamanghati plate and his descendants Rājabhañja and Narendrabhañja.¹ There is also no reason to admit of the existence of a second Satrubhañja or a third Raṇabhañja. Further, the Antirigram plates of Jayabhañja and Yaśobhañja now enable us to reject the Baud plates of Kanakabhañja as a clumsy modern forgery. It will be necessary to take these different points of enquiry separately.

In the first place let us see whether Mr. Hira Lal is correct in identifying Rañabhañja (I) son of Satrubhañja with Raṇabhañja (II) son of Digbhañja.² At this stage I should state that I shall prove later on, in this paper, that from the point

¹ cf. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 268, and note 6.

² *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, p. 286.

of view of palæography there must be a large gulf between the two Bamanghati plates and the Khandadeuli plates and all other inscriptions of Raṇabhañja, Netribhañja and Vidyādhara-bhañja. But before taking up palæography I must analyse the materials at our disposal for the identity of Raṇabhañja, son of Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja, son of Digbhañja. Raṇabhañja, son of Digbhañja, is mentioned for the first time in his Baman-ghati plate of the year 288 and in that of his son Rājabhañja discovered at the same place as well as the Khandadeuli plates of his grandson Narendrabhañja. In these three inscriptions it is mentioned that Raṇabhañja was the son of Digbhañja and the grandson of Kottabhañja. In these three inscriptions also the form of the land grant is quite different from those of Śatrubhañja, his son Raṇabhañja and his descendants Netri-bhañja and Vidyādhara-bhañja. Now, in the whole range of the inscriptions of Raṇabhañja, son of Śatrubhañja, we do not find any mention of Digbhañja or Kottabhañja. At the present day the following inscriptions of Raṇabhañja (I), son of Śatrubhañja are known :—

- (a) The Singhara plates of Raṇabhañja of R.Y. 9—Silābhañja, his son Śatrubhañja and his son Raṇabhañja.¹
- (b) Tasapaikera plates of R.Y. 16—Śatrubhañja, his son Raṇabhañja.²
- (c) Baud unpublished plates of R.Y. 21—Silābhañja, his son Śatrubhañja, his son Raṇabhañja.
- (d) Chakradharapur plates of R.Y. 24—Silābhañja, his son of Śatrubhañja his son Raṇabhañja.³
- (e) Baud plates of R.Y. 26—Śatrubhañja, his son Raṇabhañja.⁴
- (f) Baud plates of R.Y. 54—Gandhaṭa, in his lineage Raṇabhañja.

In addition to the inscriptions of Raṇabhañja, son of Śatrubhañja, there are quite a number of grants of his descendants

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 481-86.

² *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 167-77.

³ *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 266-73.

⁴ *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XII, pp. 326-28.

which mention him to be the son of Satrubhañja and not of Digbhañja—

- (g) Gumsur plates of Netribhañja—Satrubhañja, his son Raṇabhañja, his son Netribhañja.¹
- (h) The Ganjam plates of Netribhañja. Netribhañja was the great-grandson of Silabhañja, grandson of Satrubhañja and the son of Raṇabhañja.
- (i) The second set of Ganjam plates of the same king edited by Mr. Hira Lal convey the same information to us.²
- (j) The Ganjam plates of Vidyādharaḥhañja—Vidyādharaḥhañja was the son of Silabhañja, grandson of Digbhañja, great-grandson of Raṇabhañja and great-great-grandson of Satrubhañja.³

There is therefore absolutely no reason for us to agree with Mr. Hira Lal in supposing that Raṇabhañja (I), son of Satrubhañja is one and the same with Raṇabhañja (II), son of Digbhañja.

It is also possible now to indicate the difference in date between Raṇabhañja I and Raṇabhañja II. I am taking the Baud plates of the year 54 as the standard in the case of the inscriptions of Raṇabhañja I, son of Satrubhañja; but in the case of Raṇabhañja II, son of Digbhañja we are limited to the only inscription known, e.g. the Bamanghati plate of the Gaṅga year 288. The principal difference in the case of these two inscriptions issued by a prince bearing the name of Raṇabhañja is, in the case of vowels, in the original and the derivative form of *a*. There are various forms of *a* and *ā* in the Baud plates; *Apilomuleri* (line 20), *Amvasarasarā*, *Asvamedha* (line 26), *Arisham* (line 31), *Asvamedha* (line 36), *Āshphotayamti* (line 42) and *Adityo* (line 43). In the case of Bamanghati grant the only clear instance is that of “*Āpi*” in line 30. The form used in the Bamanghati plate is the modern North Indian

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 667-71

² *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 293-96.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 296-98.

Nāgarī form but in all cases in the Baud plates it is of the variety of the eighth century North Indian group. The only other initial form of a vowel is that of *u* which is not much different. The difference in the forms of *kha* is remarkable. In the Baud plates in all cases the letter consists of a curve with a loop attached to both ends. Compare *saṁkhyāḥ* (line 4), *saṁkha* (line 8), *vikhyāt-otkhāta-khadga* (lines 8-9), *dukhitā* (line 11), *Khiñjalī* (line 13), *Khātiyā* (line 16). In the Bamanghati plate, the loop attached to the right end of the curve is open making the proto-Bengali form complete, cf. *khyātaḥ* (line 7), *nāmākhyuḥ* (line 8), *Khijjīṅga* (line 16), *khaṇḍa* (line 16). Only in one case is this loop closed, *Khijjīṅga* (lines 13-14), but in this case also the loop at the right end is so much larger and so much lower than that on the left that the closing of its upper part is due to pure accident. In the case of the next consonant, which is remarkable for its difference of form, we find that the Baud and the Bamanghati plates cannot be placed within a couple of centuries of each other. This is *ja*. Let us take a clear instance in both cases, *mahārāja* (line 13 of the Baud plate) and *ālmajaḥ* (lines 10-11 of the Bamanghati plate). In the first case the *Ja* shows curvature to the left of the left limb with a short half-loop to the right but the right limb is a straight line at a tangent from the serif. In the second case the form is very clearly the Bengali one of the later Pāla inscriptions. Once again this is sufficient evidence of the fact that there must be a clear difference of at least two centuries between the Baud and the Bamanghati plates. Let us take the form of *Tha*. The letter consists of two circles, one upon the other with a vertical straight line to the proper right in *prathitaḥ* (line 10 of the Bamanghati plate); but in all cases in the Baud plates the form is that of the sixth century Gupta inscriptions, in which there are two angles at the ends where the loops meet the vertical straight line on the left; cf. *Yathārham* (line 15) and *Yathā* (line 22). In all cases in the Baud plates the shape of *Pa* is less wide than that in the Bamanghati plate. The modern Nāgarī form is to be seen in the latter in the word

pratipaksha (line 5) ; we may compare the same word in line 3 of the Baud plates. It would be a pure waste of time to go through the difference in forms of each and every letter in these two inscriptions. I shall take three other instances only. In the case of lingual *Sha* there is no acute angle in any of the cases occurring in the Baud plates, such as *paurusha* (line 5) but there is a distinct acute angle in *vishaya* (line 17 of the Bamanghati plate). If we compare the form of the ligature *ksha* in both of these inscriptions then we shall find that the form in *paksha* (line 3 of the Baud plates) is quite different from that in the same word in the Bamanghati plate (line 5). There only remains one particular consonant, the final form of *m* in *lola* (line 23) which is a particularly late form of the Bengali alphabet and: which cannot be seen in any of the grants of Raṇabhaṇja I, son of Śatrubhaṇja. I cannot understand how Mr. Hira Lal can propose to identify Raṇabhaṇja son of Śatrubhaṇja with Raṇabhaṇja son of Digbhaṇja.

We may now return to the case of the Baud plates of Kanakabhaṇja. The arbitrary date, 1475 A.D., assigned to it by its learned editor seems to me to be very significant. Up to this time we had no Bhaṇja plate with which it could be compared because Bhaṇja plates with proto-Oriyā characters were extremely rare. We now possess two genuine copper-plate grants of the later Bhaṇjas—

1. The Antirigram plates of Yaśobhaṇja and
2. The Antirigram plates of Jayabhaṇja.

We should have no hesitation in accepting these two plates of the Bhaṇjas as criteria for deciding the palæographical problems presented to us by the appearance of the Baud plates of Kanakabhaṇja. I have proved above that the strange form of that grant, or rather the want of any form in that inscription, which is intended to represent a grant of land, causes strong suspicions about its genuineness. With regard to its palæography also there are very strong reasons to think that its characters are extraordinary. After the publication of the Bhaṇja grants by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath and Mr. Hira Lal we have an almost complete chain of inscriptions for the determination

of the early and late mediæval palæography of Orissa. Up to this time no case of a subordinate granting land without acknowledging the suzerainty of his superior monarch has come to light. On the other hand we possess distinct records in Northern India of subordinate chiefs granting land with the consent of his suzerain, e.g. the Singāra chief Vatsarāja and his suzerain, Govindachandra of Kanauj,¹ or the chiefs of Kakareḍi in the present Political Agency of Baghelkhand in the twelfth century under the nominal suzerainty of the Chedi or Haihaya chiefs of Tripuri.² Therefore on the evidence of the irregularity of the form of the grant and for the impossibility of dating it in 1475 A.D.³ we must try to determine whether the Baud plates of Kanakabhāṇja can be placed somewhere else in the chronological scale or are to be rejected altogether as forged.

There is a definite turning point in the palæography of Orissan inscriptions, when the angular Bengali script was definitely replaced by the current local alphabet with curved head lines. In the Antirigram plates of Yaśobhāṇja and Jayabhāṇja we find the first introduction of the current script in Orissan epigraphy, a point which has been duly recorded by Mr. Hira Lai. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's argument for fixing the date of the Baud plates is based upon his mistaken reading of the word "Gaṇdeśvarādayaḥ", which he read as "Bandeśvarādayaḥ".⁴ I am compelled to remark here that in almost all Bhāṇja grants edited by him, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has persistently read the very common verb used in land-grants, "*vodhayati*" as "*Baudhapiti*".⁵ It may be asserted boldly that the name of the state, Baud, or its chief has not been mentioned in any genuine Bhāṇja grant as yet. In fixing the date of Kanakabhāṇja Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has worked on his favourite lines and ignored the impossibility

¹ *Epi. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 131.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 228.

³ Purushottama was the Emperor of the Eastern Coast land in 1475; for the duct of Oriya writing on land grants written on copper in his reign we may compare his copperplate grant of the 17th aṅka from Balasore.—*Ante*, Vol. IV, pp. 361-363.

⁴ *Ante*. Vol. II, p. 368.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 174, 434.

of the existence of an independent line of kings in the Orissa Garhjats during the rule of the Sūryavaṃśa dynasty. Relying on his mistaken reading of the words "*Gauḍeśvara*" and "*vodhagati*" Mr. Mazumdar starts his line of argument by stating that "of the numerous families of the Bhaṇjas his (Kanakabhaṇja's) family at Baud is one."¹ The first step is a blunder because the word "Baud" is not to be found in the inscription of Kanakabhaṇja. Mr. Mazumdar next tries to defend the curious form of the grant and the change in the seal by hinting that being far removed from Raṇabhaṇja, Kanakabhaṇja had forgotten the old form of grants² and the original seal of his ancestors. We find that the lotus-bud seal was used up to the time of Jayabhaṇja and Yaśobhaṇja. His third argument that "The Bhaṇja Rajas of old times who favoured the lords of Baud and others (*Bauḍeśvarādāyaḥ* lines 4, 5) made a grant of historical importance evidently in favour of some Bhaṇjas (for otherwise a prominent mention of it in the charter cannot be accounted for), consisting of ten villages (line 6)"³ As there is no mention of Baud the rest of the argument need not be considered. All epigraphists should note that an attempt has been made here to bring out a grant of ten villages out of a very doubtful passage. Therefore there is no reason to suppose that Kanakabhaṇja really existed, "about fifty years after 1394 as the fact of the gift of ten villages was remembered as a celebrated event of the past time."⁴ On going very carefully through Mr. Mazumdar's reading of Kanakabhaṇja's inscription I do not find the grant of the ten villages in line 6 but "Five places" and "Five others" in line 3. I have therefore no hesitation in rejecting Mr. Mazumdar's theory about the date of Kanakabhaṇja and the grant of ten villages by some Bhaṇja king to a certain lord of Baud.

We should now turn to a comparison of the characters of the Baud plate of Kanakabhaṇja with those of the Antirigram plates of Yaśobhaṇja. What led me to assign the twelfth century as the probable date of the plates of Kanakabhaṇja is the prevalence of Nāgari duct of writing in them. I have to call

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 363.² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*, p. 364.⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

special attention to the form of *a* in *aneka* (line 9) and *arthupati* (line 21) of the Baud plates and of the derivative *ā* in *āsīd* in line 1 of the Antirigram plates. Among the initial forms of vowels I would also call attention to *e* in *evam-asya* (line 30) of Baud and *letasmāt* (line 6) of Antirigram. In *kha*, among the consonants, two different forms are to be found in Baud; the *Nāgarī* type in *kheḷat* and the proto-Bengali type in *khaḍga* in the same line (line 14). This is not the only instance of the use of the *Nāgarī* type; cf. *khaṇḍitaḥ* and *nikhātika* (line 15). In the Antirigram plates the Bengali form is used throughout, cf. *Khiñjali* (line 16). In the case of *ja* the complete Bengali form is used throughout in the Antirigram plates, cf. *nija bhūja* (line 1) but the earlier form is always used in the Baud plates, cf. *bhubhujāḥ* (line 3) and *Durjaya* (line 11). The peculiar form of *tt* is remarkable in the Baud plates, cf. *dattam* (line 3), *pattane* (lines 6-7) and *sattamaḥ* (lines 14 and 22). We should also note the form of *tu* and *tī* in *tulayati* (line 19). Compared with it the complete Bengali form of *ta* in all cases in the Antirigram plates should be noticed. Here the ligature *tt* in *smārta* (line 27) is also quite different. The *Nāgarī* duct of the writing of the Baud plates is more evident in the case of *pa* and *sha*, cf. *pañcha* (line 4), *pati* and *prithivī* (line 7), *pratimā*, *pāntha* and *pātheya* (line 8) and *prati* (line 11). In the case of the Antirigram plates cf. *vyapra* (line 1) *pravesaḥ* (line 21). In the case of *śka* please see *dhishanaḥ* (line 19) and *śreṣṭha* (line 2) of the Baud plates and *asesha* (line 1) and *viśaya* (lines 23-24) of the Antirigram plates. In this respect only the characters of the Baud plates are later than the Antirigram ones. In point of palæography therefore there cannot be any doubt about the fact that the Antirigram plates appear to be later in date than the Baud plates. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the Baud plates of Kanakabhanja have been forged in recent times to serve a particular purpose, unknown to us, by some clever forger, who was confident of success but was undone by the discovery of the Antirigram plates of Yaśobhanja and Jayabhanja.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

I.—Demetrios, Kharavela and the Garga-Samhita

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

That the Greek king of Patañjali and Khāravela was Demetrios and not Menander is very strongly borne out by another piece of evidence, which had escaped my notice while writing my last note on the Hathigumpha inscription (*J.B.O.R.S.*, 1927, p. 242.)

The *Yuga-purāṇā* chapter of the Garga-Samhitā, a text of which has been prepared by me from several manuscripts, in describing the Greek invasion of (1) Sāketa, (2) the Pañchalas, (3) Mathurā and (4) the advance on Kusumadhva and Pushyapura (=Pāṭaliputra), says :

"The *dharma-mitta tamā* elders will fearlessly tax (lit. 'eat' 'enjoy') the people. The Greeks will order: the kings will disappear. [But] the Greeks, given to the intoxication of war, will not stay in the Madhyadesa; there will be a very terrible, a fearful war in their own country, arising amongst themselves."

धर्ममौत तमावृद्धा जनं भोक्ष्यन्ति निर्भयाः ।

यवनान्नापयिष्यन्ति [नश्येरन्] च पार्थिवाः ॥

मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवना युद्धं दुर्मदाः ।

तेषामन्योन्य-संभाव [म्] भविष्यति न संशयः ।

आत्मचक्रोत्थि तं घोरं युद्धं परमदारुणं ॥

The next line implies a total destruction of the Greeks (*yavanānām parikṣhaye*) in the plains (the Madhya country).

This rare datum in our literature about the Greek invasion preserved in the Vṛiddha Garga Samhitā (V.G.S. is quoted by Varāha-Mihira about 500 A.C.) practically leaves no room to doubt (a) that the Greeks here who are expressly placed after

the latter part of the Maurya dynasty (*after Śāliśūka* or a descendant of Śāliśūka) and before Agnimitra and who are said to have invaded Mathurā, Pañchāla, Saketa and come into Magadha are the Greeks of the early Śunga time on the close of the Maurya period, (b) that they are identical with the enemy noted by Patañjali who took or invaded Saketa, and identical with the Greek mentioned by Khāravela as having turned back from some place near about Barabar Hill (Gorathagiri) ultimately giving up Mathurā, and (c) that they were under the lead of Demetrios, for it is expressly noted in the Yuga-purāṇa that owing to a terrible civil war in their own country they had to retire—a fact fortunately known from the Greek sources regarding the history of Demetrios.

In the light of our knowledge of the above facts we may take the curious expression *dharmamīta-tamā-viddhāh* to mean "the *tamā* (?) elders of *Dharmamīta* (= *Demetrios*)."¹ I cannot say what *tamā* stands for: it may be a corrupt misspelling or a survival of some Greek fiscal expression (cf. *tamēion*,¹ 'Treasury'). *Elders* may denote senior officers.

Anyhow the datum about the civil war is decisive.

¹ cf. the Moghal "*Subā*" and the Anglo Indian "*Kalāṭṭar*" (Collector).

II.—Harappa and the Vedic Hariyupia

By Binode Bihari Roy, Vedaratna

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda says, "The archæological discoveries at Harappa in the Punjab and at Mohen-jo-Daro in Sind have pushed back the monumental history of India from the third century B.C. by one stroke. * * * Nothing as yet discovered affords any indication that the builders of the prehistoric cities at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro were akin to the R̥ig-Vedic Āryas. On the other hand the civilisation of those builders appears to be of a non-Vedic type." (*The Indus Valley*, etc., p. 1, 2.)

Sir John Marshall says, "Who the people were, who evolved it, is still an open question, but the most reasonable view seems to be that they were the pre-Aryan (probably Dravidian) people of India known in the Vedas as the Dasyus or Asuras, whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millennium B.C. by the invading Aryans from the north." (*The Modern Review*, May 1926, p. 600.)

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji says, "They appear to Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji and myself as having been non-Aryan and in all likelihood Dravidian." (*The Modern Review*, March 1925, p. 356.)

I think, those relics belong to the Aryan civilisation. In ancient time when the Aryans inhabited the Sapta-Sindhu region and the Punjab perhaps they erected those two cities on the God-made-land (*Deva-nirmita-deśa*, RV. iii. 33, 4; and Manusamhitā, 2 Ch. 17), i.e. on the alluvial land on the bed of the Sindhu samudra.

In Vedic times there was a city named Hariyupia, where a battle was fought between Chayamana's son King Abhyavarti and Varasikha's sons, in which Indra fought on the side of Abhyavarti, and killed Varasikha's sons, who were stationed on the east and west of Hariyupia (RV. vi. 27, 5.)

Another battle was fought between Chayamana's son Kavi and the great Aryan invader Sudās (R.V. vii. 18, 8), near the river Paruṣṇī (Ravi). In this battle Indra was on the side of Sudās and killed Kavi.

From this I can infer that Chayamana's sons Abhyavarti and Kavi were kings of Hariyupia one after another, and fought those two battles against the invaders. The city of Hariyupia was perhaps on the side of the river Paruṣṇī (Ravi). This Hariyupia is probably the modern Harappa, which is on the eastern side of the Ravi. Perhaps in the battle with Kavi, Indra demolished the city of Hariyupia or modern Harappa, and made a new city for Sudās (vii. 20, 2 Rik), elsewhere.

This Sudās was a contemporary of the King Trasadasyu, son of King Purukutsa (vii. 19, 3), and Yadu and Turvasu (vii. 19, 6; iv. 30, 17 Riks). King Trasadasyu reigned in the fifth millennium B.C., as I can infer from my calculation. In his time there was a sea on the east of Prayāga (Manusamhitā, Ch. 2, 21, 22); that sea is now on the south of Diamond Harbour. I presume that King Abhyavarti and his brother Kavi possibly reigned in Harappa or Hariyupia in the fifth millennium B.C.

Abhyavarti was an emperor (vi. 27, 8). Bharadvāja Ṛṣi received from him cows and other things as offerings. I can, therefore, safely infer that Bharadvāja Ṛṣi was his priest and Abhyavarti was an *arya* of the Prithu dynasty (vi. 27, 8); so we see that in the fifth millennium B.C. Hariyupia or Harappa was the capital of an Ārya emperor, and Sudās fought there with the Āryas (vii. 83, 1.)

So I can safely suggest that the city of Hariyupia or Harappa was the seat of the Aryan civilisation in the fifth millennium B.C., and not of non-Aryan.

III.—Chetika and Airikina

By D. B. Diskalkar

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's notes on the words Cheti and Aira on pages 222 and 223 of Vol. XIII of *J.B.O.R.S.* has induced me to make the following suggestions: The word '*Chetika*' occurring in one of the Nasik Buddhist cave inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. viii. p. 77) should also be taken as corresponding to Sanskrit Chedi-ka, viz. of the Chedi family or country. Secondly Airikina, the ancient name of modern Eran, can be derived from the term Aira, a descendant of Irā or Ilā of Puranic tradition, who was supposed to be an ancestor of the Chedi family. Airikina, mentioned in some inscriptions of the Gupta period, is a very old town as it is mentioned in its Prakrit form Erakaña or Erakana in the autonomous copper coins of the Aśoka period (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 18). Airikina or Eran is in the Saugar district of the Central Provinces and the Chedi family also chiefly belonged to the Central Provinces. There are two more places named Eran near Bhilsa in Central India (*ibid.* p. 18 f.n. i.) but they are wanting in the antiquity which the C.P. Eran possesses and might have been so named in later period by migrators from the C.P. Eran.

IV.—A Note on Revanta

By J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

In the *J.B.O.R.S.*, X. pp. 31-36, Professor Surendra Nath Majumdar Sastri, M.A., P.R.S., in his interesting article, *The Hilsā Statue Inscription of the thirty-fifth year of Devapāla*, refers to "a statue of Lord Buddha riding his horse Kanthaka to leave for good his father's house" (*ibid.* p. 32). Thanks to Rai Bahadur Chunilal Roy who was greatly instrumental in securing for Professor Mazumdar Sastri the Hilsā statue (*ibid.* p. 31), this second statue is now with me and I propose to discuss in this short note some of its aspects.

First of all, I should like to state that this second statue is *not* that of "Lord Buddha riding his horse Kanthaka to leave for good his father's house," as mentioned by Professor Mazumdar Sastri. It is really that of Rēvanta, the son of Sūrya by his wife Samjñā, Rēvanta being also the king of the Guhyakas, a class of demigods. To a casual observer the figure would appear like that of Siddhārtha leaving his father's palace for good, for there are certain resemblances between the two. For example, there is the figure of a prince over whom is held aloft the umbrella indicating his royal rank, there is a man before him who has been identified as the evil god Māra in the case of the Siddhārtha sculpture, while the hoofs of the horses in both are held aloof, in the case of the future Buddha by gods so that the noise from the horse's hoofs may not awaken the citizens of Kapilāvastu. Therefore, to a casual observer the two may appear to be similar.

But in other aspects the two differ materially. Siddhārtha has no sword, while the figure in our subject of discourse has a good one. The horse's hoofs are held up, as it were, in this statue by dogs and in every respect it resembles, inspite of the defective art of the sculptor, the description given in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, the icon of Rēvanta which is to be placed on a (white) horse,

with his hair tied up by a cloth, wearing a coat of mail, with a lash in the right hand and a sword in the left. (Kālikā 85.)

The identification of Rēvanta was first made by Pandit Binoda Bihari Vidyabinoda in the *J.A.S.B.* (N.S. IV. 1909, pp. 391-92) with the help of a plate. This learned article, however, does not specifically mention where the image described by Pandit Bidyabinoda was actually found, though from the description it appears to be one from Bihar. Since then till September, 1927, there does not appear to have been any dissertation on Rēvanta. In the September issue of the ably edited journal *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, there appeared an extremely interesting article on *A new type of Rēvanta from the Dinajpur district* (pp. 469ff.) by Mr. Nirad Bandhu Sanyal, not only recapitulating the references made by Pandit Binoda Bihari Vidyabinoda in the *J.A.S.B.* (N.S. IV. 1909, pp. 391, 392 cited above), but throwing much new light on this statue. This sculpture, described by Mr. Sanyal "represents a male figure in profile, mounted on a caparisoned horse with his feet in the stirrups. He has the reins in his left hand, while the right hand holds the lash. His hair is tucked up behind the head, on which is a crown in three tires and he also wears necklace, sacred-thread, ear-rings, etc. He is draped in a close-fitting costume with a scarf coiled round his arms and his legs are covered with high boots, as is found in the Sūrya images of North India. A broad-headed sword hangs on his right. Over his head is a high umbrella held by an attendant from behind, which thus indicates his royal rank. In front of the deity stands apparently a robber seizing the horse by the head and flourishing a dagger before his eyes. Behind him is a tree with overspreading foliage and on it is seen a human figure with a dagger in hand. On the other side of the slab is represented a house with an arched entrance and within are two figures, one of a female and the other probably of a male. In the lowest portion is a woman cutting a fish with a fish-knife (*banṭi*) and behind her is a man with a sword and shield approaching as if to lay hands on her. In the base

are also the figures of a kneeling devotee and a woman standing in the *tribhanga* pose with an uncertain object in hand. On the top is a lotus with pendent festoons, but the usual flying figures to right and left are absent."

The statue of Révanta which has been so kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Chunilal Roy differs in certain respects from the one described above. We will just mention here some of these. In the left hand there is a lotus. The necklace has a double chain. There are bracelets on the wrists and a girdle in the waist with a fairly big sword in an ornamental scabbard. The attendant who holds the umbrella aloft has a *chāmar* in his right hand and a pitcher in the left. In the base are two dogs running with the horse and there is another animal—either a hog or a hare underneath the horse.

The statue (or rather the piece of stone on which the sculpture has been represented) measures 2' 5" × 1' 6½".

V.—Further Note on a Ho Folktale of the Wicked Queen's Type

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In my paper entitled *On a Ho Folktale of the Wicked Queen's Type*, which has been published at pages 162-169 of *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March 1926, I have shown that among the Hos of Singhbhum there is current a folktale of which one of the main incidents is as follows :—Once upon a time there lived a Rājā who had seven Rānis but had no children by them. As he was very anxious for having issue by them, he went to the forest and performed ceremonial rites so that the gods might relent and bless him with children. After he had finished his prayers and sacrifices, a Brāhmaṇa appeared and advised him to take a stick, go to a mango tree in full fruit and strike it with the stick and catch hold of the fruits which would fall from the tree before they could touch the ground. The holy man further advised that each of the seven Rānis should be given one of these mangoes respectively to eat and said that after they had eaten it they would become *enciente* and give birth to seven boys.

The Rājā acted up to the advice and gave the seven Rānis one mango each to eat. The six elder Rānis ate their respective fruits but the youngest Rāni being then engaged in some household occupation kept her mango in a niche. There a part of the fruit was eaten by a mongoose. The youngest Rāni did not know of it and so she consumed the part-eaten fruit.

In course of time these six elder Rānis gave birth to six sons. But the youngest Rāni gave birth to a very beautiful boy with the face of mongoose.

Similarly, among the Santals of the Santal Parganas, there is current a folktale entitled *The boy who learnt magic*, of which one of the leading incidents is as follows :—

There was a Rājā who had seven wives who were childless. So the Raja consulted a Yogī as to what he should do in order that he might have children by his wives. The Yogī said "You must all go and bathe, and, after bathing, go to a mango orchard, choose a bunch of seven mangoes, knock it down with your left hand and catch it in a cloth without letting it touch the ground. Thereafter you must go home, and give one mango to each of the Rānis while sitting in a row according to seniority. Then you yourself should eat the rinds thrown away by the Rānis. If you will do this you will have children."

Thereafter the Rājā and the Rānis did as they had been told to do by the Yogī. But the Rājā did not eat the rind of the youngest Rāni's mango, because he did not love her very much.

However, after five or six months had elapsed from the time when the Rānis ate the mangoes, the youngest Rāni was with child. On hearing of this news, the Rājā began to love her very much. When the time was full, she gave birth to twin sons.¹

From an examination of the two foregoing incidents, we find that the womenfolk of two of the aboriginal tribes in Bihar and Chota Nagpur, viz. of the Hos of Singhbhum and of the Santals of the Santal Parganas, partake of mangoes for the purpose of obtaining children.

Then again, on examining the folklore of the peoples inhabiting various other parts of India we find that the women of other parts of India partake of the undermentioned nostrums for procuring sons :—"Pomegranate flower (and fruit) given to eat, mango fruit to eat, a drug to take, throwing a stick at mangoes and eating what falls, eating fruit (*lichis*). *Varied*

¹ Vide *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* by C. J. Bompas, London: David Nutt, 1909, pp. 134-138.

as used to procure egg-heroine (*q.v.*) barley corn to eat, grain of rice to eat, two flowers, bathing in a sacred well. *Variant*—half a mango produces half a son. (F.T.B. 1, 117, 187, 9. —I.F.T. 41, 91, 139.—W.A.S. 47, 249.—L.P. 2, 3, 139, 290, 291.—I. A. I. 219).¹

Now arises the question, what is the root-idea lying at the basis of the practice of women eating fruits and other things for the purpose of procuring children. It will not be difficult to answer this question if we will examine the Philosophy of the Lower Culture. On examining it, we find that savages look upon conception and birth with wonder and awe as being things not understood. They are attributed to causes different from human and often superhuman, which operate on the woman, who is the agent of birth. The man's relation with conception and birth is disregarded, and these are ascribed to all sorts of causes alien from humanity, such as fish, plants and even stones. Hence, arises the practice of women eating under ceremonial conditions, food of various kinds, fruits, roots, seeds and other vegetable products, cakes and animal substances including fish and eggs, drinking potions, often very repulsive, consuming salt, scrapings of sacred stone statues and other mineral substances, bathing in sacred springs, wallowing in human blood, exposing themselves to rain or sunshine, wearing amulets, entering into contact with various objects esteemed sacred or powerful, among others rubbing themselves on menhirs and rocks, exposing themselves where they think they may be fructified by the entry into their bodies of the spirit of some deceased child or adult, simulating the act of birth. In short, they perform an extraordinary variety of rites and submit often to unpleasant or even loathsome conditions, that they may be blessed with offspring.²

Researches recently carried on among the Lapchas of

¹ Vide *Tales of the Punjab*. By F. A. Steel, London: Macmillan & Co., 1894, p. 389.

² For a fuller discussion of this subject, vide *Primitive Society* by E. S. Hartland. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, pp. 17 to 20.

Sikkim have shown that these people entertain the curious belief that, by swallowing hailstones women have conceived and given birth to children or animals. On this point, Mr. C. de Beauvoir Stocks says: "The birth of a hero or merely the hero's animal is attributed to the swallowing of a hailstone." (Vide stories No. XXVI. 2, XXVIII. 2)¹

¹ Vide the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (New Series: Art no. 23, *Folklore and Customs of the Lapchas of Sikkim*, by C. de Beauvoir Stocks, p. 342.)

VI.—A Mikir Tale and its Santali Parallels

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The following story is taken from Messrs. Stack and Lyall's *The Mikirs* (1908).

A widow had an only son. She had six brothers. The uncles and the nephew went together to set fish traps in the river. The uncles' trap was empty, while the nephew's, though carelessly set, was full of fish. All the advantageous positions in the stream were taken by the uncles who made their nephew set his trap each time at a different place. Disgusted with this the orphan did not set his trap at all in the stream, but left it among the grass. He found in it a wood pigeon which he brought home. The uncles' traps were, as usual, empty.

The envious uncles now killed a fat and sleek calf of their nephew. The latter removed the skin, took one leg of the calf and secretly hid it in the house of a rich Brahman who lived at a distance. He then pretended that the house of the Brahman smelt strongly of cow's flesh. The Brahman naturally was very angry and challenged him on pain of death to produce it. After a careless and lounging search he pulled out the hidden calf's leg and produced it before the Brahman, who mortally afraid of losing caste gave him a clothful of hushmoney. He came home and sent his mother to his uncles for a basket to measure the silver he had brought. She brought the basket to him. The youngest of the uncles came and spied what was about. Then they asked their nephew how he got all that money. He said it was the price of the flesh of his calf they had killed, but the villagers to whom he sold the meat wanted him to bring more. Then he excited their greed and advised them to kill all their cows and vend the meat at the village of the rich Brahman, calling out "Who would take more cow's flesh?" The uncles, fools as they were, did so

and were for their pains soundly belaboured by the villagers. They vowed revenge and arriving at the village set fire to their nephew's house. The poor orphan collected the ashes of the burnt house, made them into a load and went to a distant village where the people suffered from sore eyes. He had come there, he said, to cure their complaint, and pointed to the ashes as medicine for the eyes. The grateful villagers gave him a load of money. He took care to advise them not to apply the medicine till he was nearly out of the village. What was their chagrin when the eyes smarted as the ashes were applied to them ! They would beat him they vowed if the cheat came that way again.

He again borrowed the basket of his uncles to measure his new find. And again the youngest uncle came and spied. The money the orphan avowed was the sale proceeds of the ashes of his burnt little house. The villagers wanted more ashes to cure their sore eyes. So the uncles ought to burn all their houses, vend them to the villagers and get rich thereby. The uncles burnt their houses and went to the villages to sell the ashes. The angry villagers bound them fast with ropes, rubbed the very ashes into their eyes and thrashed them soundly. The discomfited uncles came raging home and planned to put their wicked nephew in an iron cage and drown him, cage and all, in a pool in the jungle.

The poor orphan was now in the iron cage awaiting his doom alone while their uncles went away to eat their food. But luck and wit had not deserted him. A certain king's son, hunting deer, came that way and enquired of the orphan how he came to be thus imprisoned. He readily invented a yarn and said " My uncles have a daughter, so lovely ! you cannot imagine how fair she is. They tell me to marry her, but I always answer that I will not. So my uncles, becoming angry, have shut me up in this cage." When the prince asked if he could get her to wife, the orphan said that it was an easy enough job if he let him have his coat, dhoti, necklace and bracelets, put on his clothes and came to the cage, and when his

uncles asked him anything he was to say only that he agreed to take her. The poor prince was of course drowned.

The triumphant uncles came home, but their triumph was but shortlived. What was their surprise when they saw their worthy nephew safe and sound and in the bargain strutting about decked out in the finery of the prince! He explained to his uncles that his grandmothers and grandfathers (i.e. the spirits in the pool) sent him back there in a *palki* after giving him the fine clothes, the necklace and bracelets. And to cap the argument he showed them a golden knife which he said they had given him as a token. They all got into iron cages. The nephew threw one cage into the pool, and bubbles came up on the surface. The orphan cried, "Look, my uncles! My eldest uncle has drunk so much of the rice beer which my grandparents have given him that he is vomitting." To make the long story a short one all the uncles were drowned and the orphan, of course, became great king in time and lived a happy life.

Now some of the incidents in the Mikir tale have striking parallel in two Santali tales occurring in the *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* by Mr. C. H. Bompas (London: David Nutt, 1909). In story No. LXII "Spanling and his Uncles" we notice that the uncles were very jealous of Spanling. Spanling killed his buffalo and so cleverly used its hide that some thieves who were apportioning their booty out of fear gave him enough gold. This he measured with his uncles' measure. A gold piece however stuck to it as in the story of *Ali Baba and the Forty Robbers in the Arabian Nights Entertainments*. The uncles got jealous of their nephew, but asked him how he came by his wealth. He advised them to kill all their buffaloes and sell their skin at a certain town where he pretended to have sold the skin of his own buffalo. The uncles did so but were cruelly mocked by the villagers. The uncles cursed their nephew for his wickedness and burned his house. Poor Spanling now collected the ashes of his burnt house, put them into a sack and went out to see if he could use

them. He cleverly exchanged them for sacks of gold of some carters. He measured his new wealth again as before and excited the jealousy of his uncles, who were persuaded to burn their huts. The ashes they wanted to sell for gold, with the result that they were again befooled.

In another story (No. LXVII) Lel Singh, the Mongoose Prince, pretended that he sold the ashes of his house burnt by his brothers. He excited their greed and persuaded them to burn their own houses too.

The brothers in revenge killed the mother of the Mongoose Prince. He carried her dead body and propped it up against a tree. Now some drivers were driving pack bullocks which came up near the tree. The prince pretended that they had killed his mother. The drivers out of fear gave the pack bullocks to him, with which he went home. His brothers wanted to get similarly rich and were induced by the Mongoose boy to kill their wives.

When they found out the trick of this mischievous urchin they planned to drown him in a pool. Luck however intervenes and saves the boy. A shepherd came that way and was induced to take the place of Lel Singh in a *palki* in which he was imprisoned. Lel Singh came home with the herd of cattle of the hapless shepherd who was drowned. His brothers were surprised to see Lel Singh safe and sound, and the master of a splendid herd to boot. When he was asked how he got the cattle, he pretended that the spirits in the pool gave him the herd and all that his brothers needed was a drowning in the pool. They must, however, carry their own *palkis* there, as evidently he could not carry them. His brothers did so, out of inordinate greed for the possession of a herd. Lel Singh shoved them one by one, *palki* and all, into the pool and drowned them. And in the end, as such a tale ends, he lived happily of course.

On page 55 of *The Mikirs* there is the following footnote :—

“Two incidents in this story, viz., the profit made by the orphan by disposing of the flesh of his slaughtered calf and his

gain by selling the ashes of his burnt house, and the disappointment of his uncles when they endeavoured to imitate him, much resembles the incidents of folk-tale given as an illustration of the Tibeto-Burmar dialects of Rangkas, Darma, Cha dangs and in Byāngs in Vol. III, Part I of the *Linguistic Survey*. These dialects are spoken in the northern portions of Kumaon, on the borders of Tibet. In this version the animals slaughtered are goats and sheep, and the profit is made out of their skins, while the ashes of the burnt house are by an accident exchanged for a load of flour. Still the *motif* is the same, and the great distance of the country where this tale is current from that of the Mikirs, and the impossibility of intercommunication, make the coincidences interesting."

These remarks apply with greater force to the resemblance to the Santali tales. I believe that the stories are all derived from some old Sanskrit or Budhistic tale.

VII.—The Tri-Kalinga Country

By Binayak Misra

I proved in my article *The Area of Orissa in Hiuen Tsang's Time* that in ancient times the Utkal country extended from the river Cossai in the north up to Puri in the south and from Gaya district in the north-west up to the Bay of Bengal in the east. But as it has been mentioned in the Purāṇas that the river Vaitaraṇī flows through the Kalinga country and Vaṅgas, Aṅgas and Kalingas are allied races, some scholars assert that the Kalinga country extended from the Tamruk subdivision in the district of Midnapur in the north up to Godāvari in the south and it comprised only the seaboard tracts of Orissa while the highlands lying to the west of the district of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri formed the Utkal and the Oḍra country separately (vide Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's *Orissa in the Making*). This assertion is, in my humble opinion, not acceptable, because we gather from Kālidāsa's description that the seaboard tracts of Orissa were not outside the Utkal country during the fifth century A.D. Had the proper Kalinga country extended up to Tamruk subdivision, the Utkalas should not have shown the way to the troops of Raghu towards the Kalinga country. It is also distinct from Kālidāsa's description that the Kalinga country was situated somewhere else near the Mahendra Hill in the Madras Presidency. Again as the Kalinga country was powerful in Kālidāsa's time, we cannot assert that the seaboard tracts of Orissa were separated from the Kalinga country and amalgamated with the Utkal country by a certain ruler of Orissa sometime before the fifth century A.D. We therefore must hold that the seaboard tracts of Orissa were within the Utkal country even in the remote past. In that case the problem in respect of the descriptions in the Purāṇas that the river Vaitaraṇī flows through the Kalinga country and Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kalingas are allied races, should be solved otherwise.

It has been discovered that the Kalinga people went to Burma long before the Christian era and established a kingdom which comprised three districts and hence was called Mudu-Kalinga or Tri-Kalinga (vide *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography* by Colonel Gerini). We also get from the epigraphic records that there was a Tri-Kalinga empire on the west coast of the Bay of Bengal. Again Pliny's Modogalingam has been taken for Mudu-Kalinga by some scholars as the word "Mudu" means "three" in Telegu. It may therefore be presumed that this Tri-Kalinga empire must have been formed with three countries.

The kings prior to Vajrahasta of Gaṅga dynasty conquered the Kalinga country lying to the south of the Koṅgod country and ruled it, but did not assume the title Trikalīṅgādhipati (overlord of Tri-Kalinga). It was Vajrahasta of Gaṅga dynasty who first conquered Orissa and bore the title Trikalīṅgādhipati. It may now unhesitatingly be held that the Utkal country was a part of the Tri-Kalinga country. Again it is mentioned in the Marāṅjamura Charter (*J.B.O.R.S.*, 1916, pp. 45-49) that Yayāti was the lord of Kalinga, Koṅgad Utkal and Kosal countries and bore the title Trikalīṅgādhipati. It is also mentioned in other plates of Mahābhava Gupta of Yayati's family that they bore the title Trikalīṅgādhipati as well as Kośelendra (vide *E.I.*, vol. iii, p. 327, l. 22). It may therefore be maintained that the title Trikalīṅgādhipati indicates the supremacy over Kalinga, Koṅgad and Utkal. Thus it is now proved that the Tri-Kalinga empire comprised the Kalinga proper, Koṅgad and Utkal.

I have suggested in my note on the Utkal and Odra tribes that the Utkal people belonged to the Dravidian race in ancient time. In that case it is not impossible that the Utkal country was within the Tri-Kalinga empire.

We get from the Tibetan accounts that there was a ruler over Orissa during the second century A.C., who was converted to Buddhism by Nāgārjuna the then ruler of the Andhra country. But as Kalidāsa's Raghu had nothing to do with the king of Orissa while he proceeded to the Kalinga country

through Orissa, I surmise that Orissa was a dependency of the Kalinga country in the fifth century A.C. From these evidences we can arrive at a conclusion that as the Utkal country was a part of the Tri-Kalinga empire, the river Vaitaraṇī is said in the Purāṇas to have had its existence in the Kalinga country and again for the same reason the Kalingas have been linked with the Aṅgas and Vāṅgas.

VIII.—Further Note on Human Sacrifice among the Santals

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In my paper *A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Santals*, which has been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March 1926, I have shown that whenever a tank was excavated and no water came out of the springs at its bottom, it was believed by the Santals residing in the Santal Parganas that the absence of water was due to the water-spirit's wrath and that the tank would fill up with water if only the offended deity would be propitiated by the offering of a human sacrifice. I have further showed therein that in ancient times there also prevailed among the Santals of the Santal Parganas the custom of offering a human sacrifice to the earth-deity for the purpose of obtaining good luck and of burying the victim's corpse underneath the earth. The examples of Santal folklore narrated by me in the aforementioned paper illustrate the principles that, in the case of offering human sacrifices to the water-deity, the victim was drowned in the water; whereas in that of offering the same to the earth-deity, the victim was killed and buried in the earth.

In the present paper I shall show that, in former times, most likely before the establishment of British rule in the Santal Parganas, the Santals used to offer human sacrifices to another class of supernatural beings, whom they call *boṅgas* or spirits. The Santals believe that these *boṅgas* exist everywhere and take an active part in human affairs. They often assume the forms of young men and women and form connections with human beings. They live in a subterranean world which is situated beneath pools and rivers. They feed on human flesh and keep tigers and leopards as house-dogs and keep coiled snakes as stools for sitting upon.

At the bidding of witches they cause diseases and bound on the tigers to catch men. But they are by no means malevolent and are capable of gratitude.

The *Kisar Boŋga* or Brownie takes up his abode in houses and will steal food for the master of the house. Unless offended, he will cause the master of the house to grow rich.¹

The Santali custom of offering human sacrifices to the *boŋgas* or spirit is evidenced by the following item of folk-belief which is current among the Santals. In village Sarjomghutu, which is about four miles off from Baihart Bazar which stands on the banks of the Budi river, there is a large banyan tree which is inhabited by a spirit or *boŋga headman* to whom the villagers are reported to offer human sacrifices. But they never admit it, for it would bring them bad luck if they would speak about it.²

Sometimes *Boŋgas* or spirits take up their abode in pools of water and delude thirsty men with illusive visions of reservoirs of drinking water. When the thirsty men go in search of these reservoirs the *boŋga* causes the water to vanish leaving the former to endure the torment of thirst. When the former make a vow to offer a human sacrifice to him, he causes the reservoir of water to appear in its reality from which the men quench their thirst. This is evidenced by the under-mentioned legend which is current among the Santals:—

There were seven brothers and their only sister. One day the seven brothers were out a-hunting. Being very much thirsty, they could not find water. Climbing on to the top of a tree, they one after the other looked out and found a pool of water close by. But as soon as they descended and went in search of the pool, they could not find it. So they concluded that some *water boŋga* was deluding them with the illusion of this pool of water. So they made a vow to offer him a human

¹ Vide *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* : By C. H. Bompas. London : David Nutt, 1909, p. 375.

² Op. cit., p. 379.

sacrifice. As soon as they made this vow, the pool of water appeared and they quenched their thirst.

Then returning home they made a plan to sacrifice their only sister by drowning her. So, one day, they went to work near a pond of theirs. When their sister took their breakfast to them, they ordered her to go to the pond and fetch drinking water for them from the tank. When she dipped the vessel in the water, it would not fill with water. So she went inside the water up to her thighs, but still the vessel would not fill. Then she went down into the water up to her neck, but still the vessel would not fill. So she went further inside it, so that the water flowed over her head and then the water pot filled up with water. Then the brothers returned home.¹ [With the remainder of this legend we are not concerned for the purpose of this paper.]

The foregoing instances of folklore supply us with the evidence that the Santals also used to offer human sacrifices to another class of supernatural beings or spirits whom they called *Bongas*.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 388-391.

IX.—Hathigumpha Notes

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

Line 1. AIRA is certain, both in this and the MANCHAPURI inscription. For the change of *l* into *r*, see below, line 11.

Māhāmegha-vāhana is the reading at Manchapuri also. Hence it means 'a descendant of *Mahā*°.' The latter was, obviously, the founder of the dynasty, the grandfather of Khāravela (line 3).

Line 2. The end of the line, VADHAMĀNA°, etc., is uncommonly deeply incised and is one of the clearest passages. Owing to the depth of the incision, impressions do not come off well.

Line 5. GAMDHAVA-VEDA denotes a written literature on music.

Cf. Rāmākṛishṇa Kavi, preface to the ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ (Baroda, G.O. 36), p. 6.

Line 8. Read : sa-b[ī]ta-sena-vāhano, for samb[ī]ta°.

Vīta has a technical military significance (see Amara, Bk. *Kṣatriya*, 43, *vītaṃ tu asāraṃ hastyaśvaṃ*¹) : 'with his army and transport having lost their morale.'

Line 11. ĀVA-RĀJA : It may be compared with the PAMḌA-RĀJA in line 13. It probably means the "ĀVA KING," or King ĀVA. There was an ancient Tamil race ĀYA (Cam. H. I. p. 596), and a kingdom called ĀVA-MUKTA, to the north of Kānchī, in the time of Samudragupta (Allahabad inscription), and a people spelt as *Avarni* and *Aruarni* below or by the Kistna as described by Ptolemy.² In Ptolemy the division having Pitunda (see below) adjoins the territory of the Avarni.

The Bhāgavata record an ĀVA dynasty (xii. 2-29) which the Vishnu (iv. 24-13) equates with Andhra. This agrees with Ptolemy (see below). The Avas were in the Andhra country at the time.

The latter part of the sentence (see below) shows that it stood at same critical position with reference to the group of the Tamil countries.

¹ Cf. Keśava, *Nānā*°, 1261-5.

² Cunningham, A.G.I., p. 539 ; McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, pp. 66, 185, 187.

Read : PITHUMDA[M] for PITHUDA-

The passage with this correction would be translated ;—

“ He (Khāravēla) razes to the ground (lit. ‘ ploughs down ’) with an ass-plough PITHUMDA the market-town (mamḍa), founded by (the) ĀVA king.”

Ptolemy locates behind the East Coast a chief-town PITUNDRA or PITUNDA *metropolis* (Cunningham, AGI., 518, Lassen III, 202, map at the end of the volume). PITHUMDA may be identical with PITUNDA of Ptolemy.¹ It seems that it was a commercial town of importance.

That probably it was the gate to the Tamil-land is indicated by the information which we get from the reading now proposed of the last portion of this most difficult line.

Read :

bhi[m]dati Tramira-deṣa-samghātaṃ (*for* : bhidati tamara-deha-samghātaṃ)

“ (he) breaks up the combination of the Tramira(=Tāmil) countries ”

The *tra* may be compared with *tr* in the Girnar inscription of Aśoka.

The “ combination ” or “ league ” had existed for 113 years as the preceding expression *terasa-vasa-sata*^o says. This would take the foundation of the league a little before Aśoka’s time. There independence in the Maurya times must have been due to some extent to this factor. The Tamil tradition of the Tamiḷ-agam or “ Tamil realm ” covering the PĀNDYA, CHOLA and KERALA-DEŚA’S is here confirmed.

The horizontal chisel-mark above the loop in *ṣ* had been missed before. This is the only instance of *ṣ*, like the only instance of *ś* in line 17 (*vinīśrito*).

Line 15. Read : Si[m]dhuḷāya, for : Si[m]dhudāya

This correction is due to the recognition of the *ḷ*-form by Dr. Lüders (J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 1087) which was kindly pointed out to me by him personally.

¹ Cf. I.A., 55, 145, which Professor Majumdar Sastri has kindly pointed out to me. In the article the identification of the river *Iarguliya* with Khāravēla’s *ploughing* is more than absurd.

REVIEWS AND NOTES OF BOOKS.

Professor Radha Krishna's Indian Philosophy.

By Umesha Mishra.

The second volume of Indian Philosophy by Professor Radha Krishna is out. The book deals with the six Brāhmanical systems along with the Caiva, the Cākta, and the later Vaiṣṇava theism in detail. The book shows the author's skill of representing the various difficult problems of Indian Philosophy in a very clear and scientific way. It can be hoped that with the help of this book the educated class will be able to know much of this untrodden path. No doubt, there is a clear improvement upon the author's first volume of it. In this volume the Professor has taken great pains in corroborating his statements from the original texts as well. The educated class is surely very much indebted to him for this tremendous task.

It, being a very important contribution to philosophy, is surely to be read even by those who may have no good opportunities to go through the original texts. It is, therefore, necessary to point out some of the statements made here with which we cannot agree.

1. On page 30^{17, 18} it is said "Vācaspati defines Proof," and to support this statement the writer quotes a line from Nyāyavārttikatātparyatīka 1.1.1. To this we may say that the particular quotation should not be attributed to Vācaspati Miśra, who only repeats what is said in the Nyāya-Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana, a very old work (vide N. Bhā. page 3¹⁵ Vizianagaram Ed.). Another very important point to note is that the interpretation of the word "Nyāya" as "the Nyāya system of philosophy" in the present context, is altogether unwarranted by the text. The text uses this word here in the sense of "a chain of reasoning" or a "syllogism" which represents the various means of Right Cognition (Pramāṇāni) vide N. Bhā. page 5^{3, 5}. This idea is also very clear in the very text (vide N. Bhā. page 5⁵).

2. Pages 37²-38.¹—The view expressed here is not accepted by many oriental scholars. This misunderstanding in believing that there was a post-Vātsyāyana Vṛtti on the Nyāya Sūtras is due to the bold type printing of some of the lines of the Bhāṣya in some of the editions. The method of explanation found in the Nyāya-Bhāṣya is just what the very definition of Bhāṣya requires. Bhāṣya is that sort of commentary where the author explains his own words (Svapadāni ca varnyante) etc. For further arguments I only ask the reader to refer to Dr. Gangānātha Jhā's brief preface to his edition of Nyāya Bhāṣya with the Kha'yota and also to the very definition of the word Bhāṣya.

3. Page 38^{1,4}.—To support his statements the Professor cites instances from Nyāya Bhāṣya in his footnotes. I wish to say something about some of them. The different interpretations of *Trividhama-numānaṁ* by Vātsyāyana does not prove that there existed a post-Vātsyāyana Vṛtti on the Nyāya Sūtras. The three varieties of Inference have been discussed by the writers on Sāṅkhya and Jain. Īṣvara-kṛṣṇa, who may be placed in the first century A.D., has referred to it in his Kārikā on Sāṅkhya. Now these different references show that Vātsyāyana might have referred to the interpretations given in another system. At least it cannot be said that Vātsyāyana is referring to a Vṛtti on Nyāya Sūtras, by giving the different interpretations of the varieties of Inference. For further arguments on this I like to draw attention to Professor A. B. Dhruva's paper published along with the proceedings of the First Oriental Conference.

4. Page 40.—Nyāyasūcīnibandha and Nyāyasūtroddhāra are really not by one pen. These two works try to give a faithful Maithila recension of the Nyāya Sūtras, and thereby attempting to fix the number of the Sūtras which had become very doubtful due to Buddhist influence (vide Princess of Wales Saraswati-Bhavana Studies, Volume III, pages 102, 103 and 152, 153).

5. Page 40.—It appears from the words of the Professor that Rucidatta's Makaranda is a work on Vardhamāna's Prakāṣa on Udayana's Parīḥuddhi. But it is not so. Makaranda by Rucidatta is a commentary on Vardhamāna's Prakāṣa on Udayana's Kusumāñjali-prakarana. All these works are published together in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

6. Page 41.—The commentary of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma on Tattvacintāmaṇi is not called Tattva-Cintāmaṇi-Vyākhyā as our Professor thinks, but it is known as Sārāvali, a MS. of which is present in the Benares Government Sanskrit College Library. His exact date may be decided from the fact that he came in touch with Cṛi Caitanya Deva in 1510 (vide P.W.S. Studies, Volume IV. page 66). Nyāya-titavati attributed to Vallabha is a mistake for Nyāya-līlāvati which the writer himself correctly mentions on page 181⁴, although there he speaks of it as Līlāvati and not Nyāyalīlāvati which is its full name.

7. Page 42.—The word "Prameya" is translated as "the objects known" but it is not the objects known only that is called Prameya but anything and everything whether known or unknown or to be known may be equally called a Prameya, which means, that which is the object of Pramā or Right Knowledge.

8. Page 43, footnote 3.—Vātsyāyana never uses the word "Paramanyāya" for Nigamana. Paramanyāya is a term applied to a Syllogism, having the five factors, which represent the four accepted Prāmaṇās. The word "Parama" is used here only to show that all the five factors of a Syllogism must be used if the argument is meant to convince an opponent (vide Nyāya-Vārttika on the same). It may also be pointed out that the word Nyāya is, also, as has already been pointed above, used in the same sense, except the meaning of the attribute "Parama;" and it is because of this that Vācaspati in his Nyāyacūcīnibandha has given the name of Nyāyaprakarana to the section of eight sūtras, which includes sūtras dealing with all the five factors of a Syllogism and not only Nigamana as Professor Rādhā Kṛṣṇan holds (vide his own footnote 3 on page 43).

9. Page 58²⁻³.—The very qualifying word “avyapadeśyam” used by Gautama in the Sūtra I.I.5 shows that he meant really the indeterminate form of perception, otherwise what else can the word signify. It is quite obvious. As to the argument: “If we are in doubt whether the object at a distance is a man or a post, dust or smoke, we do not have perception,” we cannot agree with the writer. A doubt necessitates that something about the object of doubt must have been known before, otherwise how can the doubt at all arise. The very nature of doubt presupposes “doubt about something.” The knowledge of this something must be due to a form of cognition. Thus first there is a perception, then only doubt can arise about the nature of that percept.

10. Page 95²⁴⁻²⁵.—The author is not clear about the non-inherent cause of the colour of the cloth. The definition as given by him shows that the non-inherent cause of the colour of the cloth will be something which inheres in the material cause (samavāyikāraṇa) of the colour of the cloth, that is, the cloth itself. Thus we cannot say with the Professor, that the colour of the threads is a non-material cause of the colour of the cloth, for, the colour of the threads does not inhere in the material cause of the colour of the cloth, i.e. the cloth itself. Well, the answer is quite simple. Any man who has read even the most primary work on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika (like Tarkasaṅgraha) can easily say that it was due to this difficulty that the writers on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika have interpreted the definition also in a different way.

11. On page 96¹²⁻¹⁶ the instrumental cause (Nimitta-Kāraṇa) is said to be “Kāraṇa” and the writer quotes *Asādhāraṇaṁ Kāraṇaṁ Kāraṇaṁ* from the Tarkasaṅgraha. It may be pointed out here that “Kāraṇa” never means the instrumental cause, nor the instrumental cause is ever a “peculiar cause” (*Asādhāraṇaṁ Kāraṇaṁ*) in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika as the Professor thinks. Kāraṇa is that cause which immediately produces the effect, and therefore, out of the three kinds of cause, that which is the most efficient one is called Kāraṇa (vide Tadetattrividha-

kāraṇamādhye yadevāsādhāraṇam kāraṇam tadeva Kāraṇam). This is the very sense which is expressed by Keçava Miçra in his Tarkabhāṣā by "Prakṛstaṁ Kāraṇam." On the other hand, a cause is not only that which immediately produces the effect, but anything which invariably and unconditionally precedes the effect.

12. On page 97², it is said that the "Buddhists deny..... both." But is it not a fact that the Buddhists believe that everything is produced out of non-existence. In other words, they hold that an entity is produced out of non-entity (asataḥ Sajjāyate vide Tattvakaumudī on Sāṅkhya Kārika 9, and also consult the Nyāya Sūtra 'Abhāvādbhāvo-tpattirnānupamr̥dya prā durbhāvāt' IV. 1. 14).

13. By the way, we cannot but refer to a line on page 97,^{38'39} where it is said "That which does not exist can never be *created*." But we should say just the opposite, that is, that which does not exist only can be *created*; for the word "*creation*," although is very loosely used by many writers in the sense of "producing," yet it does not mean any and every kind of production. "*Creation*" is only that production, which is "produced out of nothing." According to the orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy we cannot use the word "*creation*" for producing; for no orthodox system believes that an entity is produced out of nothing. It is only the Buddhists who believe that an entity is produced out of nothing or non-entity; hence in the Buddhist philosophy only, we can use the word "*Creation*." Thus it appears that the sentence referred to above involves a contradiction in terms.

14. On page 152,^{28'29} it is said that "later Naiyāyikasetc." To this we may say that the view held here should not be attributed to later Naiyāyikas. It is a very old view of the Naiyāyikas as is clear from the very text—Nyāyasāra pp. 39,40, which our Professor quotes for the support of his statement as well as from other texts, vide Sarva-siddhāntasaṅgraha, attributed to Caṅkarācārya, Naiyāyikapakṣa, verses 41-43. What I mean, is that before Bhāsarvajña this view was

attributed to the Naiyāyikas. We may also note here that the same view which came to be associated with Naiyāyikas had been recognised as a Pūrvapakṣa in the Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya on the Nyāya Sūtra I. 1. 22.

15. On page 154,^{8,12} it is said that if Nyāya soul is not conscious, then there is nothing to distinguish the Nyāya theory from Materialism. To this we can say that according to Indian materialism there was no separate existence of soul from the various constituents of our body or the body itself. It was for the first time with the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika that the separate existence of soul has been proved. For further development of this we may only refer to an article published in the Allahabad University Studies, Vol. I. p. 89.^{3,22}

16. Page 155.¹⁵—Ātman is Vibhu. Manas is always in contact with the Ātman, hence it is useless to say that "Cognitions arise.....Manas." Cognitions take place only when the Manas (which is already in contact with the Ātman) comes in contact with sense-organ.

17. Page 179.^{8,11}—To support the statement that "the Kaṇāda Sūtra seems to have received additions from time to time" the Professor says, "Some of the sūtras now found were not commented on by the scholiast, Praçastapāda." Well, this does not appear sound. The Praçastapāda Bhāṣya is not a running commentary on the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra. Praçastapāda had consciously left many of the sūtras to be commented upon as we find in the Vyākaraṇa Bhāṣya of Patañjali. It is the very reason why several writers of old did not like to call it a Bhāṣya on the sūtras, for a Bhāṣya must follow the order of the sūtras and every sūtra should be commented upon. It is, therefore, that the true name, which the author also gave to his work, is Padārthadharma-Saṅgraha and not Bhāṣya (vide "Padārthadharma-Saṅgrah pravakṣyate," the Mangala verse of the book). Hence it is not necessary that every sūtra must be found commented upon here.

18. Page 180.^{1,4}—How can we deny the genuineness of the Sūtra-*'dharma-viṣeṣaprasūtādravya-guṇakarmasāmānya-viṣeṣasamavāyānām padārthānām'* (V. S. I. 1.4), where

there is a clear mention of the six categories (Padārthas). The reference given by the writer does not at all mean to define or enumerate the categories, but only it gives the technical sense in which the word "Artha" is used here.

19. Page 181.—We cannot agree with the view that "Līlāvati (really Nyāya-Līlāvati) came *immediately* after Nyāyakandalī." Nyāyakandalī was written in 991 A.D. (Tryadhikadaṣottaranavaṣaṭakābda Nyāyakandalī racitā=913 ṣaka=991 A.D. vide the last lines of kandalī), while Nyāyalīlāvati's authors' date can be with tolerable certainty assigned to the end of the twelfth century A.D. (vide P.W.S. Studies, Vol. III. p. 124 with footnotes).

20. I do not understand how our author has picked up the name Saṅkarānanda as the author of Upaskāra. Saṅkara Miśra is the author's name and it is a well-known fact. I find the writer has himself correctly used the name on p. 187 infra.

21. Page 197.⁴—There is also a view that Paramāṇus remain during Pralaya not as passive but always in vibration.

22. Page 255.—Nārāyaṇas Saṅkhyacandrikā is not a treatise on Gauḍapāda's work but a quite independent work on Saṅkhya kārīkā directly. Really it follows very closely the Tattvakaumudī; Gauḍapāda and Māthara go together.

23. Page 262-263.—Although there is a difference in the nature of the three guṇas—Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, yet we cannot say that the Sattva is first or Rajas is second and so on. There is no need of this order in the system anywhere, nor any author has said so.

24. Page 270.¹²—Can we use correctly the word "destruction" in Saṅkhya System?

25. Page 273 footnote 4.—The Sanskrit word Rūpa includes both form and colour and not merely form as the writer appears to hold. I would rather like to go as far as to say that Rūpa should be translated into colour and not into form, for which the word is Ākṛti.

26. Page 276.—There appears to be various schools under Saṅkhya and the present Saṅkhya system, as we have, is one

of those which are now "lost. Only the traces of the lost schools are here and there found. We find that the treatment given in the Kathopanishad and Manusmṛti appears to be quite different from that of the Sāṅkhya Kārikā.

27. Page 294.^{4,5}—According to Sāṅkhya, experience (Bhoga) belongs to Buddhi or Mahat and not to Puruṣa. It is due to our nescience (aviveka) that we attribute the Dharmas of Buddhi to Puruṣa. Puruṣa itself is indifferent to Bhoga (vide Sāṅkhya Kārikā 20). It is the very aim of Sāṅkhya philosophy to point out that Kartṛtva and Bhokṛtva belong to Buddhi and not to Puruṣa.

28. Page 342.⁵—Vijñānabbikṣu's Yogavārttika is not a separate manual on Yoga system but a running commentary on Yogabhāṣya.

29. Page 727. The author is right when he says "the Śaiva Siddhānta analyses the Universe into 36 Tattvas, " but how is it possible in that case when he adds "guṇa" to the Tattvas. For, as he himself holds that Puruṣa is the 26th Tattva and above it we have 5 Kañcukas, Māyā, Cuddhavidyā, Īvara, Sadāciva, Cakti, and Civa. These come to 37. The fact is that the Professor has omitted Caktitattva, which is the most important Tattva, and has added Guṇa to the list. No writer appears to add Guṇa to the list. The Professor has himself recognised this on page 736 infra. Further he speaks of Kala which is Kalā and not Kala.

These are some of the points to be noted carefully by the readers. What I have said is not my own suggestions. These are all based on the texts which I have tried to point out everywhere. Besides I want to draw attention to the following :—

The references given in the footnotes should consist of the name of the book, the paging and, if possible, lines as well. We should not forget to note the edition of the books consulted. It is so very important that without it sometimes the references are more troublesome.

Another point to note is that such books should contain at least up-to-date reference even of the various well-known journals on different topics. I find in this book under review that there are many points left in the dark, which would not have remained so if these papers were consulted. Lastly, I would like to suggest that it would have been far better if attempt were made to write the book after the Western scientific method on the basis of the original sources. No justice can be done to Indian thoughts if they are attempted to be solved according to Western ideas.

I have picked up here only some points for this review. The book requires a thorough review, of course, which must take a long time. However, I am writing this review only with a hope that it will help the reader of this book to some extent.

Obituary

Victor Herbert Jackson

Mr. V. H. Jackson, one of the foundation members and Vice-President of the Society, 1925-27, died on the 18th January, 1928 in England, where he had proceeded on leave last July. He had just completed his 52nd year (born, 21st December 1875).

It was known that he had suffered a serious breakdown in health shortly after his arrival in England ; but the news of his sudden death (from pneumonia, following influenza) came as a shock to his colleagues and friends. He had been a member of the Indian Educational Service since 1900. In the beginning he was Professor of Physics at the Presidency College, Calcutta ; and since 1906 he had been connected as Professor and Principal with the Patna College, except for three years when he filled the position of the official Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University. The splendid buildings with which Patna College and its new sister institution, the Science College, are now endowed, he had a very large share in planning and carrying into execution. His general educational policy tended to give the Patna College a touch of his own illustrious University (Oxford), and has stamped that institution with a high standard of efficiency.

The services for which he would be remembered outside the Patna College, and remembered for a long time, lie in the domain of Indian History and Archæology. He, following the noble example of a former Principal of the Patna College, J. W. McCrindle, did work of a permanent nature in that field. He made the study of Rājagṛīha and its neighbourhood an object of devotion. There has been no other scholar of our time who knew Rājgīr so well as did V. H. Jackson. He was familiar with every rock and its bearing on recorded facts from the time of the Buddha and Bimbisāra down to the Chinese pilgrims.

His method was marked with scientific precision. In 1913-14, in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, he published the result of his survey of the whole of Rājgir, noting the antiquities and ruins. His account of the ancient remains of the Barābar Hills as a hill-fortress and his identification of the Hills with the ancient *Gorathagiri* are permanent contributions, as already noted by me in this Journal in 1917. We owe to him the edition (1925) of the Journal of Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) for the Patna and Gaya districts (1811-12). He has edited and left to us for publication the Purnea Report of Buchanan, the first of four similar volumes. This volume will be published immediately. His studies of the Barābar Caves, published in this Journal in 1925 and 1926, will be fresh in the memory of the readers of this Journal.

The last contribution of Jackson is, perhaps, the most important of all. This was the fruit of his scientific mind and love for Indian Archæology. Excavations for making septic tanks were started in the University area, and he suspected that at a depth at which Pāṭaliputra excavations exposed Maurya antiquities he might get something important. He instituted a watch, and encouraged search and care in the labourers by rewards. The result exceeded his dreams. Figurines (terracotta) and other objects, disclosing a new pre-historic civilization, came to light, which Jackson exhibited and described himself at the last year's annual meeting in his address to the Society. That these finds were not accidental, but part of a system, was proved by the independent finds of the same class, discovered by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri at Buxar. These figures bring on record an old race, hitherto not known to Indian Archæology. They go back to pre-Aryan times, and might represent what in the early Sanskrit literature survives as Asura and Rakshasa culture. These finds have some remote bearing even on the new Sindh antiquities.

The death of Jackson creates a gap in the small ranks of the workers of the Research Society, and the gap is not likely to be filled soon. Jackson made few friends, and most of them were

his colleagues on the Research Society. They have therefore special reason to mourn his loss.

His scientific judgment and personal energy were great assets to us. He used to feel a personal pride in every success of the Society. He had completely identified himself with the Society.

A list of Jackson's most important contributions is given below.

K. P. Jayaswal.

1. "*Notes on old Rājagriha.*"

Annual report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14, pp. 265-71, giving for the first time a thoroughly accurate plan of the whole valley and the different antiquities.

2. "*Two new inscriptions from the Barābar Hills and an identification of Gorathagiri.*"

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, Part. II, 1915, pp. 159-71.

The first inscription was discovered by Mr. C. Russell and Mr. Jackson on the 5th March 1913. The second one was discovered by Mr. Jackson on the 27th December, 1914. [The similarity of the script of the second inscription with that of Khāravela at Khandagiri is striking.]

3. "*Huen Tsang's Route in South Bihar. An identification of the Buddhavana Mountain and a discussion of the most probable site of the Kukkutapādagiri.*"

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III, Part III, 1917, pp. 293-316.

Buddhavana, long mistakenly identified as Bodhain, was shown to be, not west of Jethian, but identical with the Hanria Hill.

4. "*The Lomasa Riski Cave and the Karna Chaupar dedicatory inscription.*"

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XII, Part I, 1926, pp. 49-52.

Further notes on the Barābar Hills, with plates and reconstructed reading and interpretation.

5. "*Journal of Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) kept during the survey of the districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12.*"

Edited with notes and introduction, 1925, containing also appendices.

6. "*Archaeological Research at Patna.*"—An account of the archæological finds discovered during the excavations in the University area. An address delivered at the Bihar and Orissa Research Society's annual meeting in 1927.

J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIII, Part II, 1927, pp. 121-30.

7. *The Purnea Report by Buchanan.*

This volume, the first of four similar volumes, which will make available for the first time the full text of Buchanan's Reports, relating to Bihar, will be ready for publication immediately.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER
Proceedings of an Ordinary Meeting
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held in the Physics Lecture
theatre of the Science College,
Patna, on the 21st March 1928.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mallik, Vice-President of the Society, presided.

Professor Rakhal Das Banerjee of the Benares Hindu University delivered before a large audience of members and visitors an extremely interesting lecture on the excavations at Mohenjo Daro, with the inception of which he was so closely connected. The lecturer gave a vivid account, illustrated by a large number of lantern slides, of the work and of the ancient civilization which it has brought to light. He also showed some interesting exhibits.

2. Sir B. K. Mallik thanked the lecturer and said that he had laid the Society under a deep obligation. Mr. D. N. Sen also expressed the cordial thanks of the Society to Professor Banerjee.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary Secretary.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 31st March 1928, in the Wheeler Senate House, Patna, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, presiding.

1. Mr. E. A. Horne, Honorary Secretary, presented the Annual Report of the Society for 1927-28, which was taken as read.

2. Mr. D. N. Sen, Honorary Treasurer, presented the Annual Statement of Accounts for 1927-28, which was taken as read.

3. Mr. H. Lambert moved that the following be elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1928-29 :—

President—H. E. Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Sir Basanta Kumar
Mullick, Kt.

Secretary—Mr. E. A. Horne, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board—Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Editor.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Associate
Editor.

Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President,
Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are *ex-*
officio members)—

The Hon'ble Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, Kt.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Bar.-at-Law.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri, B.A., B.L.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

Pandit Ramayatar Sarma, M.A.

The Right Rev. Dr. L. Van Hoeck, S.J.

Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

The motion was adopted.

4. On the motion of Mr. E. A. Horne, the following amendment of the rules was adopted, *viz.* :—

That in Rule 8 of the Society's Rules the words "*the Province*" be substituted for the word "*India*".

5. On the motion of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., D.LITT., C.I.E., was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

6. The Vice-President (the Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick) reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

7. His Excellency the President introduced Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, who addressed the Society on the subject : "The Mahāpurāṇas of India".

8. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society

Annual Report for 1927-28

I.—MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members (and subscribers to the Journal) on the 31st December 1926 was 179. In accordance with a resolution adopted by the Council at a meeting held on the 26th December 1926, the names of 33 members, whose subscriptions for 1925 (and earlier years) were in arrears, were removed. The names of four members, who have since paid up their arrears, have been restored, the net loss of membership on this account being 29. The Society also lost two members by death during the year (one being Mr. G. S. Bhate, who served the Society as Joint Secretary from 1920 to 1922) and three by resignation, making a total loss of 34. On the other hand, the names of eight new members and two new subscribers to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December 1927 was accordingly 155. The number of life-members (13) and of honorary members (14) remained unchanged, making a grand total of 182.

II.—JOURNAL

Volume XIII of the Journal (pp. 303) was published during the period under review, together with title-page and index. Part I (the March number) of Volume XIV is in the press.

Accompanying Mr. Jayaswal's further article on the Hathigumpha inscription, published in the last (September-December) number of the Journal, some exceedingly fine plates, containing photographic reproductions of paper estampages of the inscription, were published. A number of fine plates were published in the June number also, to illustrate the article by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda on the ancient monuments of Mayurbhanj.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal continued to be Editor of the Journal and Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, Associate Editor. Mr. R. D. Banerji is being invited to join the Editorial Board in the place of Mr. V. H. Jackson.

III.—MEETINGS

The last annual general meeting was held on the 22nd March 1927 in the Wheeler Senate House. The retiring President, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, presided. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President (Mr. V. H. Jackson) reviewed the work accomplished during the year (*vide* pp. 1—9 of Vol. XIII of the Journal). In the absence, owing to illness, of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Sen, Mr. Jackson then addressed the Society on Archæological Research at Patna (*vide* pp. 121—30 of Vol. XIII); and a number of recent archæological finds of great interest were exhibited at the meeting. His Excellency the President, in taking leave of the Society, expressed his satisfaction with the progress made during his term of office.

An ordinary meeting of the Society was held on the 21st March 1928 in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, when Mr. R. D. Banerji delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on the excavations at Mohenjo Daro, with the inception of which he was so closely connected. The lecturer also showed a number of interesting exhibits. The Vice-President, the Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, presided.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last annual meeting, were held on the 9th August and the 18th December 1927 and on the 11th March 1928.

IV.—LIBRARY

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh continues to be Honorary Librarian.

Steps have been taken to utilise the Mayurbhanj donation of Rs. 10,000, as soon as the Society moves into the rooms which have been assigned to it in the new Museum building. There is no room for expansion in the present library; and it

was not thought advisable to buy additional almirahs, seeing that entirely new bookcases (on the sectional plan) will be required for the Society's library in the new building.

The number of volumes added to the library during the year 1927 was 208 (Sanskrit and Pali, 8), representing 166 books; of which 30 were purchased, 28 were presented, and 108 were received in exchange. On the 31st December 1927, the library contained 3,472 volumes, as compared with 3,264 volumes at the end of the previous year.

A meeting of the Library Committee was held on the 29th January 1928.

V.—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The first volume, dealing with Smṛti, of the Society's Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila was published during the period under review. The critical introduction to this volume, which has been edited by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, was included in the last September-December number of the Journal (additional pp. i-xv). It is the first of a series of 11 volumes, which are in preparation, and which will make accessible to scholars the results of a systematic search, extending over nine years, of private collections in Mithila, one of the most ancient and continuous centres of Sanskrit learning. Only unpublished and little-known MSS. have been recorded, as a rule; and a number of these have never before been described in any catalogue. Published and well-known MSS. have been noticed, when they present any striking variations or other features of particular interest. The volume on Smṛti has already been welcomed, in terms of high appreciation, by scholars both in India and in Europe. The second volume, dealing with Chhandas and Kāvya, has been sent to the press. It should be added that the cost of publication of the whole series has been generously undertaken by the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.

The services of Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri have been employed during the year, partly in the preparation of further volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue for the press, and partly

in continuing the search for manuscripts in the Bhagalpur district. The services of the Oriya Pandit have been similarly employed, for a part of the year in prosecuting a search for manuscripts in the Puri district, and in Dhenkanal, and for a part of it, at headquarters, in preparing for future publication a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts already brought to light by the search, extending over a number of years, in the Puri district. The Society awaits a benefaction, similar to that of the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, to enable it to undertake the publication of this descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in Orissa.

VI.—GENERAL

The Society has sustained a very great loss by the death of Mr. V. H. Jackson, which occurred in England, where he had proceeded on long leave in July last, on the 18th January 1928. Mr. Jackson was a foundation member, and had been intimately associated with the work of the Society from the beginning. He succeeded Sir Hugh McPherson as Vice-President, on the latter's retirement in 1925 ; and the Society owed much to his unflagging zeal for its welfare, not to speak of his valuable contributions to the Society's Journal and his scholarly work as editor of the Buchanan MSS.

After editing for the Society, with notes and introduction, the Journal of Francis Buchanan kept during his survey of the Patna and Gaya districts in 1811-12, Mr. Jackson applied himself, with his accustomed thoroughness, to the task of editing Buchanan's Report of his survey of the Purnea district. The proofs of this Report, he saw through the press before he left India. The index has been prepared by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri ; and the volume will be ready for publication very shortly. It will be the first of a series of four volumes, in which the Society will make available for the first time the full text of Buchanan's Reports, relating to Bihar. The cost of publication is being met from the Hatwa donation of Rs. 5,000.

Meanwhile, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham (the editor of Buchanan's Shahabad Journal) is engaged in editing for the

Society, with notes and introduction, the Journal kept by Buchanan during his survey of the Bhagalpur district.

At the forthcoming 17th International Congress of Orientalists, which meets in Oxford in August, the Society will be represented by Sir Edward Gait and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, two of its honorary members.

Good progress has been made with the new Museum building, which will be ready for occupation before the end of the year. Proposals have been made for the furnishing in an adequate manner of the Society's library and council room.

VII.—FINANCE

The accounts of the Society for the period August 1924 to June 1927 were audited by the Examiner of Local Accounts, Bihar and Orissa, in August last.

The annual statement of accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

24th March 1928.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary Secretary.

Statement of Accounts from April 1927 to February 1928.

A. The actuals for 1926-27 showed a closing balance of Rs. 6,210-13-4. With the donations which were transferred to fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 14,000, the total balance to the credit of Society was Rs. 20,210-13-4 at the end of 1926-27.

B. As to the actuals up to the 29th February 1928, the closing balance was Rs. 6,922-3-0. To this is to be added the amount on fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 14,405; which gives a total of Rs. 21,327-3-0.

The position of the Society is, therefore, financially sound.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 29th February 1928 amounted to Rs. 1,771. Up to the 28th February 1927, the realised amount was Rs. 1,569. The sum received up to 22nd March 1928 was Rs. 1,955, while the estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 2,000. Our receipts from subscriptions have already exceeded last year's figure, and will almost surely justify the estimate by the end of this month.

Our realisations from the sale proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 904-14-0 up to the end of February 1928. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 325-2-0. The budget estimate for the year 1927-28 was Rs. 500. This is a matter for congratulation.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 580 up to February 1928. No interest was received last year. The receipts under this head have thus considerably exceeded the original budget estimate of Rs. 300. The increase in this source of income is gratifying.

No donations have been received this year.

The cut of Rs. 500 made in the Government grant earlier in the year has been recently restored.

D. Of arrear subscriptions amounting to Rs. 1,330, which were considered to be unrealisable, a sum of Rs. 168 has been recovered.

24th March 1928.

D. N. SEN,
Honorary Treasurer,

Actuals up to February 29, 1928.**INCOME.**

			Actuals.			Budget, 1927-28.		
			Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Subscriptions	...	...	1,771	0	0	(a) 2,000	0	0
Sale of Journal	...	...	904	14	0	500	0	0
Government Grant	...	...	6,520	0	0	(c) 7,020	0	0
Miscellaneous (interest transferred to current account).			175	0	0	(b) 300	0	0
Opening Balance	...	...	6,210	13	4	6,210	13	4
Total			15,581	11	4	16,030	13	4

(a) Up to March 22nd, the realised subscriptions amounted to Rs. 1,955.

(b) Rs. 175 represents the interest on the fixed deposit of Rs. 5,000. To this should be added Rs. 405, which is the interest on the fixed deposit of Rs. 9,000 out of the Mayurbhanj donation. The total interest received up to date is Rs. 580, of which Rs. 405 has been re-deposited with the capital.

(c) The cut of Rs. 500 made earlier in the year has been recently restored.

EXPENDITURE.

			Actuals.			Budget, 1927-28.		
			Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment	...	...	1,072	9	4	1,200	0	0
Mithila Pandit	...	...	980	0	8	1,200	0	0
Oriya Pandit	...	...	908	12	0	1,020	0	0
Telephone	...	...	188	12	0	225	0	0
Paper for Journal	...	...	304	11	0	...		
Printing Charges	...	...	3,833	0	0	4,500	0	0
Postage	...	...	211	9	0	340	0	0
Stationery	...	...	59	7	3	100	0	0
Library	...	...	417	0	7	1,500	0	0
Furniture	...	...	...			150	0	0
Out of Ha'wa Fund	...	...	21	15	0	2,500	0	0
Out of Darbhanga Fund	...	...	18	14	6	2,000	0	0
Miscellaneous	...	...	542	13	0	800	0	0
Total			8,659	8	4	15,535	0	0
Closing Balance	...	...	6,922	3	0	495	13	4
Total			15,581	11	4	16,030	13	4

D. N. SEN,

Honorary Treasurer.

23rd March 1928.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held at the Society's Office on
the 11th March 1928**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick (Vice-President in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 18th December 1927.

2. Elected the following new members :—

(1) Babu Artatran Misra, Zamindar, Mauda, P. O. Mauda,
District Cuttack.

(2) Babu Lokenath Misra, B.A., Sannaranga, P. O. Kud-
anagari, Cuttack.

(3) Mr. Jagannath Das Ratnaka, B.A., Sivalayaghat,
Benares.

(4) Tikayat Nripendra Narayan Singh Deo of Seraikela,
Seraikela State, Singhbhum.

3. Resolved that the Annual General Meeting of the Society be held in the Wheeler Senate House on the 31st March 1928 at 6 P.M., the address to be delivered by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E.

Resolved further that rule 8 of the Society's rules be amended by substituting the word 'the Province' for the word 'India'; and that Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri be proposed for election as an honorary member of the Society.

Resolved further that the following be proposed for election as officers and members of the Council for the ensuing year :—

President.—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson.

Vice-President.—The Hon'ble Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick.

Secretary.—Mr. E. A. Horne.

Joint Secretary.—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Treasurer.—Mr. D. N. Sen.

Librarian.—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Editorial Board.—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Editor.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, Associate Editor.

Mr. R. D. Banerji.

Other members of the Council, besides the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. P. C. Manuk.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Pandit Ramavatar Sarma.

The Right Rev. Dr. L. Van Hoeck.

Mr. R. D. Banerji.

4. Resolved that Professor R. D. Banerji be asked to give his lantern lecture on Mohenjo Daro (see item 10 of the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on the 18th December 1927) on some suitable date before that fixed for the Annual General Meeting ; that the lecture be given in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, if this can be arranged ; and that His Excellency the President be requested to preside.

Resolved further that Professor R. D. Banerji's travelling expenses be met by the Society.

5. Considered the question of the Society's office staff,

Resolved that it is necessary to obtain the services of a more competent clerk ; and that if the services of Pandit Baldeva Sarma (a former candidate for the post), who possesses the necessary qualifications, are available, he be offered the post on an initial pay of Rs. 60 rising by the usual increments to Rs. 75.

6. Resolved that an exchange of publications be arranged, if possible, with the following :—

- (1) " Asia Major ", Leipzig, Germany.
- (2) " Indian Art and Letters ", India Society, London,
- (3) " Subhashi, " Rajahmundry, Madras Presidency.
- (4) " Jaina Sahitya Sansodhak ", Ahmadabad.
- (5) " Puratattwa ", Ahmadabad.

7. Considered the price to be charged for Vol. I (Smṛti MSS.) of the Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila, recently published by the Society.

Resolved that a price of Rs. 5 be charged.

Resolved further that, this publication, along with other publications of the Society, be advertised (on the inside back cover) of the next and succeeding issues of the Journal.

Resolved further that, with a view to retaining his services and recognizing the good work which he has done, the pay of the Mithila Pandit should be raised from Rs. 75 (fixed), his present pay, to a scale of Rs. 75— $\frac{5}{2}$ —100, and that Government be addressed on the subject accordingly.

8. Resolved that a new typewriter be obtained for the Society's office on the terms indicated in the letter, dated the 7th January 1928, from the local Agent of the Remington Typewriter Company.

9. Considered an estimate, furnished by Messrs. Mansfield and Sons, Calcutta, for bookcases for the Society's Library in the new Museum Building.

Resolved that this estimate be approved, and submitted to Government for allotment of the necessary funds ; and that the Secretary be directed to furnish Government at the same time with particulars of what other furniture will be required by the Society in its new home and the probable cost of the

same.

10. Read a letter, dated the 11th March 1928, from Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, asking for permission to reproduce in a forthcoming work certain plates, which have been published in the Journal, from the original blocks in the possession of the Society.

Resolved that permission be granted on the usual acknowledgements being made.

11. Read a letter of invitation, dated the 30th January 1928, from the Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Letters, to the forthcoming celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Society's foundation.

Resolved that, while regretting that it is impossible to appoint a representative to attend the celebration, the Secretary be directed to offer the Royal Batavia Society the cordial felicitations of this Society on so auspicious an occasion.

12. Read and recorded letters, dated the 18th and 19th January 1928, from Sir Edward Gait and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, intimating that they will be happy to represent the Society at the 17th International Congress of Orientalists, to be held in Oxford next August (see item 4 of the proceedings of the Council, held on the 11th December 1927).

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary Secretary.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held at the Society's Office
on the 18th December 1927**

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, Vice-President (in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 9th August 1927.

2. Elected the following new members :—

(Mr. S. R. Ranganathan, M.A., L.T., Librarian, Madras University Library.

(2) Pandit Gokul Chand Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Sri Chandra College, Baghbazar, Nepal,

(3) Dr. R. C. Panda, L.M.P., Medical Officer, Parikud, District Puri.

3. Confirmed the appointment of Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri to take charge of the Society's Library during the absence on leave of the Honorary Librarian.

4. Read a letter, dated the 11th October 1927, from the Secretary, 17th International Congress of Orientalists.

Resolved that the following members be asked to represent the Society at the Congress, to be held next August in Oxford, viz., Sir B. K. Mullick, Sir E. A. Gait and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham.

5. Read a letter, dated the 4th December 1927, from the Local Secretary, 5th All-India Oriental Conference.

Resolved that Mr. D. N. Sen (who will read a paper) and Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri be asked to represent the Society at the Conference to be held at Lahore next November.

6. Read and recorded letters, dated the 5th and 21st September 1927, from Messrs. G. Vanoest and P. Geuthner (see item 7 of the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on the 9th August 1927).

7. Considered an application, dated the 28th August 1927, from Sheonandan Prasad, one of the Society's peons, for an increment of pay.

Resolved that, having regard to the useful work which he does in the Library, his pay be raised from Rs. 11 to Rs. 12 a month, with effect from the 1st January 1928.

8. Sanctioned the employment of Pandit Janardan Misra, lately appointed clerk to the Society as temporary additional clerk, on pay of Rs. 50 a month, from the 17th to the 30th November 1927.

9. Considered certain matters, connected with the publication by the Society of the Buchanan Reports.

Resolved that the Superintendent, Government Printing, be asked to advise whether the Purnea Report should be published in two volumes or one; the latter would be preferred, if it is possible.

Resolved further that the Government be once more approached, with a view to their purchase of 100 copies of the Report.

10. Considered possible arrangements for the Quarterly and Annual Meetings of the Society.

Resolved that two Quarterly Meetings should be held, at one of which Mr. D. N. Sen would read a paper, and at the other Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji would be asked to give a lantern lecture on the excavations at Mohenjo Daro.

Resolved further that Dr. Lüders, who is at present in India, should be invited to address the Society at the Annual Meeting.

11. Considered Audit Report No. 143 of 1927-28 on the accounts of the Society for the period, August 1924 to June 1927.

Resolved as follows with regard to various items in the Audit Report :—(4) that an attempt should be made, by bringing personal pressure to bear, to realize the arrear subscriptions in question, the defaulting members being reinstated in membership on payment of the same ; (7) that account rules should be framed, on the basis of the models suggested by the Auditor ; (13) that the items of expenditure, incurred in excess of the budget provision under that head, be formally sanctioned ; (20) that the stock book of Journals should be verified and maintained, as suggested by the Auditor.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary Secretary.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1928.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
ऌ	l	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l̥
च	ch	* (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	* (Anunāsika)	m̐̃
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	×	(Jihvāmūlīya) ḥ
ञ	ñ	) (Upadhmanīya) ḥ	
ट	ṭ	₡ (Avagraha)	,
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	ˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	˜
ण	ṇ		

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY ON 31st DECEMBER 1927

HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A. ...	1919	Professor A. L., University De Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D.	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1920	Crammer Lodge, Camberley, Surrey, England.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D. LITT., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1916	Bath Farnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., S.C.D., F.R.S.	1916	3, Crammer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann ...	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Jolly, Dr. Julius ...	1926	Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, University of Wurzburg, Bavaria, Germany.
8	Konow, Dr. Sten ...	1920	Sorgen Frigate 9, Christiania, Norway.
9	Levi, M. Sylvain ...	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, L' Université de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, Paris.
10	Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I. ...	1926	21 Courtfield Road, London, S. W. 7.
11	Ridgeway, Sir William, M.A., S.C.D., F.R.A., Ph.D., LITT.D.	1916	Professor of Archaeology and Burton Reader in Classics, University of Cambridge.
12	Senart, M. E. ...	1919	18, Rue Fran Cois Ixer., Paris. (Ville.)
13	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon. Ph.D., F.R.S.	1919	India Office Library, London.
14	Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S (Retd.)	1919	C/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, S.W.

LIFE MEMBERS.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Das, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. M., Bar-at-Law.	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharnidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P. O. Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Dharmapala, The Rev. Anagarika.	1918	4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
4	Jalun, Bai Bahadur Radhakrishna.	1918	Patna City.
5	Maharaja Bahadur Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo.	1920	Feudatory Chief of Mayurbhanj (Orissa).
6	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hatuwa (Saran).
7	Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo ...	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
8	Shahi, Lieut. Madhavaswarendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
9	Shah, Hiralal Amritlal ...	1918	Princess Street, Champai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bombay.
10	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
11	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).
12	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
13	Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Keshava Prasad.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad).

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
A			
1	Agarwala, C. M., Bar-at-law ...	1920	Patna.
2	Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Kazi Farzandi.	1916	Sultan Manzil, Gaya.
3	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin, M.A.	1927	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
4	Aiyar, Prof. R. Sathianath ...	1923	St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, Madras.
5	Aiyangar, B. S. Dr. S. Krishna-swami, M.A., Ph.D.	1916	1, East Wheldon Street, Mylapore, Madras.
6	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Panga-swami.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore.
7	Armour, Prof. J. S., M.A. ...	1926	Patna College, Patna.
B			
1	Banerji, Prof. R. D. ...	1924	Prof., Hindu University, Benares.
2	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A., I.E.S.	1926	Patna College, Patna.
3	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R. ...	1924	35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
4	Bhattacharya, Benoytosh ...	1924	Madanbham, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
5	Bhattacharya, Prof. Tarapada, M.A.	...	B. N. College, Patna.
6	Bhida, H. B. ...	1918	Dewanpur Road, Navapark, Bhawanagar.
7	Bodding, Rev. P. O. ...	1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
C			
1	Chakladar, Haran Chandra, M.A.	1916	28-4 Sabanagar Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta.
2	Chauhari, Tarapada, M.A. ...	1927	C/o Dr. T. N. Banerji, Commissioner's compound, Patna.
3	Christian, H. D., I.S.C. ...	1920	Sundargarh, via Jharsuguda, B. N. Ry.
4	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K.	1923	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass, U.S.A.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
D			
1	Das, Madhusudan, B.A., B.L. ...	1918	Bhubanespur, P. O. Nimapara, Puri.
2	Das, U. K. ...	1918	Srinath Mills, 10 Srinath Das Lane, Calcutta.
3	Dayal, Shiveshwar, M.A., B.L.	1920	Vakil, Patna High Court.
4	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur.
5	Deo, Sri Gopinath Tatwanidhi, M.B.A.S., M.B. D.M., Second Prince of Tekkali.	1924	P. O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
6	Deshpande, R. S. G. K. ...	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana, P. O. Poona.
7	Diskalkar, D. B., M.A. ...	1920	Curator, Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot.
8	Duke, W. V., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1920	Principal, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
E			
<i>Nil.</i>			
F			
1	Fawcus, G. E., M.A., O.B.E. C.I.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
2	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E. ...	1915	Artharstown, Ardee County, Louth, Ireland.
G			
1	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
2	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B.S.C.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
3	Godbole, Y. A., I.C.S. ...	1920	Purnea.
4	Greaves, H. G. ...	1916	Cardington Road, Bedford, England.
5	Gupta, Shiva Prasad ...	1918	Nandan Shah's Street, Benares City.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
H			
1	Heras, Rev. H., S. J., M.A. ...	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
2	Hoeck, Rev. L. Van, S.J. ...	1921	Bishop of Patna.
3	Horne, E. A., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1916	Principal, Patna College.
4	Hussain, Saiyid Muhammad, M.L.C.	1924	Dariapur, P.O. Bankipur, Patna
I			
1	Imam, Nawab Shamsul Ulema Saiyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, Patna.
J			
1	James, J. F. W., I.C.S. ...	1923	District Court, Bhagalpur.
2	Jaruhar, Rameswar Prasad ...	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
3	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A., Bar-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
4	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L. ...	1925	Vakil, High Court, Patna.
5	Jackson, V. H. ...	1915	Principal, Patna. College.
K			
1	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ...	1924	Hindu Library, 12 Shib Thakur's Lane, Calcutta.
2	Khan, K. B. Sarfraz Hussain	1916	Khawajekalan, Patna City.
3	Khuda Bux, S. ...	1920	Additional Superintendent of Police, Patna.
4	Kimura, R. ...	1920	22, Wesley Second Lane, Calcutta.
5	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Assistant Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
L			
1	Lall, Bai Bahadur Hira ...	1918	Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katni, C. P.
2	Lall, Bai Sahib Bihari ...	1920	Ex-Manager, Raj Darbhanga, Sialkot City.
3	Lall, Raja P. C. ...	1924	Zamindar of Nayanagar, Purnea City.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
4	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S. ...	1920	Offg. Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
5	Law, Bimalacharan ...	1921	24 Sukea Street, Calcutta.
6	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.	1924	96 Amherst Street, Calcutta.
M			
1	Mackenzie, W. ...	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
2	Macpherson, T. S., Hon'ble Justice, C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
3	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	C/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.
4	Mahapatra, Chanchuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantarai.	1924	P. O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
5	Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan (Hon'ble).	1920	Burdwan.
6	Mahashaya, Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshamnath, Balasore.
7	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
8	Majumdar, S. N., M.A. ...	1920	Secretary, Sanskrit Association, Patna.
9	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ...	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
10	Majumdar, Bimanbehari ...	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
11	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda	1924	Patna City.
12	Manuk, P. C, Bar.-at-Law ...	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna
13	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S. ...	1927	Pratabgarh.
14	Miller, The Hon'ble Chief Justice F D., Kt.	1919	High Court, Patna.
15	Mishra, Pandit Aditya Narayan	1926	Nasriganj, Digha P.O., Patna.
16	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
17	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L. ...	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
18	Mukerjee, Dr. Radhakumnd, M.A., Ph.D.	1917	Lucknow.

No.	Name of members.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
19	Mullick, Hon'ble Justice Sir B. K., Kt.	1921	Patna.
	N		
1	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A., B.L.	1917	1/8 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
2	Noor, K. B. Khwaja Muhammad	1915	Gaya.
	O		
	Nil.		
	P		
1	Pandeya, Sahadeva Narayan, M.A.	1925	Y. M. C. A., Patna.
2	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1925	Muktiswaram, Tottarmundi, P. O. Godavari District.
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4	Patnaik, Sudhakar ...	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector and Assistant Settlement Officer, Bargarh, Camp XI, Cuttack.
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9	Prasad, Hon'ble Justice Sir Jwala, Kt.	1916	High Court, Patna.
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	Nil.		

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3	Rao, S. Narasingh, B.A., LL.B., Bar-at Law.	1919	Atmakur P. O., Nellore District.
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5	Ray, Rai Bahadur S. C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
6	Richards, F. J. ...	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
7	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna ...	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
8	Ross, Hon'ble Justice R. L.	1917	Patna.
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1	Sabanis, R. V. ...	1925	Librarian, Bombay University, Bombay.
2	Samaddar, Professor J. N., B.A.	1915	Patna College, Patna.
3	Sarkar, Ganpati ...	1926	Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
4	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.) C.I.E.	1915	Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
5	Sarkar, B. N., B.A., C.E. ...	1926	Ghoramara P. O., District Rajshahi, Bengal.
6	Sen, B. C., I.C.S. ...	1915	Cuttack.
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10	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D.	1923	Professor, Patna College, Patna.
11	Shastri, I. D. Durgadatti ...	1920	Principal, Sanskrit College, Munzaffarpur.

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1	Tagore, K. N., B.A. ...	1923	5-1, Baranali Ghosh's Street, Calcutta.
2	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ...	1915	Principal, C.M.S., Bhagalpur.
3	Tripathi, Devadatta ...	1916	Patna College, Patna.
U			
1	Urdhwarashi, W. G., M.A. ...	1923	25 Krishnapura, Indore, C. I.
V			
1	Vogel, Dr. J., Ph. D. ...	1920	University of Leiden, Witte, Sergeant, 75, Leiden, Holland.



VOL. XIV.

PART II.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

June



1928

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

Price

Rs. 5.

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[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—Hedonism in Ancient India

By Charu Chandra Sinha, M. A.

Truly it has been said that it is our nature to seek pleasure and avoid pain. The impulse to seek pleasure and avoid pain is a natural and primitive impulse. The gratification of this impulse becomes associated with manifold objects, and the feelings become more and more complex, as with experience our desires multiply. These desires are the springs of all our activities. What we seek then is satisfaction of the desires, and is not this satisfaction pleasure? Do we seek pain also? No sentient animal can, nor does, want pain. Pursuit of pain for its own sake can mean only extinction. Those actions, therefore that lead to pain are to be avoided by the wise and those that bring in happiness are to be served by the Paṇḍitas versed in the Śāstras.

दुःखदानि च कार्याणि त्याज्यानि दूरतो बुधैः ।

सुखदानि च सेव्यानि शास्त्रतत्त्वविशारदैः । १० । देवी—

भागवतम् ।

We are all busy in behaving so. that we may live and live well. This can only mean that we desire to be in possession of as large an amount of pleasure as we can stuff into the days of our life. It is natural and necessary then to make the best of the pleasures of our life. Enjoy, therefore, the pleasures of floral garlands, of ornaments, robes and perfumed oils ; enjoy the pleasures derived from dancing and music, both vocal and instrumental ; enjoy the pleasures of sights and scenes that feast our vision ; enjoy the pleasures of various kinds of viands and drinks belonging to the chief orders of edibles, viz., those that are swallowed, those that are lapped, those that are quaffed and those that are sucked ; and enjoy the pleasures derivable from sports and amusements. In short, seek pleasure in gratifying all your desires.

अपि चात्र—मात्स्याभरणवस्त्राभ्यङ्गनित्योपभोगनृत्य—

गीतवादित्रभृतिसुखनयनाभिरामदर्शनानाम् ।

प्राप्तिर्भक्ष्यभोज्यलेह्यपेयचोष्याणामभ्यवहार्याणाम्

विविधानामुपभोगः स्वविहार सन्तोषः कामसुखावाप्तिरिति ॥

१८१ । १६ शा० प०

The goodness of actions must be judged according to their tendency to promote the highest end of action. But the highest end is the highest good of man ; and the highest good of man must be a felt-good and the highest felt-good is Pleasure. Pleasure is the satisfaction which we feel in consequence of contact with objects or of possession of wealth. It is purely mental and never physical. It can be enjoyed but can never be seen.

**Psychological
basis of Hedonism**

द्रव्यार्थस्पर्शसंयोगे या प्रीतिरुपजायते ।

स कामश्चित्सत्सकल्पः शरीरं नास्य दृश्यते । ३३ । २८ व० प०

The satisfaction that arises from the attainment of appropriate objects of each of the five senses, the intellect and the heart is

called pleasure, and that pleasure is to be regarded as one of the best fruits of our actions.

इन्द्रियाणाञ्च पञ्चानां मनसो हृदयस्यच ।

विषये वर्तमानानां या प्रीतिरुपजायते ।

स काम इति मे बुद्धिः कर्मणां फलमुत्तमम् ॥ ३३ । ३६ व० प०

Form, scent, taste, touch and sound are the five objects of the five senses. Desire or aversion springs in us when we obtain them within the purview of the senses. We then strive and work for acquisition of what is liked and for avoidance of that which is disliked. We then try our best to repeat the enjoyment of those that appear agreeable. Pleasure, therefore, is the only object of desire.* Everyone desires what he believes to be pleasurable. When any of our senses finds its appropriate object, a desire springs up in our mind to enjoy that particular object, and when we proceed to enjoy that object a wish is entertained which again, in its turn, gives rise to resolution and urged by the object of enjoyment we give way to it as naturally as an insect rushes into fire being attracted by light. Pleasure then is the ultimate standard to measure the rightness or wrongness of actions.

षडिन्द्रियाणि विषयं समागच्छन्ति वै यदा ।

तदा प्रादुर्भवत्येवं पूर्वसंकल्पजं मनः ॥ ६२ । १७ व० प०

मनोयस्येन्द्रियस्येह विषयान् याति सेवितुम् ।

तस्यौत्सुक्यं सम्भवति प्रवृत्तिश्चोपजायते ॥ २ । ६८ । व० प०

(ततः संकल्पबीजेन कामेन विषयेषुभिः ।

विद्वः पतति लोभाग्रौ ज्योतिर्लीभात्पतङ्गवत् ॥) २।६८ व० प०

Pleasure should be regarded as the highest good of man
Speculative basis of Hedonism as almost all men hanker after pleasure.
Pleasure is the cry of nature. Man desires

* Mill, "Desiring a thing and thinking it pleasurable are but two ways of expressing the same fact."

Spencer, "Pleasure is but another name for that kind of feeling which we seek to bring into consciousness, and pain for that kind which we seek to keep out of it."

wealth because he seeks pleasure. He desires virtue because he seeks pleasure. Pleasure is the motive spring of all our actions. Absence of pleasure means absence of wish and desire. Pleasure is the foremost of all objects of attainment. Even the very R̥sis who make a frantic effort to discard all pleasures, do so because they find pleasure in doing so. They may devote themselves to penances, they may subsist upon fruits and roots and air only, but they do so under the influence of pleasure. Those well versed in Vedic lore may pass their time in studying the Vedas and their branches, may observe the rites of faith and sacrificial acts, make gifts or accept them, but they do so under the influence of pleasure. Traders and agriculturists, keepers of cattle, artists and artizans—all desire pleasure. A man may dive into the depths of the ocean or wing his flight into the sky or may perforate the earth to explore its dark subterranean chamber, but he does so for the sake of pleasure. Pleasure indeed takes various forms and everything is pervaded by the principle of pleasure. A man beyond the pale of pleasure never is, was or will be seen in this world. Pleasure is the essence of Profit and Virtue as butter is the essence of curds. Without pleasure the various kinds of action that are seen in the world would never have been seen. Pleasure, therefore, should be regarded as the highest object of life.

नाकामः कामयत्यर्थं नाकामो धर्ममिच्छति ।

नाकामः कामयानोऽस्ति तस्मात् कामो विशिष्यते ॥ २८

कामेन युक्ता ऋषयस्तपस्येव समाहिताः ।

पलाशफलमूलादावायुभक्ताः सुसंयताः ॥ ३०

वेदोपवेदेष्वपरे युक्ताः स्वाध्यायपारगाः ।

श्राद्धयज्ञक्रियायाञ्च तथा दानप्रतिगृहे ॥ ३१

वणिजः कर्षकाः गोपाः कारवः शिल्पिनस्तथा ।

देवकर्मकृतश्चैव युक्ताः कामेन कर्मसु ॥ ३२

समुद्रं वा विशन्त्यन्ये पराः कामेन संयुताः ।

कामो हि विविधाकारः सर्वं कामेन सन्ततम् ॥ ३३

नास्ति नासीन्नाभविष्यद्भूतं कामात्मकात् परम् ।

एतत् सारं महाराज धर्मार्थावत् संस्थितौ ॥ ३४
 नवनीतं यथा दध्न स्तथा कामोऽर्थधर्मतः ।
 श्रेयस्तैलं हि पिण्याकाद् घृतं श्रेयउदश्वितः ॥ ३५
 श्रेयः पुष्पफलं काष्ठात् कामो धर्मार्थयोर्वरः ।
 पुष्पतो मध्विव रसः काम आध्यां तथा स्मृतः ।
 कामो धर्मार्थयो यो निः कामश्चाथ तदात्मकः ॥ ३६
 नाकामतो ब्राह्मणाः स्वप्नमर्थान्नाकामतो ददाति ब्राह्मणोभ्यः ।
 नाकामतो विविधालोकचेष्टा तस्मात् कामः प्राक्त्रिवर्गस्यदृष्टः ॥
 १६७—३७ शाण्ड०

Materialism—atheistical materialism—of Chārvāka may be regarded as the basis of Hedonism in ancient India. In the Chārvāka system we find the combination of the materialistic metaphysics of Democritus and Empedocles with the sensationalism and scepticism of the Sophists and the ethical materialism of Aristippus.

Philosophy is an attempt, to understand the world-system as a whole, to determine our place, purpose, position, and destiny in this system. What are we? Whence come we? Whither go we? What have we to do?—these are the questions which philosophy seeks to answer and the Chārvāka system makes an endeavour to answer these questions in its own way.

But Philosophy is either Empirical or Rational. Empirical Philosophy is a theory of the world, on lines purely empirical, i.e., in terms of sensations, possible and actual. Rational Philosophy is a theory of the world as concrete reality of substance and phenomena. The Chārvāka system is an empirical philosophy. It explains the world, or makes an attempt to explain it, in terms of sensations; it is an effort to construct a conception of the world as it would manifest itself to our senses or to those of others like ourselves.

We find in Greek Philosophy that Thales, the head of the school of Miletus, the father of the Ionian School, holds that *water* is the fundamental principle, the universal substratum

from which the universe is derived; that Anaximander, the disciple of Thales, holds that the *infinite atmosphere* is the mother of heavens and the worlds; that Anaximenes, the disciple of Anaximander, holds that *air* is the generative principle of which other bodies are merely modifications; that Heraclitus, the Obscure, of Ephesus holds that *fire* is the primordial element from which everything is derived and to which everything must return; and Empedocles holds that We must not endeavour to derive air from ether, water from air, earth from water but we must consider these four elements as equally original. But what do we find in the Chārvāka system? we cannot conceive that fire can become air or air can become fire; we cannot conceive that fire can become water or water can become fire, and so on; hence we must think that the four elements—earth, air, water, fire are the self-existent principles and their permutations and combinations produce an infinite variety of bodies. Such is the metaphysical doctrine of the Chārvāka system.

Democritus makes an attempt to derive these principles which Chārvāka calls self-existent from anterior atoms, but Chārvāka makes no such attempt, nor does he think it necessary. Democritus explains this universe by means of space and atoms—the empty and the full. The atoms in number infinite, move in space infinite, giving rise to worlds infinite. These atoms are eternal and imperishable and self-existent.

These four elements, according to the Chārvāka system, become transformed into organism when mixed together in certain proportion and order. This complex intermixture of elements in the organism produces our thinking power in the same way as the mixture of certain ingredients in liquid produces intoxicating power. Thus our soul is the resultant of the intermixture of the material elements. It is only the function of our organism. It exists so long as our body exists and it ceases to exist when the body also ceases to exist. Death is mere separation of the elements and life the combination of them.

अत्र चत्वारि भूतानि भूमिवार्यनलानिनाः
 चतुर्भ्यः खलु भूतेभ्य श्रैतन्यमुपजायते॥
 किण्वादिभ्यः समेतेभ्यो द्रव्येभ्यो मदशक्तिवत् ।
 अहं स्थूलः कृशोऽस्मैति सामानाधिकरण्यतः॥
 देहः स्थौल्यादियोगाच्च स एवात्मा न चापरः।
 मम देहोऽयमित्युक्तिः संभवेदौपचारिकी॥(चार्वाकदर्शनम्)

This system is distinct from that of Democritus in this, that Democritus regards the soul as only a body within the mind made of more delicate atoms; the soul is not the function of the body but the body itself—a very refined sort of body.

The only end of man, therefore, should be—

While life is yours, live joyously ;
 None can escape Death's searching eye ;
 When once this frame of ours they burn,
 How shall it e'er again return ?

यावज्जीवं सुखं जीवेन्नास्ति मृत्योरगोचरः ।

भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ॥ चार्वाक दर्शनम्

The problem of Ethics pre-supposes the solution of the philosophical and psychological question as to the nature of the self. But the nature of the self depends on the philosophical view which we take of the cosmos as a whole. If we view the cosmos as wholly phenomenal having no permanent foundation or rational basis, the self also must be viewed as a series of phenomena, as a series of everchanging states, and the highest good of such a self must consist in pleasure, in the gratification of sensibility. On the other hand, if we regard the cosmos as wholly real, as substance underlying the phenomena, which are mere changes, mere illusions or *māyā*, then the self also must be regarded as a real substance of which the manifold desires and affections are but illusory modes and the highest good of such a self must consist in annihilating these desires and affections. Then, again, if the cosmos be regarded as a synthesis of phenomena and noumena, if both of these be real, then the

true good must consist in a reconciliation of the co-ordinate claims of both sensibility and rationality.

Mind according to materialistic metaphysics is a stream of consciousness—an aggregate of conscious states and processes—an aggregate of feeling, thinking and willing ; and this consciousness exists so long as our body exists, for, body is the condition of mind. Thought and volition are only refined and pure sensation, and sensation is the impression produced by images which emanate from external objects. There can be no knowledge that is not expressible in terms of sensation and feeling which are the channels of experience.

Since man exists only for a time, since his life is transient and temporary, having no reality of permanence or any absolute dignity, his only end is to make the best possible use of his existence, and the best possible use of existence consists in seeking the excellence of life, and the excellence of life can be attained only by enjoying it to the utmost, and the real enjoyment is the pleasure of the senses. Hence pleasure is the highest good of life.

Pleasure is the good, is the cry of nature. The animals know no other principle of action than pleasure ; the children are sensitive to pleasure only ; the grown man, apparently grave and sober, seeks and pursues pleasure ; the virtuous man enjoys pleasure in the cultivation of virtue, and even those who refute that pleasure is the object of desire find pleasure in such refutation. Mill holds that what is desired is necessarily desirable, that only pleasure is desired, and that desire of pleasure and experience of pleasure are absolutely the same thing looked at in two different ways. Locke holds that things are good or evil in reference to pleasure and pain. What increases or causes pleasure or what directly or indirectly diminishes pain is called good. Dr. Sidgwick holds that good is identical with the excellence of human existence, that the excellence of human existence is identical with the excellence of conscious life, and the excellence of conscious life is identical with pleasure.

Thus we see that it is admitted, even by the noble schools of Philosophy, that pleasure is a good, but opinions differ as to the question whether it is the sole good, the true good, the whole good—whether it is a condition of good or the consequence of good.

The actual present pleasures alone are those of which we are most certain. The future is uncertain
Exclusive egoism and unknown; the present alone is certain. It will be foolish to lose the pleasures of the moment with a view to the pleasures the future may bring. The pleasure then that the present moment brings is the best and there is no justification for sacrificing it. Mind not the future, think not that the future will bring a larger share of pleasure. Live happy so long as you live. Yield yourself up to the passing moments. Fancy not that the moments will come back and you will be allowed another opportunity of enjoying the pleasure. The immortality of the soul, the future life—these are all the snares put before you by the moral and religious preachers whose profession is to entrap foolish simple-minded individuals. Therefore,

यावज्जीवेत् सुखं जीवेत् ऋणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् ।

भस्मोभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ॥

अग्निहोत्रं तयो वेदा स्त्रिदण्डं भस्मगुह्यं ।

बुद्धिपौषधीनानां जीविकेति ब्रह्मस्पतिः ॥ चार्वाकदर्शनम् ।

But is the man happy who flings himself helplessly at the mercy of the senses without any resistance to the pleasures they bring? A moment of intense enjoyment is succeeded by another of more intense misery. Continued indulgence ends in satiety; surfeit is sure to bring about suffering. One bright moment, a flash of lightning, and then utter darkness! But,

The pleasure which arises to men from contact with sensible objects,

Is to be relinquished as accompanied by pain,—such is the reasoning of fools;

* Cf. Aristippus of Cyrene, and Callicles in Plato's "Gorgias."

The berries of paddy, rich with the finest white grains,
What man, seeking his true interest, would fling away because
covered with husk and dust ?

त्याज्यं सुखं विषयसङ्गमजन्म पुंसां ।

दुःखोपसृष्टमिति मूर्खविचारणैषा ।

ब्रौह्मीजिह्वासति सितोत्तमतण्डुलाढ्यान् ।

को नाम भोस्तुपक्वणोपहितान् हितार्थी ॥

चार्वाकदर्शनम् ।

**Optimism in Char-
vaka**

It is held by the pessimists that
this world is but—

One desert,

Barren and cold, on which the wild waves break.

But nothing rests, save carcasses and wrecks,

Rocks and the salt-surf weeds of bitterness.

Chārvāka does not deny the existence of evil in this world, but he holds that if we use intelligence rightly and properly there will be a balance of pleasure and life would be worth living from the hedonistic point of view—and this is the optimistic conclusion of the Chārvāka system. Chārvāka does not hold with Buddha that evil is the very essence of existence, that this world is a vale of tears and that there is nowhere true peace and secure happiness, but holds on the other hand that life can be enjoyed and the enjoyment of life consists in seeking pleasure and though pleasure is a mingled one yet balance of pleasure can be secured by the application of a regulative principle. Chārvāka does not sing with Lord Byron—

Count o'er thy joys thine hours have seen,

Count o'er thy days from anguish free,

And know, whatever thou hast been,

'Tis something better not to be.

He does not say that life is a continued deception, that it is full of incessant toil and constant care, that earthly happiness is destined to be frustrated or to be recognised as an illusion, but holds, on the other hand, that it is a thing which can be enjoyed,

which can be desired only if we care to be a little reflective, sober and intelligent.

Our soul is a function of matter and this life is the be-all and end-all of our existence. Death is disintegration of the material elements and life their integration. There is no such thing as future life, no such thing as heaven or hell. By heaven we mean only enjoyment of pleasure and by hell mere endurance of pain. There is no such thing as God, the supreme author and governor of the world, but the only God is the earthly king, the ruler of a state, the arbiter of right and wrong in society. When we die we do not enter into the region of pain, of darkness unrelieved by a single ray of light; and hence our religious ceremonies, our endeavour to propitiate the gods, to satisfy them by prayers and offerings are vain and illusive.* Religion is the invention of individuals desirous of deceiving their fellowmen in order to further their own selfish and ambitious views.

अङ्गनालिङ्गनाज्जन्यसुखमेव पुमर्थता ।
 कण्टकादिव्यथाजन्यं दुःखं निरय उच्यते ॥
 लोकसिद्धो भवेद्राजा परेशो नापरः स्मृतः ।
 देहस्य नाशो मुक्तिस्तु न० ज्ञानान्मुक्तिरिष्यते ॥
 न स्वर्गो नापवर्गो वा नैवात्मा पारलौकिकः ।
 नैव वर्णाश्रमादीनां क्रियाश्च फलदायिकाः ॥
 अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदा स्त्रिदण्डं भस्मगुह्यनम् ।
 बुद्धिपौरुषहीनानां जीविका धातुनिर्मिता ॥
 पशुश्चेन्निहतः स्वर्गं ज्योतिष्टोमे गमिष्यति ।
 स्वपिता यजमानेन तत्र कस्मान्न हिंस्यते ॥
 गच्छतामिह जन्तूनां व्यर्थ पाथेयकल्पनं ।
 गेहस्थकृतश्राद्धेन पथि तृप्तिरवाधिता ॥
 स्वर्गस्थिता यदा तृप्तिं गच्छेयुस्तत्र दानतः ।
 प्रासादस्योपरिस्थानामत्र कस्मान्न दीयते ॥
 यदि गच्छेत् परं लोकं देहादेष विनिर्गतः ।

* Cf. Epicurus—"The two great tormentors—the fear of death and the dread of gods—being removed we can make our lives happy."

कस्माद भूयो न चायाति वन्धुस्ते हसमाकुलः ॥
 ततश्च जीवनोपाया ब्राह्मणे विहितस्त्वह ।
 भूतानां प्रोतकार्याणि न त्वन्यद्विद्यते क्वचित् ॥ चार्वाकदर्शनम् ।
 केचिद्विनिन्दां वेदानां देवानामपरे द्विज ।
 यज्ञकर्मकलापस्य तथान्ये च द्विजन्मनाम् ॥
 नैतद् युक्तिसहं वाक्यं हिंसा धर्माय नेष्यते ।
 हवींष्यनलदग्धानि फलायेत्यर्भकोदितम् ॥
 यज्ञै रनैर्कैर्देवत्वमवाप्येन्द्रेण भुज्यते ।
 शम्यादि यदि चेत् काष्ठं तद्वरं प्रभुभुक् पशुः ॥
 निहतस्य पशोर्यज्ञे स्वर्गप्राप्तिर्यदीष्यते ।
 स्वपिता यजमानेन किन्न तस्मान्न हन्यते ॥
 तृप्तये जायते पुंसो भूतामन्येन चित्ततः ।
 दद्यात् श्राद्धं श्रद्धयान्नं न वहेयुः प्रवासिनः ॥
 एवं प्रकारैर्बहुभिर्युक्तिदर्शनवर्धितैः ।
 मायामोहेन दैत्यास्ते वेदमार्गादपाकृताः ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् ।

Epicurus almost holds the same view with Chārvāka. It is possible, says Epicurus, that there are certain gods, but they are supremely happy beings, they are free from passion and favouritism and human weaknesses. The miseries of humanity cannot move them, nor can they exert any influence on the life and work of man. Hence offerings and prayers and ceremonies have but little influence on them.

That which is agreeable to me constitutes my happiness and that which is disagreeable to me constitutes my misery. All virtuous acts follow from the sentiment that by this I shall obtain happiness and keep off misery.*

यद् यत्प्रियं यस्य सुखं तदाहुस्तदेव दुःखं प्रवदन्त्यनिष्टम् ।
 इष्टञ्च मे स्यादितरच्च न स्यादेतत्कृते कर्मविधिः प्रवृत्तः ॥

२०१ । ११ शा० प० ।

* Cf. Carlyle, "Virtue is Pleasure, is Profit ; no celestial, but an earthly thing."

But they who make the claim of the present imperious and supreme, whose understanding is always concerned with the present, who fearlessly regard to-morrow as something quite remote and uncertain, and who do not observe any restrictions in the matter of food, are really senseless and fail to understand that this world is only a field of probation.

The aspirations of men are concerned with the acquisition of the agreeable which ends in happiness, and the avoidance of the disagreeable which brings misery. There is nothing more important than pleasure among the fruits or consequences of the triple aggregate. Pleasure is desirable. It is an attribute of the mind. Both virtue and profit are sought for its sake. Virtue is its root. This, indeed, is its origin. All acts have for their end the attainment of happiness.

न ह्यतः परं त्रिवर्गफलं विशिष्टतरमस्ति
स एव काम्यो गुणविशेषो धर्मार्थगुणारम्भ—
स्तद्धेतुरस्यात्पत्तिः सुखप्रयोजनार्थं आरम्भः ।
१६० । ६ शा० प० ।

Hedonism is pessimistic when it gives a negative definition of pleasure. Epicureanism is pessimistic because it holds that absence of pain is the greatest pleasure. Happiness always ends in sorrow, and sometimes proceeds from sorrow itself. Therefore he who desires pleasure, which is permanent, must abandon both.

सुखमेव हि दुःखान्तं कदाचिद् दुःखतः सुखम् :
तस्मादेतद्वयं जगद् य इच्छेच्छाश्वतं सुखम् ॥ २२ । २३ ।
शा० प० ।

Sorrow arises upon the expiration of pleasure ; Pleasure dawns upon the expiration of sorrow. Cut off, therefore, that from which one experiences sorrow or that heart-burning which is nurtured by sorrow or that which is the root of anxiety.*

सुखान्तप्रभवं दुःखं दुःखान्तप्रभवं सुखम् ।
यन्निमित्तो भवेच्छोकस्तापो वा दुःखमूर्च्छितः ।

* One branch of the Epicurean School regarded suicide as the sovereign good and Lucretius, it is said, acted upon the principle of this sect.

आयासी वापि यन्मूल स्तदेकाङ्गमपि त्यजेत् ॥ २५ । २५ ।

शा० प० ।

Pleasure is good and pain is evil. No man willingly gives up pleasure except to avoid pain and no man accepts pain except to secure pleasure. Men of intelligence always perform works that lead to pleasure. They never do painful works. This is the long-standing rule of the world.

सुखं दुःखदानीह कर्माणि कुरुते सदा ।

न दुःखदानि धर्मज्ञ स्थितिरेषा सनातनी ॥ ४ स्क । १० । १२ ।

देवीभागवतम् ।

It is not however desirable to reject through fear of pain the pleasure which our nature instinctively recognises as congenial.

तस्माद् दुःखभयान्नानुकूलवेदनीयं सुखं त्यक्तुमुचितम् ।

चार्वाकदर्शनम् ।

Moreover there is a distinction between lower and higher pleasure—between bodily and mental pleasures.

तत् खलु द्विविधं सुखमुच्यते शरीरं मानसञ्च । १६० । ६ ।

शा० प० ।

The lower pleasure should be sacrificed for the sake of the higher—the bodily for the mental. The world of life is overwhelmed with sorrow, both bodily and mental, and with happiness that is sure to end in misery; but they that are possessed of wisdom should never suffer themselves to be stupefied by this. They should bravely face pain if necessary to secure pleasure or, if necessary, they should smilingly discard pleasure to avoid pain.*

शरीरैर्मानसैर्दुःखैः सुखैश्चाप्यसुखोदयैः ।

लोकसृष्टिं प्रपश्यन्तो न मुह्यन्ति विलक्षणाः ॥ १६० । ६ ।

शा० प० ।

Sense enjoyment is not always a source of true pleasure.

* Cf. The four canons of Epicurus—(Lecky's History of European Morals, I, p. 14).

Seeing, hearing, smelling, touching and tasting are the five senses; they are the several limbs, as it were, of the embodied self and the impellers to all actions; they are both enemies and friends as they give both pain and pleasure.

ज्ञानं रसनं ध्यानं त्वक्च श्रवणमिन्द्रियम् ।

अङ्गिनामङ्गरूपञ्च प्रेरकं सर्वकर्मणाम् ।

रिपुरुपं मित्ररुपं सुखरुपञ्च दुःखदम् ॥६॥स्क०॥२८॥ १६ । देवीभागवतम् ।

Wisdom, temperance, courage and justice are the virtues the means of securing pleasure.* Wisdom is the refuge of creatures. Wisdom is the highest of acquisitions. Wisdom

Wisdom is the highest felicity in the world.

Wisdom is the heaven in the estimation of the good and the virtuous. It was through wisdom that Vali, Prahrād, Namāchi and Manki succeeded in acquiring felicity even when they lost their prosperity.

प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठा भूतानां प्रज्ञा लाभः परो मतः ।

प्रज्ञा निःश्रेयसौ लोके प्रज्ञा स्वर्गो मतः सताम् ॥

प्रज्ञया प्रापितार्थी हि वलिरैश्वर्यं संचये ।

प्रज्ञादो नमुचिर्मङ्गि स्तस्याः किं विद्यते परम् ॥१८०॥३॥शा०प०

In thee there is grief, in thee there is joy. Both grief and joy dwell in thee. Why then should you give way to grief? Root out the springs of desire and satisfaction will be yours. There can be no cutting of a second head or of a third hand. That which does not exist can produce no fear.

अस्यैव त्वयि शोकोऽपि हर्षश्चापि तथा त्वयि

सुखदुःखे तथा चोभे तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ २७

परिच्छिद्यैव कामानां सर्वेषां चैव कर्मणाम् ।

मूलं बुद्धीन्द्रियग्रामं शकुन्तानिव पञ्जरे ॥

न द्वितीयरूपं शिरसश्छेदनं विद्यते कचित् ।

न च पाणो स्तृतीयस्य यन्नास्ति न ततो भयम् ।

१८० । २८ शा० प०

* Cf. The Epicurean virtues.

The objects of desire that are cast off become sources of happiness. Freedom from hope and desire is felicity. Drive off hope and desire and peace will be yours.

सुखं निराशः स्वपिति निराशं परमं सुखम् ।

आशामनाशं कृत्वाहि सुखं स्वपिति पिङ्गला ॥ १७४ । ६४ । ६२ शा० प०

The desire for wealth, for instance, can never be a source of pleasure. Wealth, when acquired, is a source of anxiety that the acquirer feels; and when lost after acquisition, that is felt as death; and, moreover, success in the acquisition of wealth is very uncertain. Epicurus, therefore, rightly observes: "He enjoys wealth most who needs it least. If thou wilt make a man happy, add not unto his riches, but take away from his desires."

ईहा धनस्य न सुखा लब्धा चिन्ता च भूयसी ।

लब्धनाशे यथा मृत्युर्लब्धं भवति वा नवा ॥

In this way when Epicurus goes on "to disparage all positive pleasures, in favour of a philosophic poise of mind, a quiet and undisturbed possession of one's faculties free from pain of body and trouble of spirit, it is not always easy to distinguish his position from that of his opponents, the Stoics."

We have seen before that our senses are our friends as well as our enemies as they cause pleasure and pain both. They should not therefore be enjoyed in excess. He who is desirous of benefitting himself should never follow with excess of attachment earthly possessions represented by the objects of senses. If he does it he will be overwhelmed with wrath and joy, and sorrow and misery will be the consequence.

Temperance

शब्दादीन् विषयांस्तस्मान्न स रागादयं ब्रजेत् ।

क्रोधो हर्षो विषादश्च जायन्तेह परस्परान् ॥ २१२ । ८ । शा० प०

The man who desires pleasure should be moderate in his food, moderate in sleep and in his speech; he should keep his passion under control; he should be simple and pure and modest and skilful and energetic in work.

युक्ताहारो युक्तनिद्रो मितवाङ् मितमैथुनः ।
स्वच्छो नमः शुचिर्दत्तो युक्तः स्यात् सर्वकर्मसु ॥

—Mahānirvāṇatantra.

In times of distress, one sees distress too much ; in times of
pleasure one seeks pleasure too much.
Patience We should not therefore surrender our
self to our enemies—pleasure and pain.

Pain and suffering is not felt so much in patience as it is felt
when one is impatient. Patience therefore should be practised
with great care.

दुःखे दुःखाधिकान् पश्येत् सुखे पश्येत् सुखाधिकान् ।

आत्मानं हर्षशोकाभ्यां शत्रुभ्यामिव नार्पयेत् ॥ ३८

धैर्यमेवावगन्तव्यं हर्षशोकोद्भवे बुधैः ३ ।

अधैर्याद् यादृशं दुःखं न तु धैर्याऽस्ति तादृशम् । ३६ (५ स्क० ४ अ०)

देवोभागवतम्

Self is the centre of all our activities ; self-love is the motive
of all our actions. The pleasure or
Egoistic Natural- happiness of the individual is the highest
ism* good. Self-sacrifice and virtues and dis-
interested actions there are none. Is the mother, who withers
herself away for the sake of her child, or the martyr, who
sacrifices his life for his faith, worshipper in the temple of
individual pleasure ? Yes, self-love or love of power is the
guiding motive even with the mother and the martyr. Analyse
the so-called virtues and you will find in them all self-love as the
essential factor. Benevolence and justice are virtues, but it is
the sense of superiority and the feeling of possible benefit to
the individual which is the essence of these virtues. The most
potent factor in our life is self-love.† Nobody would care to

*Hobbes is the chief supporter of this view.

† Hobbes reduces all the higher feelings and springs of actions to self love.

Cf. Mandeville—"Man centres everything in himself, and neither loves nor
hates, but for his own sake" Churchill—"The ruling tyrant, self is all in all."
Helvetius—"Self-love is the spring of all action."

move his little finger to benefit you if that would not serve his own interest. Nobody in this world does good to another ; nobody in this world does make gifts to others for the sake of others. Every man in this world acts for the sake of his own self. Men are seen not infrequently to cast off their parents and their uterine brothers when they cease to be affectionate. What need be said then of other relatives ?

कः कस्य चोपकुर्वते कश्चकस्मै प्रयच्छति ।

प्राणी करोत्ययं कर्म सर्वमात्मार्थमात्मना ॥ १

गौरवेण परित्यक्तं निःस्नेहं परिवर्जयेत् ।

सौंदर्यं भ्रातरमपि किमुतान्यं पृथग्जनम् ॥ २८२ । २ । श०प०

Does not a kanian seed possess the capacity to produce leaves and flowers and fruits and roots and bark ? Are not milk and butter produced from the grass and water that is taken by a cow ? Thus substances whose nature is different from that of the producing causes are very often produced. Thus, for instance, the elements of different kinds when allowed to decompose in water for some time produce spirituous liquors whose nature is quite opposite to that of those substances from which they are produced. After the same manner, from the vital seed is produced the body and its attributes with the understanding, consciousness, mind and other possessions. As two pieces of wood, when rubbed together, produce fire ; as the stone called Sūryakāntā, when it comes in contact with the rays of the sun, produces fire ; as any solid metal when heated in fire, dries up water when coming in contact with it ; so the material body produces the mind and its attributes of perception, memory and imagination, etc. As the loadstone moves iron so the senses are controlled by the mind.*

रेतो घटकणीकार्या घृतपाकादिवासनम् ।

जगति स्मृतिरयस्कान्तः सूर्यकान्तोऽखुभक्षणम् ॥ २१८ । २९ । श०प०

* Cf. Hobbes' Materialistic Psychology. (Roger's History of Ethics.)

यथा समानेऽपि भूतचतुष्टयसंयोगे वटकणोकायां वटपत्रपुष्पफल-
मूलत्वगादि रूपरसादयोऽन्तर्हिता एवं तत्तद्वेतसि समानेऽप्युपपृष्ठभक्ष-
भागे मनोबुद्ध्यहङ्कारचित्तशरीराकारगुणादयोऽन्तर्हिताः सन्त
आविर्भवन्ति । यथा वा एकस्मादेव धेनूपशुक्तात् हृणोदकात्
पयःसर्पिषो पृथक्स्वभावे, यथा वा बहुद्रव्यकल्काद्विविधमधिविवा-
सितान्मदशक्तिरूपपद्यते एवं रेतस उपलभ्योपलब्धांशौ वा
भूतसंयोगाद्वा चैतन्यं जन्यते जातिर्जन्माग्रयादेः, यथा वा
काष्ठद्वयसंश्लेषात्तत्प्रकाशकोऽग्निजियते एवं भूतयोगादपि
तत्प्रकाशकं चैतन्यमुत्पद्यते इति ।

जडद्रयादजडोत्पत्तौ दृष्टान्तान्तरं पराभिमतम् । इत्यादि ।

Materialistic Philosophy This form of Hedonism cannot admit the existence of a permanent standard of morality based as it is on a philosophy which views the cosmos as wholly phenomenal, having no permanent foundation, and consequently the self is regarded as a series of ever-changing states. It holds that the universe is void of truth; it has no guiding principle; it has no controlling ruler; it is produced by the union of one another from lust and nothing else. The world is unreal, unfounded and godless.*

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनी श्वरम् ।

अपरस्परसम्भूतं किमन्यत् कामहेतुकम् ॥ ४० । ८ । भो० प०

Theory of Values The followers of this theory hold that whatever is the object of any man's appetite and desire is his good, and the object of his hate and aversion, evil. That which is agreeable to one constitutes his happiness and that which is disagreeable to one constitutes his misery. All virtuous acts follow from the sentiments that by these I shall obtain happiness and keep off misery.

यद्यत्प्रियं यस्यसुखं तदाहुस्तदेव दुःखं प्रवदन्त्यशिष्टम् ।

इष्टञ्च मे स्यादितरञ्च न स्यादेतत्कृते कर्मविधिः प्रवृत्तः ॥

२०१ । १० । शा० प०

* Cf. Hobbes' Materialistic Philosophy. Also Epicurus' and Democritus' Materialism.

They cherish boundless thoughts limited by death alone and regard the enjoyment of their desires as the highest end. They are thus persuaded that *that is all*.

चिन्तामपरिमेषाच्च प्रलयान्तासु पाश्रितः ।

कामोपभोगपरमा एतावदिति निश्चिताः ॥ ४० । ११ । भी० प०

The Moral Laws or Laws of Nature are general rules discovered by reason for self-preservation. **The Laws of Nature** Under the influence of the instinct of self-preservation man cherishes his children and relatives and wife and, in fact, everything he holds dear to himself, but he cherishes them for the sake of his own self, for the purpose of liberating his own self from danger and distress. He guards his wealth for protecting his own self from danger and with his wealth he protects and cherishes his wife, but if necessity arises he will not hesitate to save his own self by means of his wife and wealth. He acquires his wife and son and wealth and house with the object of providing for accidents, foreseen and unforeseen. It is never possible for him to think that all his relatives weighed against his own self would be equal to his own self. Even when he makes gifts to others he does so to satisfy his egoistic impulse—to attain merit or to acquire profit or to avoid fear or to satisfy a particular desire or to escape from the pain of pity.

इष्टानि चाप्यपत्यानि द्रव्याणि सुहृदः प्रियाः ।

आपद्धर्म्म प्रमोक्षाय भार्या चापि सतां मतम् ॥ १६० । २६ । आ० प०

आपदर्थे धनं रक्षेद्द्वारानूक्षेद् धनैरपि ॥ १६० । २७ ।

दृष्टादृष्टफलार्थं हि भार्या पुत्रो धनं गृहम् ।

सर्वमेतद्विधातव्यं बुधानामेष निश्चयः ॥ १६० । २८ ।

एकतो वा कुलं सर्वमात्मा वा कुलवर्द्धने ।

न समं सर्वमेवेति बुधानामेष निश्चयः ॥ १६० । २९

धर्मादर्थदभ्यात् कामात् कारुण्यादिति भारत ।

दानं पञ्चविधं चैयं ॥ २०१ । ५ । अ० प०

Our objects of desire are manifold. They multiply with our experience. Many of these objects we manage to secure, and in securing them we to a certain extent satisfy our self, but the craving for more, the hankering after a better state of existence does not cease. We seek wealth, but a man in possession of abundance is not what he still desires to be. Truly it has been said “मनोरथानां न निवृत्तिरस्ति”—there is no end to our desires—there is no such thing as “repose of a mind satisfied.” A man may have obtained affluence, but he will still wish for sovereignty; a man may have achieved sovereignty but his next desire will be for the status of gods, and when that status is won he will wish for the chieftdom of the celestials. In no condition will he be contented.

The Persistence of Desire

मनुष्याच्चाव्यतां प्राप्य राज्यमिच्छन्त्यनन्तरम् ।
 राज्याद् देवत्वमिच्छन्ति देवत्वादिन्द्रतामपि ॥
 भवेत्स्वं यद्यपि त्वाद्यो न राजा न च दैवतम् ।
 देवत्वं प्राप्य चेन्द्रत्वं नैव तुष्ये स्तथा सति १ ।

१८० । २५ । श्रृ० प०

From the preceding account of human desires and aversions it is clear that man is not naturally a social animal. The natural state of man is a state of strife, for every man is naturally selfish. Fettered by the hundred nooses of hope, addicted to lust and wrath men covet to obtain unfairly hoards of wealth, for instance, for the gratification of their desires. “This has been obtained by me to-day and this I will obtain to-morrow; this wealth I have at present and that again will be mine in addition; this foe has been slain by me and others I will slay again. I am the lord; I am the enjoyer; I am successful, powerful and happy; I am rich and of noble birth. Who else is there that is like me?” Such is the natural

The State of Nature.

feeling which every one cherishes and which is the root cause of strife.

आशायाशतैर्वद्धाः कामक्रोधपरायणाः ।

ईहन्ते कामभोगार्थमन्यायेनार्थसञ्चयान् ॥ १२

इदमद्य मया लब्धमिदं प्राप्स्ये मनोरथम् ।

इदमस्तौदमपि मे भविष्यति पुनर्धनम् ॥ १३

असौ मया हतः शत्रुर्हनिष्ये चापरानपि ॥

ईश्वरोऽहमहं भोगो सिद्धोऽहं बलवान् सुखो ॥ १४

आव्योऽभिजनवानस्मि कोऽन्योऽस्ति सदृशो मया ।

४० । १५ भी प०

From covetousness which man is naturally subject to, proceeds wrath and lust. Miserliness, **The Causes of Strife*** cupidity, desire for every kind of improper act, pride of birth, pride of learning, pride of beauty, pride of wealth, pitilessness for all creatures, malevolence towards all, trustlessness in respect of all, insincerity towards all, appropriation of other people's wealth, ravishment of other people's wives, harshness of speech, anxiety, propensity to speak ill of others, violent craving for the indulgence of lust, gluttony, liability to premature death, violent propensity towards malice, irresistible liking for falsehood, unconquerable appetite for indulging the passions, insatiable desire for indulging the ear, evil speaking, boastfulness, arrogance, abstention from duties, rashness and perpetration of every kind of evil act—all these proceed from covetousness, which the infants, the young and the old are unable to abandon.

लोभात् क्रोधः प्रभवति लोभात् कामः प्रवर्तते ।

लोभान्मोहश्च माया च मानस्तन्मः परासुता ॥ ४

अक्षमाद्वैपरित्यागः श्रीनाशो धर्मसङ्क्षयः ।

अभिध्याप्रत्यता चैव सर्वं लोभात् प्रवर्तते ॥ ५

* Hobbes—"Man is by nature a wolf to man."

अत्यागश्चातिहर्षश्च विकर्मसु च याः क्रियाः ।
 कुलविद्यामदश्चैव रूपैश्वर्यमदस्तथा ॥ ६
 सर्वभूतेष्वभिद्रोहः सर्वभूतेष्वसत्कृतिः ।
 सर्वभूतेष्वविश्वासः सर्वभूतेष्वनाजं वम् ॥ ७
 हरणं परवित्तानां परदाराभिमर्शनम् ।
 वाग्वेगो मनसो वेगो निन्दविगस्तथैव च ॥ ८
 उपस्थोदरयोर्वेगोमृत्युवेगश्च दारुणः ।
 ईर्ष्यावेगश्च वलवान् मिथ्यावेगश्च दुर्जयः ॥ ९
 रसवेगश्च दुर्बार्ह्यः श्रोत्रवेगश्च दुःसहः ।
 कुत्सा विक्रिया मात्सर्यं पापं दुष्करकारिता ॥ १०
 साहसानाञ्च सर्वेषामकार्याणां क्रियास्तथा ।
 जातौ चाख्ये च कौमारे यौवने चापि मानवाः ॥

१५८। ११। शा० प०

Hence when there is no fear of a supreme power, there must be unrestrained covetousness, and from this constant strife must arise. For, it is through the fear of the king only that men do not devour one another. It is the king that brings peace on earth, through due observance of duties, by checking all disregard for wholesome restraints and all kinds of lust.

राजमूलो महाप्राज्ञ धर्मो लोकस्य लक्ष्यते ।

प्रजा राजभयादेव न खादन्ति परस्परम् ॥ ६८। =। शा० प०

Covetousness, fear, pride, etc., are passions enough to keep the natural man in constant war.

Universal war

Hence the state of nature is not a state of society but a state of war of all against all. Man, for instance, naturally desires prosperity, but without piercing the vitals of others, without slaying creatures like a fisherman slaying fish, no person can attain to great prosperity. Man naturally desires fame, but without slaughter no man in this world has ever been able to achieve fame in this world or

acquire wealth or subjects. Not to speak of others, even Indra himself by the slaughter of Vṛtra, became the *great* Indra.

नाच्छित्त्वा परमर्माणि नाकृत्वा कर्म दुष्करम् ।
नाहत्वा मत्स्यघातीव प्राप्नोति महतीं श्रियम् ॥ १४
नाभ्रतः कीर्त्तिरस्तीह न वित्तं न पुनः प्रजाः ।
इन्द्रोद्धतुवधेनैव महेन्द्रः समपद्यत ॥ १५ । १५ । शा० प०

Thus when there was no fear of a supreme power, when the rod of chastisement did not uphold and protect them, ravage and confusion set in on every side, all barriers were swept away and the idea of property disappeared. In short, there was a universal war.

विश्वरूपः प्रवर्त्तत भिद्ये रन् सर्वसेतवः ।

ममत्वं न प्रजानौर्युदि दत्तो न पालयेत् ॥ १५ । ३३ । शा० प०

A kingdom in which there is no fear of a supreme ruler, a kingdom in which anarchy prevails, becomes weak and is soon afflicted by robbers. In such a kingdom righteousness cannot exist and the inhabitants devour one another. Anarchy is the worst possible of states. In times of anarchy even the wicked cannot be happy. The wealth of one is snatched away by two. That of those two, again, is snatched away by many acting together. He who is not a slave is made a slave. Women are forcibly abducted. The strong prey upon the weak after the manner of fishes in water. In this way men meet with destruction.

अराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु धर्मो न व्यवतिष्ठते ।

परस्परञ्च खादन्ति सर्वथा धिगराजकम् ॥ ६७ । ३ । शा० प०

पापाह्यपि तदा क्षेमं न लभन्ते कदाचन ।

एकस्य हि द्वौ हरतो द्वयोश्च बहवोऽपरे ॥ १४

अदासः क्रियते दासो द्वियस्त च वलात् स्त्रियः ।

(एतस्मात् कारणाद् देवाः प्रजापालान् प्रचक्रिरे ॥) १५

राजाचेन्न भवेत्लोके पृथिव्यां दण्डधारकः ।

जले मत्स्यानिवाभक्ष्यन् दुर्वलं वलवत्तराः ॥ ६७ । १६ । शा० प०

In this world happiness is the only thing to be sought for and pain is to be avoided : this is the natural state of things ; but never does a man who practises enmity with another get happiness.

The Conditions of Peace

संसारऽत्र सुखं ग्राह्यं दुःखं हेयमिति स्थितिः ।

न सुखं कृतवैरस्य भवतीति विनिर्णयः ॥६ स्कः । ६ । ८ । दे० भा०

Therefore for the happiness of all peace-loving persons men earnestly desire that there be formed friendship instead of enmity.

सर्वेषां शान्तिकामानां सख्यामच्छामहे वयम् । ६ स्कः । ६ । १८ । *ibid.*

But the establishment of peace involves the limitation of individual rights—a general surrender of man's unlimited liberty due to the absence of any external control coming from a supreme person. But how to make this general surrender effective ? The cow which cannot be easily milked has to suffer much torture ; the wood that does not bend easily has to be heated ; the tree that does not bend easily has to suffer torture. These are the instances which clearly indicate that men like wood and tree bend before those that are powerful. For these reasons men desirous of peace and prosperity feel the necessity of electing and crowning some person as their governor.

भूयांसं लभते क्लेशं या गौर्भवति दुर्दुहा ।

अथ या सुदुहा राजन्नैव तां वितुदन्त्यपि ॥ ८

यदत्तं प्रणमते नैतत् सन्तापमर्हति ।

यत् स्वयं नमते दारु न तत् सन्तापयन्त्यपि ॥ १०

एतयोपमया वीर सन्नमेत बलीयसे ।

* * * *

तस्माद्राजैव कर्त्तव्यः सततं भूतिमिच्छता ।

न धनार्थो न दारार्थस्तेषां येषामराजकम् ॥६७ । १२ । आ० प०

When chaos and confusion set in on all sides due to man's uncontrolled selfish desires, when peace and prosperity disappeared altogether from the face of the earth, when people were overwhelmed with untold miseries and misfortunes, then a few amongst them, urged by the instinct of self-preservation, assembled together and made certain compacts under the following terms :—" He who becomes harsh in speech or violent in temper, he who seduces or abducts other people's wives or robs the wealth that belongs to others, should be cast off by us." They thus entered into a contract for inspiring confidence among all classes of people and lived for sometime in peace.*

अराजकाः प्रजाः पूर्वं विनेशुरिति नःश्रुतम् ।

परस्परं भक्षयन्तो मत्स्या इव जले कृशान् ॥ १७

समेत्य तास्ततश्चक्रुः समयानिति नः श्रुतम् ।

वाक्शूरो दण्डपुरुषो यस्य स्यात् पारजायिकः ॥ १८

यः परस्वमथादद्यात्त्याज्या न स्तादृश इति ।

विश्वामार्यं च सर्वेषां वर्णानामविशेषतः ।

तास्तथा समयं कृत्वा समयेनावतस्थिरे ॥ १७ । १८ । शा० प०

After some time they experienced the difficulty of enforcing the terms of contract among men who are naturally selfish and hence always false and deceitful in their behaviour, and hence they felt the necessity of establishing a civil government. "A power must be set up which is able to punish all serious breaches of the law of nature within its domain, whether committed by one man or by any combination of men. Such a power can be created only by a general submission of all the men to one man or assembly of men; that is to say, by an express or implied contract of every man with every other, not to resist the will of a certain man or assembly of men, which thus becomes possessed of the joint power of them all."

* Cf. Hobbes' Theory of Social Contract.

Urged by the necessity of establishing a civil government the inhabitants of the earth approached some one whom they thought to be a deserving person and addressed him thus : " Be pleased to be our king and to govern and protect us. For the increase of thy treasury, we will give thee a fiftieth part of our animals and precious metals and a tenth part of our grain. Those amongst men who will become the foremost of all in the use of weapons and in riding animals and other vehicles, shall proceed behind thee like the deities behind Indra. With thy strength enhanced in this way and becoming invincible and possessed of great prowess, thou wilt be our king and protect us happily like Kuvera protecting the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas. Like the sun scorching everything with his rays, go out for winning victories, crush the pride of foes and let righteousness always triumph."

तमब्रुवन् प्रजामाभैः कर्तृणे नो गमिष्यति ।

पशूनामधिपञ्चाशद्विरण्यस्य तथैवच ॥ २३

धान्यस्य दशमं भागं दास्यामः कोषवर्धनम् । २४

मुखेन शास्त्रपत्रेण ये मनुष्याः प्रधानतः ।

भवन्त० तेऽनुयास्यन्ति महेन्द्रमिव देवताः ॥ २५

स त्वं जातवली राजा दुष्प्रधर्षः प्रतापवान् ।

मुखे धास्यसि नः सर्वान् कुबेर इव नैर्ऋतान् ॥ २६

विजयाय हि निर्याहि प्रतपन् रश्मिवानिव ।

मानं विधम शत्रूणां जयोऽस्तु तव सर्वदा ॥ ६७ । २६ । शा०प०

Thus the primitive natural egoism ends in the opposite extreme of Political Absolutism. The original motive of all voluntary actions is self-interest, that is pleasure, but there can be no pleasure without social harmony and social harmony "can only be ensured by *general* obedience to certain precepts called Laws of Nature; these are the recognised laws of social morality. To prevent any particular infringements of

Political Absolutism

these laws it is expedient that all should surrender the control of their behaviour to one man giving him power to enforce obedience." The inhabitants of the earth desirous of pleasure and prosperity elect and crown a king for the protection of all, and like disciples humbling themselves in the presence of preceptors or the gods in the presence of Indra, humble themselves before the king.

एवं ये भूतमिच्छन्तुः पृथिव्यां मानवाः क्वचित् ।

कुर्युं राजानमेवाग्रे प्रजानुग्रहकारणात् ॥

नमस्येरन्तं तं भक्त्या शिष्या इव गुरुं सदा ।

देवा इव च देवेन्द्रं तत्र राजानमन्तिके ॥ ६७ । ३४ । ग्रा० प०

"Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters—pleasure and pain. It is for them to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine

Egoistic utilitarianism

what we shall do." Upon this foundation is based the principle of utility. (संसारोऽत्र सुखं ग्राह्यं दुःखं हेयमिति स्वितिः

देवीभागवतम्)* Happiness is the end, but it is not the happiness of the individual alone but of the greatest number of individuals in a society. That man, it is said, attains the highest good who practices the virtue of universal benevolence.

प्राणिनामुपकाराय यदेवेह परत्र च ।

कर्मणा मनसा वाचा तदेव मतिमान् भजेत् ॥ ४६

विष्णुपुराणम् (३५७०)

Virtue is to be practised not for the sake of self or of heaven, or for supremacy among the gods, or for fear of hell, or for fear of birth among the brute creation, but it should be practised for the purpose of acquiring means whereby all sentient beings may be made happy and may be benefited.

नारमहेतोः शौलं रक्षति न स्वर्गहेतोः न शक्रताहेतोः ।

न निरयभयभौतः न तिर्यग्योनिभयभौतः ।

अन्यत्र बुद्धनेत्रौ प्रतिष्ठापनाय यावत् सर्वसत्त्व-

हितसुखयोगक्षेमार्थकः रक्षति ॥

(Buddhistic Thought.)

But this sort of utilitarianism is known as egoistic, for an altruist, *inasmuch as he seeks the good of others, succeeds in securing good for himself.* By practising virtues that are fraught with other people's good, he attains at last to a highly pleasurable end.

यथा कुशलधर्मा स कुशलं प्रतिपद्यते ।

कुशलेनैव धर्मेण गतिमिष्टां प्रपद्यते ॥ २७२ । १२ । शा०प०

He is of good behaviour. He loves all. He is sweet speeched. He is free from envy and malice. He is certainly employed in doing good to all people. He never rejoices at other people's misfortune, and hence he is loved and respected by all.

कल्याणं कुरुते वाढं पापमस्मिन्न बिद्यते ।

न प्रीयते परानर्थे स्तस्मात् सर्वत्र पूजितः ॥ २३० । ११ । शा०प०

According to this theory there is no qualitative distinction

**The
Scale**

Hedonic

in pleasures. All pleasures are alike in kind but differ only in quantity.

A pleasure is preferable only in proportion to the amount of enjoyment it yields. The question now arises, how are pleasures and pains to be measured, what is the principle of the hedonic scale? There are, however, some standards or tests by which we may be able to determine the quantity of pleasure. These are Intensity, Duration, Nearness, Certainty, Purity, etc.†

By purity is meant freedom from accompanying pain.

Purity

That pleasure is highly desirable—

- (1) which is not intermixed with pain,
- (2) which does not result in pain,
- (3) which comes to one as soon as it is desired.

यन्न दुःखेन सन्निभं न च यस्तमनन्तरम् ।

अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत् सुखं स्वःपदास्पदम् ॥

Sāmkhya-Tatwa-kaumudī.

* Cf. Dialectology, I, pp. 17, 18. Mill's utilitarianism, p. 50.

† Cf. Bentham's dimensions of value in a pleasure or pain. Principles of Morals and Legislation, p. 29.

Plato was the first to whom occurred the idea of an *arithmetic* of pleasure.

Of two pleasures, otherwise equal, the nearer one will be the better. For, "if there is a honey-comb in a corner of the house, from which honey can be obtained, for what purpose will a man go to the mountain? What wise man will take pains to secure the object desired in an arduous manner?"

Nearness

अक्के चेन्मधुविन्देत् किमर्थं पर्वतं व्रजेत् ।

इष्टस्यार्थस्य संसिद्धौ को विद्वान् यत्नमाचरेत् ॥

(Sāṃkhyapravāchanaśūtram, p. 19.)

One pleasure may be more certain than another and that which is certain should not be sacrificed for the sake of that which is uncertain.

Certainty

यो भ्रुवाणि परित्यज्य अभ्रुवाणि च सेवते ।

भ्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति अभ्रुवं नष्टमेव च । (गरुडपुराणे) *

Pleasure again is of two kinds—permanent and transitory.

Duration

Those who know truly the Veda Śāstras, avoid the transitory pleasure of enjoyments. Of two pleasures, otherwise equal, the more durable will be the better.

तत्सुखं द्विविधं प्रोक्तं नित्यानित्यप्रभेदतः ।

* * * * *

नाशात्मकस्तु तत्त्याज्यं वेदशास्त्रार्थचिन्तकैः ॥ देवीभाग-
वतम् ५ स्क० १५ अ०

* Cf. Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra I. 2.—

न धर्माश्चरेत् । पण्यत्फलत्वात्, सांशयिकत्वाच्च ॥ को

ह्यबालिशो हस्तगतं परगतं कुर्यात् ॥ वरमद्य कपोतः श्वो
मयूरात् ॥

वरं सांशयिकान्तिं कादसांशयिकः कार्षापणः । इति लौकायतिकाः ॥

Editor.

This form of utilitarianism is grounded on the principle that pleasure and freedom from pain are the only things desirable as ends; and all the desirable things are desirable either for the pleasure inherent in themselves or as a means to

Sympathetic Utilitarianism

the promotion of pleasure and the prevention of pain. Desiring a thing and finding it pleasant, aversion to it and thinking of it as painful, are inseparable and identical. It is called sympathetic utilitarianism because it is based on our sympathetic attitude of mind which makes us feel with and for others.*

यदा मम परेषां च भयं दुःखञ्च न प्रियम् ।

तदात्मनः को विशेषो यत्तं रक्षामि नेतरम् ॥

“ Take others’ sufferings on thy own self, as if they were thine own. ” (Buddhist Thought.) Look upon all creatures with eyes guided by affection, regard them worthy of being cherished with loving aid, offer them consolation, give them food and drink, address them in agreeable words, rejoice in their happiness and grieve in their griefs and then happiness will be your reward.

यस्तु प्रीतिपुराणेन चक्षुषा तात पश्यति ।

दीपोपमानि भूतानि यावदर्थान्न पश्यति ॥ ३५

सान्त्वेनान्नप्रदानेन प्रियवादेन चाप्युत ।

समदुःखसुखो भूत्वा स परत्र महीयते ॥ २९७ । ३६ । शा०प०

Having obtained the status of humanity you should never behave inimically towards any being, you should never injure anybody. On the other hand you should conduct yourself in perfect friendliness towards all.

न हिंस्यात् सर्वभूतानि मैत्रायणगतश्चरेत् ।

नेदं जन्म समासाद्य वैरं कुर्वीत केनचित् ॥ ३२६ । १३ । शा०प०

General Criticism of Hedonism

The hedonists base their system largely on the assumption that the only natural object of desire and

**Psychological
Hedonism**

motive of action is pleasure. But truly speaking pleasure is not the natural object of desire.† What we normally desire is the thing and

* Cf. Schopenhauer’s Secular Utilitarianism. Mill’s Refined Utilitarianism.

† Cf. Green, “ Prolegomena to Ethics, Book III., ch. I. §§ 156-170.

not the feeling which will result from it. The pleasurable feeling results from our obtaining the object desired, because we desired it. The feeling itself is not the object of desire but the result of obtaining that object. For, a man who is not acquainted with pleasure which the enjoyment of a certain object affords can never feel a desire for that object. Desire arises from actual experience of the pleasures of the senses. A man who has no idea of the taste of the wine called Vāruṇi or of the meat of the birds called Sādhvāka is not in a position to declare that there is no drink and no food more delicious than these. Thus we see that the idea of pleasure is the result of actual experience of things.*

न खल्वप्यरसज्ञस्य कामः क्वचन जायते ।

संस्पर्शाद्दर्शनाद्वापिश्रवणाद्वापि जायते ॥ ३०

न त्वं स्मरसि वाङ्मयालङ्कारकानाञ्च पक्षिणाम् ।

ताभ्यां चाभ्यधिको भव्यो न कश्चिद् विद्यते कश्चित् ॥ १८० ।

३१ शा०प० ।

Pleasure, therefore, is not the natural object of desire. We desire a thing and pleasure comes as a consequence of the attainment of the desired object. Food, for instance, will not give us pleasure unless we desire it and desire it we will not unless we feel hungry.

क्षुद्रयस्य तस्य भुक्ते ऽन्ने तृप्तिर्ब्रह्मण जायते ।

न मे क्षुद्राभवत् तृप्तिः कस्मान्मां परिपृच्छसि ॥ १८

विष्णुपुराणं (२ य अ०) ।

The more we pursue pleasure for its own sake the less pleasure do we attain; and the more we pursue objects for their own sake, without thinking of the pleasure which they will give, the more pleasure do we derive from them. The man that pursues pleasure meets with destruction in the course of his pursuit.

* Cf. Sidgwick—Methods, p. 49.

† "Pleasure finishes and completes the action" says Aristotle. (*Nicomachean Ethics*, X, 5.)

यद् व्यत्यजति कामानां तत्सुखस्याभिपूर्यतो ।

कामानुसारी पुरुषः कामाननुविनश्यति ॥ १७४ । ४५ ।

आ० प० ।

The man who is anxious to enjoy the whole earth without a rival beholds the honey only, but **Egoism is Suicidal** fails to observe, owing to ignorance, the terrible fall that awaits him.

तथैव तव पुत्रोऽयं पृथिवीमेक इच्छति ।

मधु पश्यति संमोहात् प्रपातं नानुपश्यति ॥ १७४ । २२ ।

उ० प० ।

मधु पश्यति मदात्मा प्रपातं नैव पश्यति ।

करोति निन्दितं कर्म नरकान्न विमेति च ॥ ४४ (४ स्क० ७ अ०)

दे० भा० ।

Sensations of heat and cold, feelings of pleasure and pain, **Feeling is fleeting** arising from the contacts of the senses with their appropriate objects are transient and temporary. They have a beginning and an end. Similarly youth and beauty, life and wealth, prosperity and the company of the beloved, though sources of pleasure, are transient, and hence the wise should never covet them.

मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।

आगमापायिनोऽनित्या स्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत ॥ २६ । १४

भा० प० ।

अनित्यं यौवनं रूपं जीवितं रत्नसञ्चयः ।

ऐश्वर्यं प्रियसंयोगो गृध्येत् तत्र न पण्डितः ॥ २ । ४७ । व० प० ।

Thought of the objects of sense gives rise to desire; desire to anger; anger to absence of **Pleasure pollutes our understanding** discrimination; absence of discrimination to loss of memory; loss of memory to loss of understanding; and, lastly, loss of understanding to the destruction of the agent himself.*

*Plato has demonstrated in his "Theætetus" that pleasure without intelligence and wisdom is as though it were not.

ध्यायतो विषयान् पुंसः सङ्गस्तेषूपजायते ।

सङ्गात् सञ्जायते कामः कामात् क्रोधोऽभिजायते ॥ ६२

क्रोधाद् भवति सम्मोहः सम्मोहात् स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।

स्मृतिभ्रंशाद् बुद्धिनाशो बुद्धिनाशात् प्रणश्यति ॥

२६ । ६३ । श्री० प०

Man has a natural inclination to acquire knowledge. His mind is first bent on the acquisition of knowledge ; and when knowledge is acquired he indulges in passions and desires ; he labours very hard and sets about tasks of great magnitude for the purpose of enjoying the objects of pleasure, such as, beauty and flavour. Then follows fondness, then envy, then avarice and then extinction of all spiritual light.

When a man is influenced by desire and consequently overcome by fondness, envy and avarice, his intellect ceases to be guided by righteousness and he practises the very mockery of virtue. Thus indulgence breeds hypocrisy. Practising virtue with hypocrisy, he takes himself to acquire wealth, for instance, by dishonourable means, and with the wealth thus acquired, the intelligent principle in him becomes enamoured of those evil ways and he is filled with a desire to commit more sins. His friends and well-wishers, men of wisdom and experience, may remonstrate with him but to no purpose, for he is ever ready with specious answers which are neither sound nor convincing. He thus becomes addicted to evil ways and continues to commit sin—sin in thought, sin in words, and sin in action.*

विज्ञानार्थं मनुष्याणां मनः पूर्वं प्रवर्त्तते ।

तत् प्राप्य कामं भजते क्रोधश्च द्विजसत्तम ॥२

ततस्तदर्थं यतते कर्म चारभ्यते महत् ।

इष्टानां रूपगन्धानामभ्यासश्च निषेवते ॥३

* Extreme egoism means license.

Cf. Wundt, Ethics, Vol. II., p. 168.

ततो रागः प्रभवति द्वेषश्च तदनन्तरम् ।
 ततो लोभः प्रभवति मोहश्च तदनन्तरम् ॥३
 ततो लोभाभिभूतस्य रागद्वेषहतस्य च ।
 न धर्मे जायते बुद्धिर्व्याजाद् धर्मं करोति च ॥ ५
 व्याजेन चरते धर्ममर्थं व्याजेन रोचते ।
 व्याजेन सिद्धिमानेषु धनेषु द्विजसत्तम ॥६
 तत्रैव रमते बुद्धिस्ततः पापं चिकीर्षति ।
 सुहृद्भिर्वार्यमाणश्च पण्डितैश्च द्विजोत्तम ॥७
 उत्तरं श्रुतिसम्बन्धं ब्रवीत्यश्रुतियोजितम् ।
 अधर्मस्त्रिविधस्तस्य वर्तते रागद्वेषजः ॥८
 पापं चिन्तयते चैव ब्रवीति च करोति च । २०६ । ८ । व० प०

As the horns of a Ruru after their first appearance grow with the growth of the animal, so the Desire is ceaseless with the growth of the animal, so the cupidity of man is ceaseless—it has no measure. As the water of all the rivers can never fill the ocean, so all the objects of the world can never satisfy the desire of a single man. The satisfaction of a desire cherished by a person immediately gives rise to another which he again seeks to satisfy, and so on.

उत्पन्नस्य रूरीः शृङ्गं वर्धमानस्य वर्धते ।
 प्रार्थना पुरुषस्यैव तस्य मात्रा न विद्यते ॥१४१।३२। अ० प० ?
 न तल्लोके द्रव्यमस्ति यल्लोभं प्रतिपूरयेत् ।
 समुद्रकल्पः पुरुषः न कदाचन पूर्यते ॥१४१।३३। अ० १० ?
 कामं कामयमानस्य यदा कामः समृध्यते ।
 मयैनमपरः काम इष्टो विध्यति बाणवत् ॥१४१।४४। अ० प० ?

A man obtaining affluence hankers after sovereignty, which being obtained, he hankers after the status of gods, which again, if achieved, makes him wish for the chiefdom of the celestials. So desire can have no end and in no condition can a man attain contentment by trying to satisfy desire. Contentment does not result from acquisition of desirable objects just as thirst is never quenched permanently although there is profusion of water. The thirst for enjoyment of pleasure only blazes up

with each fresh enjoyment like a fire with new faggots thrown into it. So our desire never ceases but on the other hand most assuredly increases through the enjoyments of the objects of desire.

मनुष्या ह्याक्यतां प्राप्य राज्यमिच्छन्त्यनन्तरं ।
 राज्याद् देवत्वमिच्छन्ति देवत्वान्द्रितामपि ॥ २४
 भवेत्स्वं यद्यपि त्वाढ्यो न राजा न च दैवतम् ।
 देवत्वं प्राप्य चेन्द्रत्वं नैव तुष्येस्तथा सति ॥ २५ ।
 न तृप्तिः प्रियलाभेऽस्ति तृष्णाद्भिः न प्रशम्यति ।
 संप्रज्वलति सा भूयः समिद्भिरिव पावकः ॥ २६० ।
 २५ शा० प० ।

न जातु कामः कामानमुपभोगेन शाम्यति ।
 भूहविषा कृष्णवत्मीष भूय एवाभिवर्धते ॥

Manusamhita.

Ashes can be had from wood but nothing can be had
 from ashes ; so one pleasure cannot be
 desired from another as its consequence.*
**Pleasure does not
 breed pleasure**

न हि कामेन कामोऽन्यः साध्यते फलमेव तत् ।
 उपयोगात् फलस्यैव काष्ठादुभयमेव पण्डितैः ॥३१३२॥ब०प०

Discontent is the result of cupidity ; cupidity stupefies the
 senses ; when the senses are stupefied
 wisdom disappears, and with the dis-
[No moral criterion] appearance of wisdom the power to discriminate right from
 wrong, proper from improper disappears. Persons who are
 guided by their passions only cannot know the distinction
 between action and inaction. In them does not exist purity or
 good conduct or truth.

असन्तोषोऽसुखायेति लोभादिन्द्रियसम्भ्रमः ।
 ततोऽस्य नश्यति प्रज्ञा विद्येवाभ्यासवर्जिता ॥
 नष्टप्रज्ञो यदा तु स्यात्सदा न्यायं न पश्यति ॥२६५॥२५॥ शा०प०
 प्रवृत्तिश्च निवृत्तिश्च जना न विदुरासुराः ।
 ना शौचं नापि चाचारो न सत्यं तेषु विद्यते ॥४०॥७॥ भी० प०

* "Every desire bears its death in its very gratification". Washington Irving.

Pleasure arising from the gratification of the senses lasts only so long as a shaft urged from the bow takes in falling down upon the earth ; and that short-lived pleasure, when it ceases to exist, becomes a source of intense pain.*

Pleasure is temporary and ends in pain

इषुप्रपातमाजं हि स्पर्शयोगे रतिः स्मृता ।

रसने दर्शने घ्राणे श्रवणे च विशाम्यते ॥३२

ततोऽस्य जायते तीव्रा वेदना तत् क्षयात् पुनः ।

अबुधा न प्रशंसन्ति मोक्षं सुखमनुत्तमम् ॥ २८५।३३। शा०प०

The gratification of the senses leaves nothing behind. The pleasure arising from such gratification lasts for a very short interval of time. "The rich and the poor alike find nothing in sound and touch and form and scent and taste after the immediate enjoyment thereof."

शब्दे स्पर्शे च रूपे च गन्धेषु च रसेषु च ।

नोपभोगात् परं किञ्चिद्विनिनो वाधनस्य वा ॥३३०।२६।शा०प०

When a person, under the influence of attachment and aversion yields himself up to the mastery of earthly objects, the desire of enjoyment takes possession of his mind. He thinks that person to be blessed who has the largest share of enjoyments in this world, and in consequence of his intense attachment to enjoyment he can never think that there can be any other happiness besides what waits upon the gratification of senses. Constant attachment to enjoyments breeds cupidity, and overwhelmed with cupidity he seeks to multiply the number of his relatives and attendants, and in order to gratify his relatives and attendants he tries his utmost to increase his wealth by every means in his power. Smitten with affection for his children such a man at last feels no hesitation in committing, for the sake of acquiring wealth, acts which he knows to be evil, and he gives way to grief if and when his wealth, thus acquired is lost. He is always eager to earn honours ; he is particularly

* "A man of pleasure is a man of pain"—Young.

Cf. Green's Prolegomena to Ethics, p. 183.

careful to guard against the defeat of his plans ; he never hesitates to have recourse to such means as would gratify his desire of enjoyment ; and, at last, as the inevitable consequence of the conduct he pursues he meets with destruction.

रागद्वेषाभिभूतं च नरं द्रव्यवशानुगम् ।

मोहजाता रतिर्नाम समुपैति नराधिप ॥ ५

कृतार्थं भोगिनं मत्वा सर्वो रतिपरायणः ।

लाभं ग्राम्यसुखादन्यं रतिती नानुपश्यति ॥ ६

ततो लोभाभिभूतात्मा सङ्गाद् वर्धयते जनम् ।

पुण्यर्थं चेव तस्येह जनस्यार्थं चिकौर्षति ॥ ७

स जानन्नपि चाकार्यं मर्यादं सेवते नरः ।

बालस्त्रो हपरीतात्मा तत्क्षयाच्चानुतप्यते ॥ ८

ततो मानेन सम्यन्नो रत्नान्नात्मपराजयम् ।

करोति येन भोगी स्यामिति तस्माद् विनश्यति ॥ २८५।८। शा०प०

It has been said that in estimating the value of a lot of

The quantification of pleasure

pleasure or pain we must take account of the following quantitative aspects of the feeling—its intensity, its duration, its

degree of probability, its distance in time, its fecundity or power of spreading itself, its purity or power of preserving itself uncontaminated by its opposite, its extent or the number of persons affected by it. But a little consideration will show that these " dimensions " are open to the objection that what is enjoyable in the highest degree to one may not be at all so to another, nay, it may be a source of discomfort or positive misery to him. The duration, for instance, of a particular pleasure cannot be said to be the same in all persons. The pleasure of witnessing a theatrical performance or playing a game of football or listening to an oratorio of Handel may be of considerable duration to a man according to the peculiar bent of his mind, but to another it may have soon lost its charm and produced satiety or disgust. If susceptibility to pleasure and pain were uniform in all men then, of course, these dimensions would be of immense practical use.*

* Cf. Leslie Stephen, *Science of Ethics*, p. 360.

स्वल्पत्वं विस्तरत्वं चाप्यपर्याप्तमपेक्षया ।

यत्तु स्वल्पमहं याचे परापेक्षं तु तदहं ॥ २७ ।

बृहद्बर्मपुराणं मध्यखण्डं १७ अ० ।

The admission of differences of quality among pleasures renders the hedonistic calculus hopelessly impossible. Sympathetic utilitarianism declares that pleasures differ in quality

as well as in degree, and that both quality and degree are to be taken into account in estimating pleasures. If it is asked what is the test of the quality of pleasure the reply would be that it is decided by the verdict of the competent critic, the judgment of persons who have experienced the different kinds of pleasures and who give their decisions impartially.* But it is very difficult to get a really competent critic who will be able to help us in deciding which pleasure is desirable and which is not. For even persons whom we regard as superior in all respects are found to give way to joy and indulge in grief as men like ourselves. Like other creatures the senses of such persons have their functions and objects. "No one can be found amongst men that has completely renounced all worldly objects, nor one that is perfectly contented with oneself, nor one that has transcended grief, nor one that is perfectly free from disease, nor one that is absolutely free from the desire to act (for one's own benefit), nor one that has an absolute distaste for companionship, nor one that has entirely abstained from acts of every kind."

नैव त्यागो न सन्तुष्टो नाशोको न निरामयः ।

नानिर्विधित्सो नावृत्तो पापवृत्तो स्ति कश्चन ॥ ४६

भयक्तोऽपि च हृष्यन्ति शोचन्ति च यथा वयम् ।

इन्द्रियार्थाश्च भवतां समानाः सर्वजन्तुषु ॥ २६८ । ४७ । शा०प०

It may, however, be pointed out that there are persons who have experience of different kinds of pleasures, but certainly it should be admitted on all hands that they cannot have

* Cf. Mill's Utilitarianism, p. 12.

experience of different kinds of pleasures under the same circumstances and during the same stages of their lives. There are persons, no doubt, who after enjoying the subjects of the senses, set themselves to the practice of the austere penances, and once again withdraw themselves from such penances. Such persons cannot be regarded as competent critics *

प्राप्नुयाद् विषयान् कश्चित् पुनश्चोयं तपश्चरेत् ।

संक्षिपेच्च पुनस्तात सूर्यस्ते जोगुणानिव ॥३००॥२७।शा०प०

The man who pursues pleasure for the sake of pleasure is
Evils of pleasure a man of lost self, of little intelligence, of fierce deeds and is born as it were for the destruction of the universe. Such a man cherishes insatiable desires ; he is endued with hypocrisy, with conceit and with folly; he engages in unholy practices ; he is fettered by the hundred nooses of hope ; he is addicted to lust and wrath ; he covets to hoard wealth for the satisfaction of his desires by unfair means ; he is tossed about by numerous thoughts ; he is enveloped in the meshes of delusion , he is attached to the enjoyment of objects of desire and thus he paves his way to destruction.

पतां दृष्टिमघटभ्य नष्टात्मानोऽहपबुद्धयः ।

प्रभवत्यग्र्यकर्माणः क्षयाय जगतोऽहिताः ॥ ६

काममाश्रित्य दुष्पूरं दम्भमानमदान्विताः ।

मोहाद् गृहीत्वासद्ग्राहान् प्रवर्तन्ते ऽशुचिब्रताः ॥१०

आशापाशशतैर्बद्धाः कामक्रोधपरायणाः ।

ईदृन्ते कामभोगार्थमन्यायेनार्थसञ्चयान् ॥ १२

अनेकचित्तविभ्रान्ता मोहजालसमावृताः ।

प्रसक्ताः कामभोगेषु पतन्ति नरकेऽशुचौ ॥ ४०। १६। मी०प०

* Cf. Janets' Theory of Mo: als, p. 17.

II.—A New Gupta King

By A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University

It is now more than four years since M. Sylvain Levi, while announcing the discovery of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra in the *Journal Asiatique* for October-December 1923, drew attention to some very important extracts in that book from a drama called *Devī-Chandraguptam* ascribed to Viśākhadatta, who for long has been known to us as the author of the famous historical play the *Mudrā Rākṣasa*. After an examination of the extracts M. Levi concludes that the hero of the *Devī-Chandraguptam* is no other than Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty ; but he does not proceed to reconstruct the Gupta history in the light of the plot of the *Devī-Chandraguptam*. Professor R. D. Banerji proceeded to do this, probably for the first time, in his *Manindra Chandra Nandi Lectures* delivered in November 1924 at the Benares Hindu University wherein he pointed out that Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Rāmagupta, who was such an imbecile that rather than losing his life and kingdom in the war, he consented to send out his wife to the harem of the Śaka king of Mathurā ; his brother Chandragupta however came to his rescue, and attiring himself as a lady, he went into the Śaka king's harem and killed him there. Eventually he killed his brother and married his wife.

Unfortunately the extracts published by M. Levi are not yet so well known in India as they deserve to be ; nor are Professor Banerji's lectures yet published. Besides, since Professor Banerji delivered his lectures, further material (viz. passages nos. 7 to 11 below) has come to light throwing stronger light on the situation. In this paper I propose to examine all this material and reconstruct Early Gupta history in its light.

Thanks to Harishena's foresight we know a good deal about the career and the conquest of Samudragupta. But unfortunately Harishena did not deem it worth his while to state the dates or the sequence of his master's expeditions, nor do we possess any dated genuine inscriptions which will enable us to determine the dates of Samudragupta's accession and death. As a matter of fact the condition of our knowledge of the reign of Samudragupta reminds us of Śrī Kṛishṇa's description of human beings.

अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।

अव्यक्तनिधनान्येव तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ II. 28.

Historians however cannot help deploring such a situation ; but their efforts to dispel the mystery have so long remained unsuccessful. As a matter of fact, the whole chronology with reference to the first three Gupta emperors has been all along appearing as definitely suspicious. Since the Gupta era can no longer be regarded as being founded by a non-Gupta Emperor, the latest date that we can assign to the beginning of the reign of King Chandragupta I would be 319-320 A.D. by supposing that the Gupta era developed out of his regnal years. On the other hand, there is definite evidence that Chandragupta II was ruling right up to 412-413 A.D. The first three reigns of the Gupta dynasty thus cover a period of at least 93 years, and if we take Kumāragupta's reign also into consideration, we find four successive reigns extending over at least 130 years, and possibly over ten or fifteen years more ; for Chandragupta I may well have begun his career a decade or so earlier than the foundation of the Gupta era. We have thus an average of about thirty-five years for four successive generations. In itself there is nothing absolutely impossible in this ; but it must be confessed that such a high average for four successive reigns is without a parallel in Ancient Indian History.

There was no alternative, so far, but to accept this high average ; for the Gupta genealogy, as recorded in several official

inscriptions, made it absolutely clear that Chandragupta I was succeeded by his son and successor Samudragupta, the latter by his son and successor Chandragupta II and this last by his son and successor Kumāragupta I. It has been further mentioned of each of these kings that he was favoured and selected "parigrihita" by his father; this seemed to exclude the possibility of collateral succession or wars of succession. And as a matter of fact no king was so far known who could be proved to have ruled in between the reigns of any two of these kings.

The discovery of some extracts from the *Devī-Chandraguptam* has completely changed the situation. Unfortunately the whole drama is not yet available; so we have to content ourselves with the few extracts that have been so far published. These extracts from the *Devī-Chandraguptam* and a few other extracts, which will be given below, make it abundantly clear—

(1) that Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Ramagupta (who perhaps had also another name Sarmagupta), who was a disgracefully weak monarch;

(2) that a contemporary Saka king could impose a humiliating peace upon this Ramagupta compelling him to surrender his crowned queen Dhruvadevī;

(3) that Ramagupta's younger brother Chandragupta volunteered to approach the Saka king disguised as Dhruvadevī and succeeded in killing him;

(4) that soon after his return, Ramagupta was murdered either by Chandragupta or at his instigation;

(5) that the crowned queen of Ramagupta, Dhruvadevī, married Chandragupta after her husband's death;

(6) that this whole incident was so well known that it was dramatised by Visākhadatta and referred to by no less than four different authors.

I shall now give below the literary evidence upon which I rely for substantiating this novel reconstruction of the Gupta history.

In the *Journal Asiatique* tome CCIII, pages 201-206, M. Levi gives the following six extracts from the *Devī-Chandra-guptam* as they are quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmechandra and Guṇachandra.

(I) भिन्नस्य प्रस्तुतादन्यस्य त्रिगतमनेकार्थगतम् त्रिशब्दस्यानेकार्थ-
त्वात्तेन व्यर्थमपि । यथा देवीचंद्रगुप्तो द्वितीयेऽके प्रकृतौ-
नामाश्वासनाय शकस्य ध्रुवदेवोसंप्रदाने अभ्युपगते राज्ञा
रामगुप्तेन अरिवधनार्थं यियासुः प्रतिपन्नध्रुवदेवीनेपथ्यः
कुमारचंद्रगुप्तो विघ्नपयन्नुच्यते । यथा

प्रतिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ न खल्वहं त्वां परित्यक्तुमुत्सहे ।

प्रत्यययौवनविभूषणमंगमेतत् ।

रूपश्रियं च तव यौवनयोग्यरूपाम् ॥

सक्तिं च मय्यनुपमामनुबध्यमानो ।

देवीं त्यजामि बलवांस्वयि मेऽनुरागः ॥

अन्यस्त्रीशंकया ध्रुवदेवो :—यदि भक्तिं अवेक्ष्यसि तदो ममं व
भाइणि परिच्ययसि ।

राजा :—अपि च,

त्यजामि देवीं तुणवस्त्वदंतरे ।

ध्रुवदेवो :—अहं पि जीविदं परिच्ययंतौ अज्जउत्तं पढमपरं-
य्येव परिच्ययिस्सम् ।

राजा :—त्वया विना राज्यमिदं हि निष्फलम् ॥

ध्रुवदेवो :—ममापि संपदं निष्फलो जीवलोउ सुहपरिच्ययणीउ
भविस्सदि ।

राजा :—ऊटति देवीं प्रति मे दयालुता ।

ध्रुवदेवो :—इयं अज्जउत्तस्य ईदिसी दयालुदा जं अणवरद्धो-
ज्जणो अणुगादो एवं परिच्यइयदि ।

राजा :—त्वयि स्थितं भावनिबन्धनं मनः ॥

ध्रुवदेवो :—अदो ख्येव मंदभागा परिच्चइयामि ।

राजा :—त्वय्युपारोपितप्रेम्णा त्वदर्थे यशसा सह ।

परित्यक्ता मया देवी जनोऽयं जन एव मे ॥

ध्रुवदेवी :—हंजे इयं सा अज्जउत्तस्स करुणादा ।

सूत्रधारी :—देवि पडंति चंदमंडला चूडलीउ किमेत्थ करिय्यदि

राजा :—देवीवियोगदुःखार्तास्त्वमस्मान् रमयिष्यसि ।

ध्रुवदेवो :—वियोगदुःखं पि दे अकरुणास्स अत्थि जजेव ।

राजा :—त्वद्दुःखस्यापनेतुं सा शतांशेनापि न क्षमा ॥ इति ।

एतस्त्रीवेषधारिचन्द्रगुप्तबोधनार्थमभिहितमपि विशेषणसाम्येन

ध्रुवदेव्या स्त्रीविषयं प्रतिपन्नमूदति भिन्नार्थयोजकम् ।

(II) आर्तिः खेदो व्यसनमिष्टाद्विरोधः । यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते राजा
चन्द्रगुप्तमाह ।

त्वद्दुःखस्यापनेतुं सा शतांशेनापि न क्षमा ।

ध्रुवदेवी सूत्रधारीमाह ।

हंजे इयं सा ईदिसी अज्जउत्तस्स करुणापराहीणदा ।

सूत्रधारी—देवि पडंति चंदमंडलाउ वि चुडभालिउ किं ए नु
करिम्ह ।

राजा—त्वय्युपारोपितप्रेम्णा त्वदर्थे यशसा सह ।

परित्यक्ता मया देवी जनोऽयं जन एव मे ॥

ध्रुवदेवी :—अहं पि जीविदं परिच्चयंती पढमपरं ख्येव तुमं
परिच्चयिस्सं ।

अत्र स्त्रीवेषनिहुते चंद्रगुप्ते प्रियवचनैः स्त्रीप्रत्ययादु वदेव्या
गुरुमनुसंतापरूपस्य व्यसनस्य संप्राप्तिः ।

(III)—भावानां साध्यफलोचितानां रतिहर्षोत्सवादीनां
 याचनं प्रार्थना । यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते चतुर्थे के ।
 चन्द्रगुप्तः—प्रिये माधवसेने त्वमिदानीं मे बन्धमाज्ञापय ।
 कंठे किन्नरकंठि बाहुलतिकापाशः समासज्यताम् ।
 हारस्ते स्तनबान्धवो मम बलाब्धधातु पाणिद्वयम् ॥
 पादौ त्वज्जघनस्थलप्रणयिनी संदानयेन्मैखलाम् ।
 पूर्वं त्वद्गुणबद्धमेव हृदयं बंधं पुनर्नार्हति ॥
 अत्र रतेः प्रार्थना ।

(IV)—तथा च वेश्यायां नायिकायां विनयरहितमपि चेष्टितं
 निबध्यते ! यथा विशारदतत्त्वज्ञे देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते माधव-
 सेनां समुद्दिश्य कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तस्योक्तिः ।
 आनन्दश्रुजलं सितोत्पलरुचोराबध्नता नेत्रयोः ।
 प्रत्यंगेषु धरानने पुलकिषु स्वेदं समातन्वता ॥
 कुर्वाणेन नितंबयोरुपचयं संपूर्णयोरुपसौ ।
 केनाप्यस्पृशताप्यधो निवसनग्रन्थिस्त्वोच्छ्रावसितः ॥
 इति ।

(V)—यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते पंचमके ।
 एसो सियकरवित्थरपणासियासेसवेरतिमिरोही ।
 नियविहवरेण चंदो गयणं गहलंधिओ विसइ ।
 इयं स्वापायशंकिनः कृतकोन्मत्तस्य कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तस्य
 चंद्रीदयवर्णनैन प्रवेशप्रतिपादिकेति ।
 अंकान्ते अंकमध्ये वा सनिमित्तं रंगात्पात्रस्य बहिर्निस्सरणं
 निष्क्रमः । तत्प्रयोजनाऽनुशक्तिकादेशाकृतिगणत्वादि-
 बान्युभयपदद्वयौ नैष्कामिकी । यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते पंचमा-
ंकान्ते ।

बहुविहकज्जविसेसं अइगूढं निणहवेइ मयणादो ।
 निक्खलइ खुहचित्ता उरन्ना...त्तं मनो रिउणो ॥
इयमुन्मत्तस्य चंद्रगुप्तस्य मदनविकारगोपनपरस्य मनाकशब्द-
भीतस्य राजकुलगमनार्थं निष्क्रमसूचिकेति ।

(VI)—भावस्य पराभिप्रायस्याथवा भाव्यमानस्यार्थस्योदप्रतिमा-
 दिवशाभिर्णयो यथावस्थितरूपनिश्चयः क्रमः । बुद्धिस्तत्र-
 क्रमते न प्रतिहन्यत इत्यर्थः । यथा देवोचंद्रगुप्ते चन्द्रगुप्ते
 ध्रुवदेवीं दृष्ट्वा स्वगतमाह । इयमपि सा देवी तिष्ठति ।
 यैषा

रम्यां चारतिकारिणीं च कर्णाशोकेन नीता दशाम् ।
 तत्कालोपगतेन राहुशिरसा गुप्तेव चान्द्रो कला ।
 पत्युः क्लीबजनोचितेन चरितेनानेन पुंसः सतः ।
लज्जाकोपविषादभीत्यरतिभिः क्षेचीकृता ताम्यते ।
 अत्र ध्रुवदेव्यभिप्रायस्य चन्द्रगुप्तेन निश्चयः ।

From Śringārūpakam, an unpublished work attributed to
 king Bhoja of Dhārā, Mr. R. Sarasvatī publishes the following
 three extracts from the same drama, namely the *Devi-Chandra-*
guptam in *I. A.*, 1923, p. 181.

(VII)—स्त्री वेषनिह, तच्चन्द्रगुप्तः शत्रोः स्कन्धावारभलिपुरं शक-
पतिवधायामत् ।

(VIII)—देवोचन्द्रगुप्ते विदूषकं प्रति चन्द्रगुप्तः—

सद्रं शान्पृथुवंशविक्रमबलान्दृष्ट्वाद्भुतान्दन्तितः ।
 हासस्येव गुह्यमुखादभिमुखं निष्क्रान्तः पर्वतात् ॥
 एकस्यापि विधूतकेसरजटाभारस्य भौताः मृगाः ।
गंधादेव हरेर्द्रवन्ति वज्रवो वीरस्य किं संख्यया ॥

(IX)—देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते वसन्तसेनाभुद्दिश्य मायवस्याक्तिः ।

आनन्दायुजलं सितोत्तलरुचोरावधता नैत्रयोः ।

प्रत्यङ्गेषु वरानने पुलकिषु स्वेदं समातन्वता ॥

कुर्वाणेन नितम्बयोरुपचयं सम्पूर्णयोरप्यसौ ।

केनाऽप्यसस्पृशताप्ययो निवसनमन्यिस्तवोच्छ्वासितः ॥

Rajasekhara in his "Kāvya-mīmāṃsā," while illustrating the "muktaka kathoththa" variety of "vastusvarupa" cites the following verse :—

(X)—दत्त्वा रुद्धगतिः खसाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीम् ।

यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निववृत्ते, श्रीशर्म (v.l. सेन) गुप्तो नृपः ॥

तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणत्क्लणत्किन्नरे ।

गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेय नगररत्नीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥

In the Sanjan copperplates of king Amoghavarsha I, dated Saka 795 (*E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 248), we have the following verse referring to a Gupta king whose name is not mentioned but whose charity is compared to that of king Amoghavarsha in order to show that the latter was his superior even in that respect.

(XI)—हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहर्द्वीं च दीनस्तथा ।

लक्ष्मीकोटिमलेखयत्किं कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ॥

येनात्याजि तनुःस्वरान्यमसङ्गहाद्यर्थकैः का कथा ।

ह्रीस्तस्योन्नतिराष्टकूटतिलको दातेति कीर्त्यामपि ॥

In addition to the above eleven passages referring to the Saka-Dhruvadevi incident we have one more from the Harsha-charit of Bāna,—a passage which was long known but which was contemptuously passed over by Vincent Smith and other historians.

(XII) अरिपुरेच परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेषगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्तः

शकपतिभशातयत् ।

The commentator Śaṅkarārya further elucidates the situation by explaining the passage as follows :—

(XIII) शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां
ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुवदेवीविवधारिणा
स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृत्तेन व्यापादितः ॥

Let us now piece together the historical information supplied by these passages and see what light it throws upon the Gupta period.

There was a king called Rāmagupta who was an utterly weak and incapable prince.¹ His dominions were invaded by a powerful Śaka king ;² and in order to save himself and his subjects he consented to sacrifice his crowned queen Dhruvadevi to the cupidity of the invader ; so desperate was the condition to which he was reduced. His younger brother Chandragupta³ who was a brave and adventurous man⁴ volunteered to save the honour of his house by undertaking to enter the enemy's camp under the disguise of Dhruvadevi with a view to kill the lascivious and barbarous Śaka king if possible.⁵ He was accompanied by a few soldiers who were

(¹) पत्युः क्लौबजनोचितेन चरितेनानेन पुंसः सतः etc. in passage No. VI above.

(²) प्रकृतीनामाश्वासनाय शकस्य ध्रुवदेवीसंप्रदानेऽभ्युपगते etc. in passage No. I above.

(³) King Rāmagupta addresses him as कुमार in passage No. I above.

(⁴) Chandragupta to Vidūshaka :—

एकस्यापि विधूतकेसरसटाभारस्य भीता मृगाः

गन्धादेव हरेर्द्वन्ति बहवो वीरस्य किं संख्यया ॥ Passage No. VIII above.

(⁵) अरिवधनार्थं यियासुः etc. Passage No. I above.

dressed as female attendants,⁶ and who could not obviously have been many. The ruse was exquisitely performed; the Śaka king who was at every moment expecting the arrival of Druva-devī in accordance with the treaty allowed the party to enter the camp without any close inspection. And when the Śaka king was about to approach him, Chandragupta attacked and killed him.⁷

The evidence at present available does not enlighten us as to how Chandragupta managed to effect his escape; but this need not have been very difficult. The Śaka king was in camp; the conclusion of the peace and the humiliating surrender of the Gupta queen must have rendered the army the very reverse of overcautious; it was very probably night-time when Chandragupta killed the Śaka king; the soldiers may have been sleeping and the guards inattentive; and Chandragupta may have effected his escape with the assistance of his party under the cover of night. Of course not far from the Śaka camp swift steeds must have been waiting for Chandragupta and his party, and before the pursuing party could be ready they must have gone out of reach. The Shāyista Khān incident in Maratha history, when Shivāji managed to cut off the Khan's fingers at his own residence shows that given favourable circumstances, a resolute adventurer could achieve the feat attributed to Chandragupta. There is nothing impossible in it.

At the conclusion of the peace the Śaka king may have already sent home part of his army; the remaining soldiers must have been stunned and stupefied at the murder of their king; they may have lost their spirits and returned home.

When Chandragupta returned home after his wonderful exploit he must have become the darling of the people of Magadha. It is not quite clear whether his relations with his

(⁶) स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृत्तेन: Passage No. XIII above.

(⁷) Passage No. XII above.

brother were quite cordial; passage No. I, no doubt suggests * that there was considerable affection felt by Rāmagupta for his brother; but we must remember that the passage in question is an example of double entendre; to proceed to argue only on the strength of that passage that Chandragupta and Rāmagupta were intensely attached to each other would be betraying a deplorable ignorance of the dramatic purpose of the exquisitely selected adjectives.⁹ Whatever may have been the case before, after the murder of the Śāka king their relations soon became strained; Rāmagupta may have begun to regard his brother as too dangerously able; or Chandragupta may have now naturally entertained an ambition for the throne, perhaps on account of an influential backing from ministers and subjects, who must have been ashamed of such a king as Rāmagupta. Perhaps Śāka revenge may have been impending which would have rendered it absolutely necessary to have an able monarch at the helm of affairs. Whatever may have been the causes, we find that the two brothers soon became enemies; Chandragupta was apprehending danger to his life and had to feign love-madness¹⁰ in order to

(⁹) त्वज्जामि देवीं तृणत्वदन्तरे त्वया विना राज्यमिदं हि
निष्फलम् ।

अनेति देवीं प्रति मे दयालुता त्वयि स्थितं स्नेहनिबन्धनं
मनः ।। etc. Passage No. I above.

(¹⁰) भिन्नस्य प्रस्तुतादन्यस्य त्रिगतमनैकार्थगतम् । विशब्द-
स्यानेकार्थत्वात् । तेन व्यर्थमपि । ... एतस्मैविषधारि-
चन्द्रगुप्तायामिहितमपि विशेषणसाम्येन भ्रुवदेव्या
स्त्रीविषयं प्रतिपन्नमिति भिन्नार्थयोजनम् । Passage I.

(¹⁰) इयं स्वापायशक्तिः कृतकोन्मत्तस्य कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तस्य ... ।
इयमुन्मत्तस्य चन्द्रगुप्तस्य मदनविकारगोपनपरस्य
मनाकशत्रुभोतस्य निष्क्रमसूचिकेति ।

Passage No. 5.

save himself or to get an opportunity to kill his brother. Rāmagupta was soon killed¹¹—we do not know how, whether directly by Chandragupta or by someone else at his instigation. Chandragupta then ascended the throne and married his brother's wife Dhruvadevi¹² who had already begun to love him as her saviour.

Reliability of the evidence

Before proceeding to enquire how far this reconstruction of history can be substantiated, we shall have to consider how far the evidence is reliable.

With reference to the passages from the *Devī-Chandraguptam* it may be pointed out that the first six passages occur in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra who were disciples of the famous Hemachandra, a contemporary of king Kumārapāla (c. 1143-1173) of the Chālukya dynasty of Anahilapāṭaka. There was no motive for the joint authors to misquote from the original drama, and the fact that one of the quotations (No. IV above) recurs in the *Śrīṅgārārūpaka* of king Bhoja (No. IX above) shows that both king Bhoja and the joint authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* had reliable copies of the original dramas before them. With reference to the quotations from a *Śrīṅgārārūpaka* it may be pointed out that its author was not only a rhetorician and poet but also a king and statesman; he would have been particularly careful in quoting from a historic drama lest he should be guilty of distorting history.

With reference to the drama *Devī-Chandraguptam* itself, unfortunately it is not yet available in its entirety and so no final opinion can be given about its historic reliability. According to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* its author was Viśākhadatta and it is very probable that this Viśākhadatta must be the same as the author of the *Mudrā Rākṣasa*. It is very probable that Viśākhadatta, who had put on the stage the revolution effected by

(¹¹) हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरत्तु देवीं च दोनस्तथा । Passage No. XI above.

(¹²) See footnote No. XI above.

Chāṇakya, might also have dramatised a still more emotional situation, much nearer to his own times and perhaps witnessed by himself. Unfortunately the date of Viśākhaḍatta is not yet finally determined; but even supposing that he flourished in the seventh or the eighth century and not in the fifth, there are cogent reasons to believe that the main kernel of the plot of the *Devī-Chandraguptam* must be historic. Viśākhaḍatta belonged to a family of feudatory chiefs; his grandfather Vaṭeśvaradatta was a "sāmanta" ¹³ and his father Prithu was a Maharāja; ¹⁴ and he himself was as close a student of the science of politics and statecraft as he was of dramaturgy and poetics. ¹⁵ It is not therefore quite accidental that his dramas, so far known, are all historical, and it may be well presumed that the author must have been fully familiar with the historical events which are dramatised in his plays. It is no doubt true that in the *Mudrā Rākshasa* the author is guilty of an anachronism when he represents Malayaketu's force as partly consisting of Śaka, Chīna and Hūna battalions. It is also doubtful whether the Rākshasa episode is really historical. But in spite of these minor liberties with facts which the author takes, like many other writers of historic dramas and fiction, the central fact of the drama must be accepted as perfectly historical. The same must be the presumption with reference to the *Devī-Chandraguptam*.

- (¹³) सामन्तवटेश्वरदत्तपौत्रस्य } *Mudrā Rākshasa*, Act I.
 (¹⁴) महाराजपदभक्तपृथुसूनुः }

(¹⁵) Compare the following elaborate simile in Rākshasa's soliloquy :—

कार्योपक्षेपमादौ तनुमपि रचयंस्तस्य विस्तारमिच्छन् ।

बीजानां गर्भितानां फलमतिगहनं गूढभुङ्क्षेदयं च ॥

कुर्वन् बुद्ध्या विमर्शं प्रसृतमपि पुनः संहर्त्तुं कार्यं जातम् ।

कर्ता वा नाटकानामिममनुभवति क्लेशमस्मद्विधौ वा ॥

Mudrā Rākshasa, Act IV, verse 3.

It may be further pointed out that it is very likely that the dramatist was a contemporary of king Chandragupta II, a view which is supported by Hillebrandt, Tawney, Smith, Winternitz and Jayaswal. In that case Visākhadatta becomes almost an eye-witness of the events he stages in the *Devī-Chandraguptam*; in that case his testimony would be unassailable. But even supposing that he flourished in the seventh or the eighth century, it will be admitted that he was not living too far away from the time of Chandragupta II to take any considerable liberty with actual historical events. And his testimony becomes still more weighty when we remember that it is corroborated by the independent testimony of Bāṇa,¹⁶ Saṅkarārya¹⁷ and the Sanjan copperplates of King Amoghavarsha I.¹⁸

It is true that the prevailing tendency of scholars is to discredit the story referred to by Bāṇa and amplified by his commentator. Vincent Smith for instance says, "Scandalous tradition affirmed that 'in his enemy's city the king of the Śakas, while courting another man's wife, was butchered by Chandragupta, concealed in his mistress's dress;' but the tale does not look like genuine history." Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar and Mr. R. Sarasvatī both discredit Saṅkarārya's amplification, the former tacitly¹⁹ and the latter explicitly.²⁰ But it may be pointed out that Bāṇa is one of the few Sanskrit writers whose possession of the historic sense very few can doubt and he flourished only about two centuries later than the time of the Śaka overthrow. He was besides living for some time at the court of Harsha where he must have learnt a good deal about the Guptas in general and Chandragupta in particular whom Harsha was probably anxious to emulate. He therefore must be relying on a fairly reliable tradition when he refers to the Śaka episode. The long string of historic examples given in the paragraph where the Śaka episode is mentioned shows that Bāṇa was a careful student of history. The fact that his references to Nāgasena (of Padmavati), Vāsudeva Śūṅga and Brīhadratha Maurya have been

¹⁶ Passage No. XII. ¹⁷ Passage No. XIII. ¹⁸ Passage No. XI. ¹⁹ *Journal of Indian History*, 1927, University supplement, page 52. ²⁰ I.A. 1923, page 188

corroborated by other independent evidence shows clearly that the historic tradition upon which Bāṇa was relying was fairly trustworthy. His statement, therefore, that Chandragupta while dressed as a lady killed a lascivious Śaka king deserves to be accepted as *prima facie* truth. If we can support it by other independent evidence it would be obviously transformed into a positive historic certainty.

With reference to Śaṅkarārya, we have yet no definite knowledge of his time and place; but it seems Śaṅkarārya who comments upon the *Kāmandakīya-nīṭisāra* is the same as our Śaṅkarārya. If so, it follows that like Viśakhadatta Śaṅkarārya was also of a political and historical turn of mind. His remarks upon the passage in *Harshacharita* where the Śaka episode is referred to, and upon *Kāmandakīya Nīṭisāra* I. 56ff, VII. 58ff (where also he amplifies the historic events but passingly referred to in the text), show that he was well up in Ancient Indian history. His amplification of the incident referred to by Bāṇa therefore deserves to be accepted as historically reliable, the more so because it is now supported by the independent testimony of the *Devī-Chandraguptam*.

It may be further pointed out that the Sanjan plates in the passage already referred to (passage No. XI above) can be shown to be referring to none else than Chandragupta II. It is true that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar maintains that the anonymous Gupta king referred to in the passage is in all probability Skandagupta *Vikramāditya*; ²¹ but this does not seem to have been the case. Of the Gupta king, the verse observes that he no doubt gave donations in lakhs and crores (or that he granted a crore when only a lakh was asked for) ²² but that he was a poor wretch since he had murdered his brother and married his wife. There is no doubt that the theory of a fratricidal war at the accession of Skandagupta is not altogether without a foundation; but Dr. Bhandarkar does

(²¹) *E. I.* XVII, page 248.

(²²) लक्षं कोटिमलेख्यनिकल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ।

not cite any evidence to show that Skandagupta had married his brother's wife.

Besides it must be remembered that Skandagupta's circumstances could hardly have enabled him to be lavishly generous. At the time of his accession, the Gupta empire was shaken to its very foundation by the Pushyamitra war ; then he had to fight the Hūnas. He reigned for not more than twelve years during the major part of which period he must have been thinking of the defence of the empire rather than of the patronage of men of letters. The drain on the resources of the empire caused by these wars was very heavy as is evidenced by the debasement of his coinage in the latter part of his reign. He could hardly have had any surplus to give in charity even if he were inclined to do so.

The Gupta king, then, who is mentioned as giving away lakhs and crores in charity could not have been Skandagupta. Dr. Bhandarkar is however right in suggesting that the Gupta king whose charity was known in the distant Gujarat in the ninth century must have borne the title of Vikramāditya. Subandhu refers to king Vikramāditya as a well-known patron of men of letters ; ²³ and so also do a number of other writers in the Sanskrit literature. The literary tradition is further supported by Yuan Chwang who informs us—

“ At the time ” (i.e. at the time of Vasubandhu) “ the power of Vikramāditya, King of Śrāvastī, was widely extended ; on the day on which he reduced the Indians to submission he distributed five lakhs of gold coins among the destitute and the desolate. The treasurer, fearing that the king would empty the treasury, remonstrated him to the following effect : Your Majesty's dread influence extends to the various peoples and the lowest creatures. I request that an additional five lakhs of

(²³) *Vasavadatta* : सा रसवत्ता विहिता नवका विलसति
चरति नो वक्कः ।

सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि
विक्रमादित्ये ॥ Verse 10.

gold coins be distributed among the poor from all the quarters ; the treasury being thus exhausted new taxes and duties will have to be imposed ; this unlimited taxation will produce disaffection ; so Your Majesty will have gratitude for your bounty, but your ministers will have to bear insulting reproaches. The king replied that giving to the needy from the surplus of public accumulations was not a lavish expenditure of public money on himself and gave the additional five lakhs in largesse to the poor. On a future occasion, the king while out hunting lost trace of wild boar and rewarded the peasant who put him on the right track with a lakh of gold coins. Manoratha had once paid his barber a like sum for shaving his head and the state annalists had made a record of the circumstance. This fact had wounded the king's pride and he desired to bring public shame on Manoratha. " 24

It is therefore clear from the above passages that at the time of Yuan Chwang a Gupta king Vikramāditya by name was widely known for charity. It is therefore only natural to presume that the Gupta king who is referred to in the Sanjan plates as a well-known donor must have been the same monarch. The line in the Sanjan plates

लक्षं कोटिमलेखयन्किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ।

reminds us of Yuan Chwang's account where the charity figures are throughout in lakhs. It is therefore clear that the Gupta king who is referred to in the Sanjan plates should also be the same Vikramāditya. Now only two kings in the Gupta dynasty bore this title, Chandragupta II and Skandagupta. I have shown already why Skandagupta could not have been the famous donor. It, therefore, follows by the law of residue that he must be Chandragupta II. During his reign the Gupta empire had attained its highest glory ; from Fa Hien we learn that the people were rich and prosperous under his rule. The prosperity of the kingdom and the booty from the Saka war must have made the Imperial Exchequer overflow

²⁴ Watters : *Yuan Chwang's Travels* I, page 211.

with money ; and as the result of it Chandragupta could well have afforded to give in lakhs. It is true that the inscriptions do not refer to Chandragupta as a poet or a patron of poets, but it may be pointed out that all his inscriptions are either short or very fragmentary. None of them is written with the object of describing or eulogising the achievements of the Emperor. The fact that one of the ministers was a poet ²⁵ would suggest that he was a patron of literature, a conjecture which is supported by the legend “*RŪPAKRITI*” ²⁶ which appears on some of his coins and which suggests that he was an author of dramas. The term “*rūpa*” or “*rūpaka*” was applied generically to the drama, for “*rūpa*” primarily denotes the object of vision.

Additional evidence of the literary patronage of Chandragupta would be available in plenty if we assume that he was known not only by the title of *Vikramāditya* but also by that of *Sāhasāṅka*. The title *Vikramāṅka* appears on his coins as is well known, and *Sāhasāṅka* is almost a synonym of *Vikramāṅka*. The desperate courage (*sāhasa*) which he had shown in approaching the Saka camp may have resulted in his popularly being known as *Sāhasāṅka*. Rājasekhara mentions a king called *Sāhasāṅka* who was ruling at Ujjayinī and who was an ideal patron of men of letters.²⁷ This *Sāhasāṅka* who was ruling at Ujjayinī therefore must have been the same as Chandragupta II who was also ruling at Ujjayinī. According to Rājasekhara the love of Sanskrit learning of this *Sāhasāṅka* was so great that he had issued an order that

²⁵ अन्वयप्राप्तसाचिव्यो व्यापृतसन्निविग्रहः ।

कौत्सः शब इति ख्यातो वीरसेनः कुलाख्यया ॥

शब्दार्थन्यायलोकज्ञः कविः पाटलिपुत्रकः ॥

Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II.

(²⁶) Smith : *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, plate XV, No. 10.

²⁷

वासुदेवसातवाहनसाहसाङ्गादीन्सकलान्भूपतीन्
दानमानाभ्यामनुकुर्यात् । *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 55.

Sanskrit should be spoken even in his harem.²⁸ This testimony of Rājasekhara shows that Chandragupta II was a great lover and patron of Sanskrit literature. The Sanjan plates therefore must be referring to him and no one else.

It therefore follows that first line of the verse quoted above, viz.,

इत्था भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्वेवीं च दीनस्ततः ।

must also refer to Chandragupta II. The testimony of the Sanjan plates therefore goes to prove that Chandragupta had murdered his brother, usurped his throne and married his wife.

Unfortunately the full text of the *Devī-Chandraguptam* is not yet available; extracts so far published do not actually prove that Chandragupta murdered his brother Rāmāgupta and married his wife Dhruvadevī. But I would be surprised if the drama when recovered were not to support this conclusion. In fact the tendency of the passages now available is to show that very probably such was actually the case. Passages V and VI above tend to support the Sanjan plates. These extracts are from the fifth act; the danger, therefore, that Chandragupta is here apprehending, could not have been from the Śakas. He goes to the Śaka camp in the second act (see passage No. I above); the Śaka king therefore must have been killed in the second or third act. This is the obvious conclusion from the verse

एतो सियकरविस्थरपरास्त्रियासेसवेतिमिरोहो ।

नियविहवरेण चंदो गदणं गहंलघिओ विसद ॥

which occurs in the fifth act and which shows that Chandragupta had already completely destroyed the enemy. The

²⁸ स्वभवने हि भाषानियमनं यथा प्रभुविद्वाति तथा भवति ।

श्रूयते हि उज्जयिन्यां साहसांको नाम राजा तेन संस्कृत-भाषात्मकमन्तःपुर एव प्रवर्तितो नियमः । *Kāvya-mānsā* p. 50.

danger therefore which Chandragupta is apprehending in the fifth act could not have been from the Śaka king, a fact which is rendered almost certain when we notice that Chandragupta feigns madness in order to save himself. Passage No. V above suggests that in one of the scenes of the drama Chandragupta approaches the palace playing the rôle of a madman.²⁹ This device could hardly have been of any use when Chandragupta was approaching the Śaka king dressed as Dhruvadevī. In the fifth act, therefore, he is approaching the palace of Rāmagupta from whom he is apprehending danger. It is therefore very likely that the *Devī-Chandraguptam* ended with the overthrow of Rāmagupta and the accession of Chandragupta.

I have thus shown how the story of the *Devī-Chandraguptam* is supported and confirmed by Bāṇa, Śaṅkarārya, and the Sanjan plates. It must be however admitted that the passage No. X above does not completely corroborate the above authorities. From this verse we learn that there was a king called Śarmagupta (a name which is spelled as Senagupta in some MSS.) who being helpless surrendered his wife Dhruvadevī to the lord of the Khasas at the foot of the Himalayas whose caves however reverberate with the songs of the exploits of Kārtikeya. The verse is addressed to Kārtikeya, who is obviously Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Kumāra and Kārtikeya are synonyms; peacock is the "*vāhana*" of the deity and we know that Kumāragupta has struck some coins of the peacock variety. The unknown poet of this stanza is contrasting the prosperous condition of the house under Kumāragupta with the dire distress to which it was reduced under Śarmagupta.

I think that this verse is a compressed and therefore to some extent an inaccurate version of the 'incident' which is dramatised by Viśākhadatta. Śarmagupta is very probably another name of Rāmagupta; just as Chandragupta II had another

²⁹ इयमुन्मत्तस्य चन्द्रगुप्तस्य मदनविकारगोपनपरस्य मनाक्
शत्रुभीतस्य राजकुलगमनार्थं निष्क्रमसूचिकेति ।

name Devagupta similar may have been the case with Rāmagupta. It is also possible that in a carelessly written manuscript of the eighth or ninth century "rā" may be confounded with "ś". The identity of Sarmagupta with Rāmagupta is rendered almost certain when we remember that the name of Sarmagupta's wife whom he had to surrender to the lord of the Khasas is also Dhruvasvāminī which is obviously the same as Dhruvadevī. It is therefore clear that the poet in this verse is contrasting the condition of the Gupta empire under Rāmagupta with its condition under his nephew Kumāragupta.

It must be admitted that the version of this verse does not agree entirely with that of the *Devī-Chandraguptam* or *Harshacharit*; like this verse the *Devī-Chandraguptam* does not represent the queen as being actually handed over to the enemy. But since the verse under discussion seeks to compress the whole incident in two lines, I think it is permissible for us to interpret its "dātum" in the sense of "dātum anumatya".

The real discrepancy therefore consists in the fact that whereas the enemy of the Guptas is represented as a Śaka king by Viśakhadatta, Bāṇa, and Saṅkarārya, he figures as a Khasa ruler in the verse before us. Unfortunately we do not know who the author of this verse was, when he flourished, and whether he had any reliable historic tradition to rely upon. We therefore would be hardly justified in rejecting the unanimous testimony of Viśakhadatta, Saṅkarārya, and Bāṇa in his favour. The author of the verse before us is obviously anxious to introduce the *Kinnaras* and the *Himalayas*; he probably knew that the Khasas lived in the Nepal valley; it is not therefore unlikely that with a desire of having a romantic background and developing a poetic contrast he may have permitted himself a little liberty with history by changing the name "Śaka" into "Khasa".

Besides we know that in the days of Rāmagupta the Khasas were not powerful enough to defeat and humiliate the Gupta sovereign. In the first place they are not mentioned at all in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription; in the middle of the

fourth century their habitant was divided into two kingdoms, Kartipura and Nepāla; rulers of both these kingdoms are mentioned among Samudragupta's frontier feudatories, and neither is mentioned as *Khasādhipati*. It is therefore extremely unlikely that within one generation the Khasas would have become so powerful as to dictate a humiliating peace to the Gupta empire. We would be therefore justified in supposing that the word Khasa in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* verse is a mistake for Śaka. If this slight correction is carried out it will be seen that the verse we are discussing supports the plot of the *Devī-Chandraguptam*.

Some possible objections answered

It is possible to raise a number of objections to my proposed reconstruction of the Gupta History and I propose to consider them now one by one.

It may be at the outset objected that not even one among the numerous Gupta inscriptions, some of which are clearly official, which describe the Gupta genealogy refers to the king Rāmagupta. The silence of the inscriptions however is hardly a sufficient proof against the historic character of the king Rāmagupta. Epigraphical lists are usually *genealogical* and not *dynastic*, and they very often omit collateral rulers. The larger Nanaghat inscription, for example, makes no reference to king Kṛishṇa of the Āndhra dynasty. And yet we know from both the epigraphical and Paurāṇic evidence that Kṛishṇa ruled between the reigns of Simuka and Śatakarṇi who alone figure in the Nanaghat records. The same may have been the case with the Gupta genealogies. A record which proceeds to give the genealogy of Kumāragupta need not obviously mention his uncle. And the official genealogists would certainly avoid going out of their way and mentioning a collateral ruler, who was a standing disgrace to the reigning house.

Epigraphical silence is therefore no argument against my proposed theory. From the Eran inscription of Samudragupta

we learn that he had a number of sons;³⁰ Rāmagupta may have been the eldest or one of them and he may well have succeeded his father.

At the beginning I have already shown how we are at present compelled to accept an average of 35 years for four consecutive reigns, which is extremely improbable. The evidence which I have adduced in this paper will show that this high average is really due to our passing over the reign of one of the kings who had actually ruled during this period but about whom we knew nothing so long. The emergence of king Rāmagupta from oblivion in which he was so long lost should cause us no surprise; it really makes the early Gupta chronology more natural and reliable.

A second objection may be that it is simply unbelievable that Chandragupta II might have married his brother's widow. The theory, it may be argued, taxes our credulity too much. But there is every reason to maintain that this so-called unbelievable thing was an historic fact. There is conclusive epigraphical evidence to show that the name of Chandragupta's crowned queen was Dhruvadevi.³¹ The epigraphical evidence is further supported by Dhruvadevi's seals discovered at Vaisali wherein she is described as the crowned queen of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta and mother of Mahārāja Śrī Govindagupta. But from the *Devī-Chandraguptam* we learn that she was also the wife of Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta. Śaṅkarārya also corroborates Viśākhadatta, for he states quite explicitly that

शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं
प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुवदेवीविषधारिणा स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृतेन
व्यापादितः ।

³⁰—पौरुषपराक्रमदत्तशुल्का (हरख) श्वरत्नधनधा
न्यसम्बन्धुका ।

—इगृहेषु मुदिता बहुपुत्रपौत्र (सं) कामिणी कुलवधूः अतिनो
निविष्टा ॥

Eran Stone Inscription of Samudragupta.

³¹ See Bhilsad stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bihar and Bhitari stone Pillar Inscriptions of Skandagupta.

It is also possible to argue that Chandragupta married subsequent to his accession and that it so happened that either the name of his bride also happened to be Dhruvadevi or that Chandragupta gave her that name after her marriage. But this argument is hardly convincing. There are cases of grand-daughters-in-law being named after their grandmothers-in-law,³² but the case of sisters-in-law having the same name is unheard of. He who argues that the name of Chandragupta's bride happened to be the same as that of Rāmagupta's wife will have to adduce evidence to prove his case before it can be accepted. No such evidence is forthcoming nor is likely to forthcome. The presumption therefore is that Dhruvadevi, who figures as Rāmagupta's wife in the *Devī-Chandraguptam* and Śaṅkarārya's commentary, is the same as the Dhruvadevi who figures as Chandragupta's crowned queen in the inscriptions and seals. And this presumption is transformed into a certainty when we take the evidence of the Sanjan plates which distinctly aver of the Gupta king that he killed his brother and carried away his wife :—

इत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्वीं च दौनस्तथा ।

I have already shown how this reference cannot be to any one else but Chandragupta.

It therefore follows that Chandragupta not only murdered his brother but also married his widow. Passage No. VI above shows that Dhruvadevi was ashamed of, disgusted with, and was burning with fury against her husband; and the gallant manner in which the young and beautiful Chandragupta had saved her honour at considerable risk to his life may have evoked a feeling of gratitude, affection and love in her heart. Chandragupta may not have openly and directly murdered Rāmagupta; the murder may have been secretly committed at his instigation; and so Dhruvadevi may not have felt at the time of her second marriage any qualms of conscience that she was marrying her first husband's murderer.

³² This custom prevails in some of the Deccan ruling families.

The idea of a widow of a high family marrying her brother-in-law appears to us now very strange indeed; the same was not the case with our forefathers. *Atharva Veda* IX. 5, 27-28,³³ *Bauddhāyana Dharma-sūtra* IV. 1. 16,³⁴ *Vasishtha* XVII. 67ff,³⁵ *Arthasūtra* III. 4,³⁶ *Parāśara* IV. 26,³⁷ *Nārada* XI. 5ff,

³³ या पूर्वं पतिं वित्वा अयान्यं चिन्दते पतिम् ।

पंचौदनं च तौ अजं ददतो न विधीयतः ॥

समानलोको भवति पुनर्भुवाऽपरः पतिः ।

योऽजं पंचौदनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति ॥

³⁴ निःसृष्टायां हुते वाऽपि यस्या भर्ता भ्रियेत सा ।

सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥

³⁵ प्रोषितपरनी पंचवर्षाण्युदीक्षते ।

ऊर्ध्वं पंचभ्यो वर्षभ्यो भर्तृसकाशं गच्छेत् ।

यादधर्मार्थाभ्यां प्रवासं प्रत्युनुक्रामा न दद्याथा प्रेते एवं

वर्तितव्यम् । एवं ब्राह्मणो पंच प्रजाता अप्रजाता

चत्वारि । अत ऊर्ध्वं सप्तानोदकपिंडर्पिणोच्चाणां

पूर्वः पूर्वा गरीयान् । न तु खलु कुलोने विद्यमाने परगामिनी

स्यात् ।

³⁶ ह्रस्वप्रवासिनां तु शूद्रे वैश्यक्षत्रियब्राह्मणानां भार्याः

संवत्सरोत्तरं कालमाकांक्षेरन् अरजाताः संवत्सरं

प्रजाता । ततः पतिभोदर्यं गच्छेत् ।

³⁷ नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतो ।

पंचस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

XII. 98ff, ³⁸ *Laghu-Sūratapa* I. 44 ³⁹ show that widow-marriages were once not unheard of in higher society. The *Arthasāstra* rule—

ततः पतिसौदर्यं गच्छेत् ।

shows that widows were often marrying their younger brothers-in-law. We must not forget that the theory in early society was that a woman is married into a family and not to an individual in it. *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra* expressly mentions this theory. ⁴⁰

Dr. S. Krishnasvāmī Ayyangar ⁴¹ and Mr. R. Sarasvatī ⁴² do not accept this version of the incident. Both of them think that by some accident Dhruvadevi fell into the hands of the Śaka king in the course of the Śaka war; and that the Śaka king unchivalrously made love overtures to her. She however managed to inform her husband of this, who assuming the disguise of his queen managed to get an interview of the Śaka king and killed him there.

This version does not seem correct. Śaṅkarārya distinctly states that the Śaka king was coveting the wife not of Chandragupta but of his brother :—

चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः ।

Extracts from the *Devī-Chandraguṇṭam* so far available show that Dhruvadevi was the wife not of Chandragupta but of

- ³⁸ ईर्ष्याघंटादयो येऽन्ये चत्वारः सभुदाहताः ।
 त्यक्तव्यास्तं पतितवत्ततयोन्या अपि स्त्रिया ॥
 अपत्यार्थं स्त्रियः सृष्टा स्त्री क्षेत्रं बीजिनो नराः ।
 क्षेत्रं बीजवते देयं नाबीजो क्षेत्रमर्हति ॥
 अष्टौ वर्षाण्युदीक्षित ब्राह्मणी प्रोषितं पतिम् ।
 अप्रसूता तु चत्वारि ततोऽन्यं तु समाश्रयेत् ॥
³⁹ उद्धाहिता च या कन्या न संप्राप्ता च मैथुनम् ।
 भर्तारं पुनरभ्येति यथा कन्या तथैव सा ॥
⁴⁰ कुलाय हि स्त्री दीयते इत्युपदिशन्ति ॥

⁴¹ *Journal of Indian History*, University supplement, 1927, page 52.

⁴² I. A., 1913, page 183.

his brother Rāmagupta. Dr. Ayyangar and Mr. Sarasvatī adduce no evidence to prove that Dhruvadevī had by an accident fallen into the hands of the enemy. On the other hand Passage No. I above shows that Rāmagupta was driven to such a desperate condition that in order to inspire confidence in his subjects he had to surrender Dhruvadevī. Of course the whole mystery will be solved when the *Devī-Chandraguptam* becomes available as a whole; but I submit that the evidence at present available supports the conclusion here advanced that Chandragupta married his brother's widow.

The Identity of the Saka King

The last question that we have to consider is who was this Saka king and whether he had grown so powerful as to humiliate the Gupta emperor to such an extent as to compel him to agree to surrender his crowned queen.

Two families of Saka Kṣatrapas are known to ancient Indian history, one ruling at Mathurā and the other at Ujjayinī. The Mathurā house however soon after the time of Śoḍaśa fell into insignificance; it was probably destroyed by the Kushāṇas. With the decline of the Kushāṇas a Nāga family seems to have risen into prominence at Mathurā. The following passage from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* suggests that this family was ruling at Mathurā in the first half of the fourth century.

नव नाकास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति पुरीं चंपावतीं नृपाः ।

मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्तवै ॥

अनु गंगाप्रयागं च साकेतं मागधांस्तथा ।

एताञ्चानपदान्देशान्भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥

Dynasties of the Kali Age, page 53.

This dynasty was very probably destroyed by Samudragupta. No ruler of Mathurā therefore could have challenged the Guptas within a generation of this event; supposing that after the overthrow of the Nāgas a new dynasty had soon sprung into existence at Mathurā there is no evidence to show that it was Saka in extraction.

Can it be—as Prof. R. D. Banarji suggested—that the Saka king was really the Kushāṇa ruler or one of the Kushāṇa rulers that are referred to in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta by the term

दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि ?

The term Saka was no doubt often very loosely used to denote even non-Saka foreign tribes. It is also very likely that the expression really denotes one king. In that case he may have been a fairly powerful monarch. It is not unlikely that soon after the death of Samudragupta he may have launched an offensive from the Punjab against his son and reduced him to a helpless condition. The *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* verse also would support this theory if only we change the term Khasa into Saka.

This theory though possible is not probable. The Dhruva-devī incident being proved to be historical it follows that Chandragupta II must have taken the first opportunity to retrieve the honour of his house by destroying or at least defeating the Kushāṇas. His title “*Sāhasāṅka*” and the coin legend *Siṃhaviṣṇavaḥ* which appears on his “Combatant-Lion” and “Lion-Trampler” types of coins and which reminds us of his retort to the Vidūshaka

एकस्यापि विधूतकेसरमृगभासस्य भीता मृगाः ।

गंधादेव हरिर्द्रवन्ति बहवो चौरस्य किं संख्यया ॥

render it absolutely certain that he must have launched an offensive against the humiliator of his house. Now if the latter was really the Kushāṇa ruler of the Western Punjab and N. W. F. province, the Punjab would have been the scene of war.

But are there any indications of Chandragupta II having led any military expeditions in the Punjab? None whatsoever. His coin legend *Siṃhaviṣṇavaḥ* suggests an ambitious and warlike temperament; the epigraphical evidence also shows that he was bent upon conquering the whole earth. But when he was carrying out this plan of the “Conquest of the whole

world" his armies were operating not in the Punjab but in Malwa and Western India. Compare the Udayagiri cave inscription verse

कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राजैवह समागतः ।

His Minister Amrakardaya who describes himself as

अनेकसमरावात्तयंशस्पताकः

makes his donation at Sanchi, suggesting that he was closely associated with the place perhaps while discharging his military duties in the Malwa expedition.

Thus while there is ample evidence to show that Chandragupta's military expeditions were mainly directed against the Western Kshatrapas, there is none whatever to indicate that he ever undertook any expedition against the Kushāna ruler or rulers of the Punjab. As we have seen already, Chandragupta would not have remained satisfied without reducing to dust the family and dynasty of the lascivious Śaka ruler who had demanded Dhruvadevī. As it is, if agreeing with Prof. R. D. Banarji we identify him with the Punjab Kushāna ruler, we have also to admit that during his long reign of about thirty years, when the Gupta empire was at its zenith, the haughty and proud Chandragupta took no steps whatever to retrieve the honour of his family. This possibility therefore has to be ruled out of order.

The Śaka king therefore who demanded the surrender of Dhruvadevī must have been a member of the Western Kshatrapa dynasty. If we grant this, we can quite understand why Chandragupta waged a war to the bitter end against that dynasty and why he completely wiped it out of existence.

It may however be reasonably asked : had the Western Śakas grown so powerful and the Guptas so weak as to render the *Devī-Chandraguptam* theme probable ? To answer this question we shall have to examine the contemporary political conditions. An examination of the available evidence shows that in spite of Samudragupta's conquests and expeditions, the glory of the Gupta empire began to decline perhaps towards the end of his reign. His forward policy must have created a

number of enemies who must have been waiting only for a suitable opportunity to reassert themselves. We have definite evidence to show that both the Vākātakas and the Western Kshatrapas did so after the middle of the fourth century. It is very probable that others may have followed their lead. This must have seriously impaired the power of the Guptas.

We may briefly refer to the evidence bearing upon the revival of the Vākātakas and Western Kshatrapas. The second Vākātaka king Pravarasena I, who flourished in the first half of the fourth century is called *Samrāt* in his inscriptions and is described as having performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice four times. He was therefore clearly a great ruler. His grandson Rudrasena I, who succeeded him, however, drops that title *Samrāt* which shows that the fortunes of the family had declined at this time, possibly as a result of Samudragupta's conquests. Rudrasena's son, Prithvisena I, who had a long reign and who was a contemporary partly of Rāmagupta and partly of Chandragupta is described as a righteous king who succeeded to the elements of royalty which had been steadily growing for a hundred years. This would suggest that there was a revival of the Vākātakas under this king which may have been partly at the cost of the Guptas.

The evidence about the revival of the Western Kshatrapas is also definite. The title *Mahākshātrāpa* which was for a long time in abeyance reappears with Svāmī Rudradāman II at about 348 A.D. All his successors without exception bear that title. This can be explained only if we assume that the Kshatrapa power had considerably increased after 348 A. D. Unfortunately however there is no evidence yet forthcoming to show what provinces of their former dominions they succeeded in reoccupying. The Vākātakas in the South were fairly powerful at this time as we have seen above ; so the expansion must have been eastwards and at the cost of the Guptas. It may be however legitimately asked, had the Western Kshatrapa king grown so powerful as to compel the surrender of the Gupta queen ? There is no conclusive evidence to prove this,

but there is nothing improbable in supposing that such was really the case. The other alternative of identifying the lascivious ruler with

देवपुत्रगर्हिवाहानुवाहि

of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta or his successor is beset with still greater difficulties as I have shown above. I would therefore tentatively propose that the Saka king was a ruler of the Western Kshatrapa dynasty and identify him with Rudrasena II whose coin dates range from 348 A.D. to 378 A.D. The fact that Rudrasena is succeeded by his sister's son Simhasena may be explained on the supposition that Chandragupta II and his party not only killed Rudrasena III but also some other members of the royal family including his sons, who may have tried to come to his rescue. The king being killed along with his sons, a sister's son may have succeeded him. To conclude ; the evidence that I have cited and discussed above shows that—

- (1) Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Rāmagupta and not by Chandragupta II ;
- (2) that this Rāmagupta was an utterly weak and incapable ruler, so much so that the contemporary Saka king, very probably of Western India, could compel him to agree to surrender his crowned queen Dhruvadevi to his harem ;
- (3) that Rāmagupta's younger brother Chandragupta saved the situation by killing the Saka king whom he approached under the disguise of Dhruvadevi ;
- (4) that after his triumphant return, king Rāmagupta was killed, either by Chandragupta himself or at his instigation ;
- (5) and that Chandragupta Vikramāditya married his dead brother's wife Dhruvadevi and made her his crowned queen.

III.—Later Guptas of Magadha

By R. D. Banerji, M.A., Benares

Thirty-eight years have elapsed since the decipherment of the Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta I and Hoernle's classical discussion of the history and chronology of the later Imperial Guptas and the dynasties which succeeded them; but though much fresh materials have been discovered, the framework of the chronology has remained the same. The history of the later Imperial Guptas has had to be revised since the publication of the Sarnath image inscriptions of the reigns of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta¹ and the Damodarpur plates of Budhagupta and Bhanugupta.² Much fresh light has been thrown on Maukhari history and chronology by the discovery of the Haraha stone inscription of the time of Īśānvarman³ but no fresh discoveries have been made about the later Guptas of Magadha. During the last decade a group of scholars have attempted to interpret the evidence of the known inscriptions of this dynasty in a new way and to give a new turn to its early history. These scholars are Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D., of the Lucknow University; Dr. Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., PH.D., of the Calcutta University, and Mr. C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B. of Bombay. These scholars differ from the old theory of 1889 in thinking that Mahāsena-gupta, the father of Mādhavagupta, and his ancestors were princes of Malava and not of Magadha and that they were transferred to Magadha by Harsha. Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji says in his *Harsha*⁴ "they were the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Varddhanas of Thanesar, and the Guptas of Eastern Malwa, an offshoot of the old Imperial Gupta house".

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Part II, 1914-15, pp. 124-125.*

² *Epi. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 113-145.*

³ *Ibid, Vol., XI F, pp. 110-20.*

⁴ *Rulers of India series, Oxford University Press, London, 1928, p. 60.*

Professor Mookerji explains his view of the early history of the later Guptas of Magadha in many subsequent pages of his work. As an example I have taken his description of Mahāsenagupta, the father of Mādhavagupta "Nos. II, 6, and (f) are contemporaries." There cannot be any objection to this because his No. II is Prabhākara-varddhana of Thanesar, No. 6, Mahāsenagupta, the father of Mādhavagupta, and (f) a Susthitarvarman, according to him of the Maukharī dynasty. Professor Mookerji adds "No. 6 described as King of Malwa by Bāṇa, sent his sons to the court of No. II to be the companions of the latter's sons."¹ In the first place no king of the Maukharī dynasty named Susthitavarman is known to Indian History at the present day from any original source of information. Hoernle or Smith may have hazarded, decades ago, that the Susthitavarman mentioned in the Apsad inscription of Ādityasena may be a Maukharī. But no epigraphist has dared to say so after the publication of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskara-varman². Professor Mookerji tries to justify himself by quoting Dr. F. W. Thomas. "This view is also taken by Dr. F. W. Thomas (in his introduction to the *Harsha-charitra* translation) and Fleet." Professor Mookerji forgets that Cowell and Thomas's translation of *Harsha-charitra* was published in 1897 and Dr. Fleet's *Gupta inscriptions* in 1888. Dr. Fleet is no longer in the land of the living but I doubt very much whether the present Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford would care to repeat what he stated in 1897. In the second place it is absolutely impossible to understand how Dr. Mookerji can cite the authority of Bāṇa in trying to make Mahāsenagupta a king of Malwa because the *Harsha-charita* does not mention any king of the name of Mahāsenagupta. A king named Mahāsena is mentioned once in connection with a king of the Vatsa country and another who was the King of Benares.³ But

¹ *Harsha*, p. 63.

² *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 65-79.

³ *Harsha-charita* Eng. trans, p. 192;
ibid., p. 194.

Mahāsena is not Mahāsenagupta and Professor Mookerji could have easily found out from the index of names in the English translation that no king named Mahāsenagupta is mentioned in the text of the *Harsha-charita*. Unfortunately two other writers mentioned above have also taken Mahāsenagupta to be a king of Mālava. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, in his *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, states: "Now in the Apsad inscription above mentioned, we have the names of members of a Gupta family who were the hereditary enemies of the Varmanas of Kanauj and it contains also the name of Mādhava, the companion of Harsha. This family may, therefore, be taken to be the family of the Guptas of Mālava though in this inscription the country of the Guptas is not mentioned, nor unfortunately the name Deva Gupta. And we may accept the ingenious guess made by Dr. Hoernle (*J.R.A.S.* 1904) that Deva Gupta was Mādhava's brother, with some changes to be noted further on.

"The fact is there is no other explanation possible. The *Harsha-charita* plainly states that the two princes Kumāra and Mādhava, called Guptas who were given by Prabhākaravardhana to his sons Rājya and Harsha, to be their companions were *Mālava-rāja-putrau* or sons of the King of Mālava. This Mādhava Gupta, who was the companion of Harsha, is very probably the Mādhava Gupta of the Apsad inscription for he is expressly described there to be desirous of the company of Harsha."¹

Professor Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri of the Calcutta University is more cautious than Messrs. Mookerji and Vaidya. In view of the existence of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, he, very wisely, refrains from making Susthitavarman, the contemporary and the antagonist of Mahāsenagupta, a Maukharī but he also makes Mahāsenagupta a king of Malwa. "Damodara Gupta was succeeded by his son Mahāsena Gupta. He is probably the King of Malwa mentioned in the *Harsha-charita* whose sons Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana of

¹ *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 35.

the Pushpabhūti family of Śrīkanṭha (Thanesar)¹. The sole authority of Messrs. Mookerji, Vaidya and Ray Chaudhuri for making Mahāsenagupta a king of Malwa instead of Magadha is the statement of Bāṇa, "for these reasons I have appointed to wait upon Your Highnesses the brothers Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, sons of the Malwa King,"² and the statement in the Aṃśad inscription that Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasena, was desirous of associating himself with the glorious Harshadeva.³

There is no doubt about the fact that two sons of the King of Malwa were sent to the court of Prabhākaravarddhana and were made the companions of the youthful princes Kājyavardhana and Harshavardhana. That Mādhavagupta was a contemporary of Harsha cannot be doubted but that Mahāsenagupta, the grandfather of Ādityasena of Magadha, was a king of Malwa is a statement difficult to believe from the evidence at present at our disposal. The entire question depends upon Maukhari history and the identity of Sushthitavarman who was defeated by Mahāsenagupta. Let us consider the position taken by the earliest writer of this group, Mr. C. V. Vaidya. Even if we accept the very wild guesses of the late Dr. Hoernle, which have not been accepted anywhere except by this group of three, we shall find that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of making Mahāsenagupta a king of Mālava. According to the Aṃśad inscription, Mahāsenagupta had defeated a king named Sushthitavarman and the former's fame was sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya.⁴ With the exception of this reference in the Aṃśad inscription, Mahāsenagupta's name has not been discovered anywhere else. The inscription does not mention who this Sushthitavarman was. Earlier writers like Hoernle and Smith guessed that he was a Maukhari because his name ended with the affix *varman*, like that of all of the Maukhari kings

¹ *Political History of Ancient India, published by the University of Calcutta, second edition, 1927, p. 373.*

² *Eng. trans., p. 119.*

³ *Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 207.*

⁴ *Ibid, p. 206.*

and the antagonists of most of the later Gupta kings belonged to that dynasty. After the discovery of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman it became necessary to change this theory because Susthitavarman is mentioned in that inscription as the father of Bhāskaravarman. It became necessary at the same time to consider certain names of the dynasty of Pushyabhūti mentioned in the *Harsha-charita*. Bāṇa has given the names of several generations of the kings of Assam. He mentions Bhūti-varman, his son Chandramukhavarman, his son Sthiti-varman and his son Susthiravarman, who was the father of Bhāskaravarman. If we compare this genealogy with that given in the Nidhanpur plates and the Nālandā seal of Bhāskaravarman then we are compelled to admit that the name Susthitavarman was misspelt Susthiravarman by some scribe during the twelve centuries that intervened between Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Messrs. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas. That Susthiravarman and Susthitavarman are one and the same person is proved by the identity of the names of his father, grandfather and greatgrandfather as well as his son¹ when compared with the Nālandā seal² and the Nidhanpur plates.³ It would be extremely tedious to go through the unwarranted assumptions of Mr. Vaidya about Susthitavarman and Mahāsenagupta. They are detailed on pages 35 to 37 of the first volume of his English edition.

We must now turn to the latest writer on the subject, Professor Mookerji. We find that this scholar has accepted the contents of Hoernle's article published twenty-four years ago as correct. There is no attempt at discrimination or application of the critical method of analysis. On the other hand there is a lamentable lack of correct knowledge of mediæval Indian geography because we find that Professor Mookerji actually brings the eastern limit of Mālava as far as Unchhehra station on the Allahabad-Jubbulpore section of the Great Indian Peninsula

¹*Harsha-charita Eng. Trans.*, p. 217.

²*Ante*, Vol. V, pp. 302-06.

³*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 70-79.

Railway. Professor Mookerji states, "Echoes of the Imperial Gupta authority in Malwa come from inscriptions of some petty chiefs like the Parivrājaka Mahārājas Hastin and Samkshobha of the years A. D. 518 and 528, in which the actual names of the then Gupta emperors are not given, but only a general reference to their rule."¹ The Parivrājaka Mahārājas ruled over the modern Parihar state of Nagod and the southern boundary of their kingdom is marked by the Bhumra pillar inscription of the time of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin and the chief Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa.² The chiefs of Uchchakalpa ruled over the province of Dābhāla, which is now represented by the modern district of Jubbulpore and the states of Maihar, Jaso, Panna and the Bijagadh. The late Dr. Fleet supposed that Dābhāla was represented by modern Bundelkhand.³ If Khoh, a place about six miles from Unchehra railway station, can be included in Mālava then the boundaries of that ancient province of Mālava can be extended anywhere according to the varying needs of modern writers.

We find that Professor Mookerji makes Susthitavarman the son of the Maukharī Śarvavarman and the father of the Maukharī Avantivarman without any hesitation.⁴ Next he makes Mahāsenagupta a king of Malwa and makes him fight with a Maukharī named Susthitavarman. We have shown above that Professor Mookerji's statement that Mahāsenagupta is described as a king of Malwa by Bāṇa is totally without foundation and a Maukharī named Susthitavarman exists only in his imagination. Professor Mookerji tries to justify the untenable position assumed by him in a footnote, where he states that, "some historians identify this king with a king of Kāmarūpa of that name on the ground that the river of Kāmarūpa, viz. Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), is mentioned here as the limit of Mahāsenagupta's conquests.

¹Harsha, p. 67.

²Gupta Inscriptions, p. 111.

³Ibid, p. 114.

⁴Harsha, p. 52.

But the content of the inscription rather shows that it is concerned more with the wars between the Guptas and the Maukharis than with their distant conquests, and so Susthitavarman may be a Maukhari." ¹ At this place it becomes necessary to analyse the contents of the verse referring to Mahāsenagupta and Susthitavarman in the Apsad inscription of Ādityasena. The late Dr. Fleet, translating this record, stated as follows :—

"From him there was a son, the illustrious of Mahāsenagupta, the leader, among brave men ; who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired a (*reputation for*) valour (*that stood*) in the foremost rank ; whose mighty fame, marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman, (*and*) white as a full-blown jasmine-flower or waterlily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?), is still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lohitya, the surfaces of which are (*so*) cool, by Siddhas in pairs, when they wake up after sleeping in the shade of the betel plants that are in full bloom."² Dr. Fleet's translation does not justify Dr. Mookerji's assumption that "the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) is mentioned here as the limit of Mahāsenagupta's conquests." The poet simply says that the fame of Mahāsenagupta for his victory over Susthitavarman was sung constantly on the banks of the Brahmaputra. When we bring this statement into a combination with the fact that there was a king of Assam, who must be a contemporary of Mahāsenagupta, named Susthitavarman, what other correct conclusion can one draw with the exception of the admission that Mahāsenagupta defeated Susthitavarman of Assam in battle on the banks of the river Lauhitya or Brahmaputra ? Let us turn to the Sanskrit text of the inscription. The composition of the verses does not give any indication of the position assumed by Professor Mookerji. The text of the tenth line contains one short verse

¹ *Harsha*, p. 55 and note 2.

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 206, l. 10.

in *Sloka* or *Anushṭubh* and another in the longer *Sārlūlavikrīḍita*. The short verse simply says that "from him, i.e. from Dāmodaragupta was born the valiant Mahāsenagupta." The longer verse says "His (*Yasya*) fame (*Yasaḥ*), due to his victory in battle over Susthitavarman (*Śrīmat-Susthitavarmma-guddha-vijaya-slēghā-pad-āṅkaṁ*) is being sung even now (*Adyāpi gīyate*) by Siddha pairs (*Siddha-mithunāḥ*) on the banks of the Lauhitya (*Lauhityasya tateshu*). I have intentionally omitted the adjectives and adjuncts in order to condense the general purport and because they are fully given in Dr. Fleet's translation quoted above. Now, I am compelled to ask Professor Mookerji what particular construction or word enables him to think that the river Lauhitya is mentioned here as the limit of Mahāsenagupta's conquests? Evidently Messrs. Mookerji and Vaidya did not consider it necessary to pause and examine the original text when they wrote. Indian poets were capable of expressing the object meant by them more definitely than Messrs. Mookerji and Vaidya would give them credit for. If the author of the *prasasti* intended to mean that Lauhitya was the north-eastern limit of the conquests of Mahāsenagupta then he would have used more appropriate language like Vasula, son of Kakka, the composer of the Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yaśodharman:—

A-Lauhity-opakaṇṭhāt=tala-vana-gaṇa-opatyakūd=
ā-Mahendrād=

ā-Gaṅgāslīṣṭha-sāno=tukina-sikharīṇaḥ paschimād=
ā-payodheḥ¹ l

Sāmantair=yasya vāku-draṇa-hṛita-madaiḥ
pādayor=ānamadbhis=

Chūḍā-ratn-aṁśu-rūḍi-vyatikata-sabalā bhūmi-bhāgāḥ
kriyante¹ ll

We find, therefore, that Professor Mookerji has no ground to stand on when he says that Lauhitya or Brahmaputra was the limit of Mahāsenagupta's conquests, and as the text shows clearly the actual battle must have been fought on or near the banks of that river. The identification of Susthitavarman as

¹ GL., p. 146.

a Maukharī therefore falls to the ground. Here we must admit that Professor Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri has not fallen into the error of copying the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle blindly. In the second edition of his work he has correctly identified Sūsthitavarman of the Aṃśad inscription with Sūsthitavarman of Assam.¹ There is one point however in which all of these three scholars have fallen into the same error by copying what Dr. Hoernle wrote twenty-four years ago. This is the identification of Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasena of the Aṃśad inscription, with Mādhavagupta, son of the unknown king of Mālava, whose father sent him to the court of Prabhākara-vardhana of Sthānviśvara. Professor Ray Chaudhuri cannot deny that he has copied Hoernle *verbatim* because, he too, has made Devagupta, mentioned in the Banskhera² and Madhubar.³ plates of Harsha, the elder brother of Madhavagupta, and therefore the eldest son of Mahāsenagupta.⁴ At this stage, I am compelled with very great reluctance to analyse and criticise the statements of a deceased scholar, the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle. Hoernle's article on *Some Problems of Ancient Indian History* has become the source of much mischief though it was written nearly a quarter of a century ago. In the hands of uncritical scholars Hoernle's mistaken suggestions have become the source of false history. I find that post-graduate students in India firmly believe that there was a Maukharī king named Sūsthitavarman and that Yaśodharman had assumed the title of Vikramāditya.

Dr. Hoernle's article is based on a number of *a priori* assumptions for none of which one is able to find the slightest shred of evidence. For example, he would attribute coins of a king named Yaśovarman to Yaśodharman without further evidence. He would believe that Yaśodharman assumed the

¹ *Political History of Ancient India, second edition, published by the University of Calcutta, 1927, p. 373.*

² *Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 208-11.*

³ *Ibid, Vols. I and VII, pp. 67 ff. and 155-60.*

⁴ *Political History of Ancient India, pp. 373, 374.*

title of Vikramāditya simply because he thought so and in spite of the fact that none of the three inscriptions of Yaśodharman mention that title and none of the coins attributed to that prince bear it in the legends. The other theory of Dr. Hoernle which has caused much mischief is that Yaśodharman (Vikramāditya) was the father of Śilāditya of Mo-la-po.¹ I shall attempt to analyse Dr. Hoernle's views on this topic at some subsequent date. Dr. Hoernle supposed twenty-four years ago that "it is not impossible, indeed, that he never himself assumed the title Vikramāditya, but that it was given to him by his people and by posterity, just as the titles 'great', etc. among ourselves."² Comment would be needless on such assumptions. Fresh epigraphical discoveries have shown us what was the popular conception of Vikramāditya in the time of Amoghavarsha I :—

"That donor, in the Kali Age, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed (his) brother, we are told seized (his) kingdom and queen, (and) thereafter the wretch caused her to write down one lac, one crore (in the document³),"

Dr. Hoernle's suggestions which concern the present paper are :—

I. "The lord of Mālava is never named, but it can have been none other than Śilāditya; there existed no other Mālava rival emperor at that time."⁴ This assumption is based on the statement of the *Rājatarāṅginī* that Śilāditya, son of Vikramāditya, was dethroned but was re-established on his throne by a king named Pravarasena. Sir Aurel Stein has proved repeatedly that Kalhana's *Chronicle* is absolutely unreliable even about the history of the sixth century A.D. and should not be accepted unless corroborated by reliable and independent evidence. Hoernle wanted to identify this Vikramāditya with Yaśodharman in spite of the fact that the *Rājatarāṅginī* calls this Vikramāditya "Harsha".⁵

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II., p. 242.

² *J.R.A. S.*, 1903, p. 553.

³ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 248, 255.

⁴ *J.R.A. S.*, 1903, p. 555.

⁵ Stein, *Chronicles of the Kings of Kāśmīra*, Vol. I, p. 83.

II. Basing his next assumption on this false identity Dr. Hoernle says, "again, we are told that Prabhākara called to his court two Gupta princes, Kumāra and Mādhava, to be companions to his own sons."¹ "Now, in the Apsad inscription of Ādityasena we have the genealogical tree of the Later Gupta kings. This tree gives Mādhavagupta as the son of Mahāsenagupta; and as we know that the latter was the maternal uncle of Prabhākara there can be no doubt as to the identity of the Mādhavagupta, of the Apsad inscription with the prince Mādhavagupta, who was sent to Prabhākara's court."² In the first place, it is impossible for that Mahāsenagupta who was the conqueror of Susthitavarman of Assam to be a king of Malava simply because it was impossible for any king of Malava to reach the banks of the Lauhitya without strenuous opposition from the kings of Kanauj, Magadha and Gauda as the route from Bhilsa or Eran lies through these countries and the inscription mentions Mahāsenagupta simply as the victor over Susthitavarman. Then, in the second place, because Prabhākara-vardhana was the son of Mahāsenagupta's sister there is no reason to suppose that Mādhavagupta of the *Harsha-charita* must be the same as Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasena.

III. Dr. Hoernle's third assumption is not directly connected with the first two but it is equally absurd. He wants to make the Devagupta of the Madhuban and Banskhera plates of Harsha, a son of Mahāsenagupta. It was a tentative suggestion but it becomes pernicious when it is accepted as truth by later writers. I find to my infinite regret that Professor Ray Chaudhuri has also accepted this mistaken suggestion.³

The results of this analysis are, therefore, that the chronology proposed by Dr. Hoernle in 1903 is totally inaccurate. In this connection it is a pleasure to be able to observe that one Indian scholar at least possesses sufficient critical acumen to

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 555-6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 561.

³ *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 373-74.

reject Hoernle's erroneous suggestions. This is Professor R. C. Mazumdar, who, even in a text-book written in 1927, mentions Mahāsenagupta to be a king of Magadha and Sūsthitavarman to be a king of Assam.¹ Writers like Messrs. Mookerji, Vaidya and Ray Chaudhuri have never paused to consider whether it is possible for a king of Mālava, even of eastern or north-eastern Mālava, to conquer Assam without causing a good deal of disturbance throughout northern India. The Aṃśad inscription simply says that Mahāsenagupta obtained a victory over Sūsthitavarman. Had Mahāsenagupta defeated any other king the panegyrist would have certainly mentioned their names. A king of eastern Mālava would have to pass through Bundelkhand, the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal to reach Assam. Even if he had chosen the extremely difficult route through the C. P. Balāghat, as the Musalman historians call it, he would have had to pass through Dabhāla or Dālala, Magadha, Gaṇḍa or Rāḍha and Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. None of these countries are mentioned in the Aṃśad inscription. Therefore, the only logical conclusion that remains possible is that in order to reach the borders of Assam Mahāsenagupta had not to pass through so many provinces. Though he was a ruler of Magadha, Assam very probably lay on his frontier and Rāḍha and Vaṅga or Mithilā and Varendra were included in his kingdom. In this case only is it possible for Mahāsenagupta to have fought with Sūsthitavarman of Assam. Consequently we have to admit that the theories of Messrs. Mookerji, Vaidya and Ray Chaudhuri in which Mahāsenagupta, the father of Mādhavagupta and the grandfather of Ādityasena, is made a king of Mālava, are untenable.

¹*Outline of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Chatterjee, Chatterjee and Company, Calcutta, 1927, p. 539.*

IV.—Maithili Words of the Fifteenth Century.

I.—Rucipati Thākura and Maithili.

By Umesha Mishra, Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Allahabad.

Rucipati Thākura lived ¹ during the reign of king Bhairava, also known as Bhairavendra or Bhairava Simhadeva, who ruled over Mithilā about 1450 A.D.² Rucipati lived in the village of Vaijauli in Mithilā. He was born in the Khauāla family.³ His wife's name was Rukmini.⁴ We know of his two sons, Indrapati⁵ and Harapati.⁶ The former was a great Mīmāṃsaka. He wrote a book on Mīmāṃsā named *Mīmāṃsā-palvala*.⁷ The latter was a great Tāntric. He was the pupil of Maheçvara. He also wrote a book named *Mantrapradīpa* on Tantra-çāstra.⁸ The family continued to produce learned writers. Indrapati

¹ Vide the verses in the beginning of his commentary on Murāri Miçra's Anargharāghava, Kāvya-mālā Ed.

² Bhairava's elder brother, Dhira Simha, whom Bhairava succeeded, while ruling over Mithilā, a Ms. of Setudarpani was copied. The date of this transcription is Lakṣmaṇa Sena Era 321.=1440—1441. Dhira Simha ruled even after this. Then came Bhairava Simha who was Rucipati's patron. This gives us an approximate date of Bhairava Simha—vide J. A. S. B., 1915, Vol. II, pp. 425, 426.

³ Vide the verses in the beginning of his commentary on Anargharāghava. The fact that he was a Maithili, an inhabitant of Mithilā, is further proved by a line श्रीमग्मथिलठकु रेन्द्रपतिजः— which is used as an adjective to Premanidhi, the grandson of Rucipati, at the end of his book Dharmādharma-prabodhinī.

⁴ Vide R. Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Vol. V. No. 1959, p. 282.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Vide R. Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Vol. VI. No. 2011, p. 34.

⁷ Vide R. Mitra's Notices, Vol. V., p. 282, No. 1959.

⁸ Vide R. Mitra's Notices, Vol. VI, No. 2011, p. 34.

Thākura's son was Premanidhi,¹ who was a Dharma-*gāstrī* and wrote a book on Dharma-*gāstra*, called *Dharmādharmaprabodhini*.

About Rucipati's learning we cannot say much with great confidence, as we have, as yet, come to know of only a single book and that too a commentary on Murāri Miśra's *Anargharāghava*. But a close study of this very commentary shows that Rucipati should have been a Naiyāyika, a Mīmāṃsaka, and a Dharma-*gāstrī*. Rucipati has touched therein upon various problems of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika² and has also shown his acquaintance with the technicalities of Mīmāṃsa³ and Dharma-*gāstra*.⁴ His way of explaining the words with reference to the grammatical rules and quotations from standard writers on grammar shows that he was also a Vaiyākaraṇa.

In this commentary, Rucipati has now and then used words of Maithilī, his mother-tongue, in order to give the exact meaning of some of the words of Sanskr̥ta and Prākṛta. Here I am giving a list of those Maithilī words with their Sanskr̥ta original and English equivalents to show the form of Maithilī in the fifteenth century A.D.

Sanskṛta.	Maithilī.	English meaning.
Añcala	... Añcala	... Border.
Argala	... Āgala	... A bar for fastening a door.

¹ Vide R. Mitra's Notices Vol. VI, No. 1939, p. 18. At the end of the colophon of this Ms. a date is given as Samvat 1410, on the basis of which Dr. Mitra asserts that the work was completed in Samvat 1410=1353 A.D. This date is altogether wrong as in 1353 even the grandfather of this author was not born. I fully agree here with Mr. Chakravarti that "the samvat here should be Śaka Samvat as Vikrama Samvat was not in use, in Mithilā," as even at present, it is not exclusively used. Thus the date given by Dr. Mitra is untenable. Premanidhi, therefore, completed his work in 1483-89 A.D. This also helps us to know that most probably out of the two sons of Rucipati Thākura, Indrapati, the father of Premanidhi, was the elder, and Harapati was the younger. The latter flourished in the reign of Kamsa-Nārāyaṇa, king of Mithilā, and patron of Harapati, who ruled over Mithilā about 1510 A.D.

² Vide the Com. on pages 23, 53, 54, 69, 83, 319, etc.

³ Ibid. pages 48, 78, 83, 89, 106, 319, etc.

⁴ Ibid. pages 258, 293, 307, etc.

Sanskṛta.	Maithili.	English meaning.
Ālavāla	... Thala	... A trench for water round the root of a tree.
Ātara	... Kheva or khevā	... The tax paid to the boatman for crossing a river on boat.
Ulūlu	... Ulauli	... A particular kind of sound produced during a religious function.
Kalacuri	... Karaouri	... A family of Kṣattriyas in the south.
Kalavaṅkī	... Gartula	... She-sparrow.
Kaṅkalakūṭa	... Karāṭa	... Skeleton.
Kanthā	... Kanthā	... Wallet, generally borne by ascetics.
Karmāntika	... Kāmata ¹	... A head-servant.
Kartarī	... Katarnī	... Scissors.
Kataka	... Kañiñā ²	... Water-clearing nut-fruit.
Koyaṣṭi	... Koṇṭāḍawuka	... The lapwing.
Krakaca	... Karauta	... A saw.
Kumārāṅka	... Ekasā	... The first battle.
Kuñcīkā	... Kuñcīkā	... Key for opening a door.
Kurari	... Hāputī	... A kind of bird, having a plaintive tone.
Kutapa	... Kuruā	... A leather bucket.
Garbhagṛha	... Gabhahara	... The interior of a house.
Jalagṛha	... Jaladhari	... A gathering place of water.
Jṛmbhaṇa	... Jānbhī ³	... Yawning.
Tanka	... Ṭankī	... A stone-cutter's chisel.
Duli	... Kachavi	... A small turtle.

¹ This word is a family title of a servant-class in Mithilā. Generally it is written as Kāmati, in this case.

² A MS. of this commentary with the writer reads this word as "kitaṇa or Kīṭaṇa."

³ The MS. with the writer reads it as "Jānphī."

Sanskṛta.	Maithili.	English meaning.
Tiraskarīṇī	... Phalakī	... A curtain.
Dronakāka	... Doṇḍa-kauā Doḍa-kauā.	or A raven.
Narakaroṭi	... Ladaā	... The bone of the forehead of a man.
Nikṣepa	... Sthagi ¹	... Deposit.
Nirājanā	... Tejoñchana ²	... Waving of lights before an idol or a man as an act of adoration, or with a view to remove the evil effects (in case of a man).
Nivāra	... Aurī ³	... A wild rice.
Palāṇḍu	... Piyāju	... An onion.
Papa	... Pāṭa	... The thing staked.
Paryanka	... Pālanka	... A coach.
Paṭṭa	... Paṭavāsi	... Silk-cloth.
Pāñcalikā	... Putalī	... Doll.
Pota	... Doṅgī	... A small boat.
Prakoṣṭha	... Ohāri or ohālī	... A room at the entrance of a palace or an ordinary building.
Pranālī	... Panāri	... A water course.
Pratimāna	... Paḍimāna	... A weight.
Prābhṛta	... Pāsana	... Present, gift.
Putapāka	... Ghaliā	... A crucible.
Putrika	... Putarī	... A puppet.
Mallabhaṭī	... Malahalī.	.. A kind of drum.
Mastu	... Ghola	... Whey.
Muṇḍamālā	... Muṇḍavāri	... A head-dress (?)
Mūṣikā	... Mūsi, or Mūsa	... A crucible.
Rājakulam	.. Rāula	... A palace.

¹ The MS. reads it as "Sthāsthī."

² The MS. reads it as "Tennocchata."

³ This is generally written as "Vairī," or "Oeirī" in Maithili.

Sanskṛta.	Maithili.	English meaning.
Vāṭa	... Vāṭa	... Passage.
Vikālikagrāsa	... Biārī	... Light food to be taken in the afternoon, about the end of the day.
Vihangika	... Bahāngī	... A pole for carrying burdens.
Vṛçcika	... Biçha	... A scorpion.
Calākā	... Sarāga	... A piece.
Crṅgātaka	... Singādā	... A vegetable plant which grows in water.
Crṅkhala	... Sankara	... An iron chain.
Cyāmāka	... Sāmā	... A wild grain.
Sabhika	... Sabiāra	... The man who instigates gambling.
Sandançika	... Saṇḍasi	... A pair of pincers.
Sattra	... Satara	... A sacrifice, or a house for feeding people.
Sopāna	... Kaṭakali	... A staircase.
Suvāsini	... Suāsini	... A term used for a married girl when she is at her father's lodge.
Svabasta	... Svabatha (?)	... Mark.
Hallahala	... Hallahala	... Busy and eager appear- ance.
Hastāhastika	... ^f Hāthi	... Hand to hand.

II.—Jagaddhara and Maithili.

Jagaddhara was also a prominent writer of the fifteenth century in Mithilā. About his date we do not get any hint from his various writings available up to this time. Mr. Chakravarti puts him during the rule of the dynasty of Kāmeçvara of Mithilā, which, according to him, dates (c. 1350—1515 A.D.).¹ But a more approximate date can be fixed on the basis of a manuscript of a commentary on Subandhu's Vāsavadattā by

¹ Vide *J A S B.* 1915, Vol. II. p. 431—433.

Jagaddhara himself. It appears to have been written in Lakṣmaṇa Sen era 355,¹ which is equal to 1474—1475 A. D.² This shows clearly that the writer should have existed at least in 1475 A.D., if this date be put therein by the writer himself. If, on the other hand, it be a date of transcription of the book, then surely the author's date should be pushed back. However, we take him to be an author of the fifteenth century A.D.³

About his parentage, we know from his own writings that he belonged to a very learned and high family,⁴ which should have continued to be so for over a century. His great-great-great-great-grandfather was Caṇḍeçvara, who was a great Mimāṃsaka. His son was Vedadhara, who was a great scholar of the various cāstras.⁵ His son was Rāmadhara, also known as Rāmeçvara.⁶ He was a great Naiyāyika and Mimāṃsaka, specially of the Prabhākara school.⁷ His son was Gadādhara who was a Mimāṃsaka and a Tāntric.⁸ His son was Vidyādhara, a great Mimāṃsaka of the Prabhākara school.⁹ His son was Ratnadhara, a great Naiyāyika¹⁰. This

¹ Vide Catalogue of Pam-Leaf-MSS. in the Durbar Library, Nepal, MS. No. 447, p. 15.

² The Lakṣmaṇa Sen era begins from August, 1119-20 A. D., the date on which Lakṣmaṇa Sen's coronation took place. Hence by adding 1119-20 to 355 La-Saṃ, we get the above date.

³ Jagaddhara quotes Crikarācārya's commentary on Amarakoṣa in his commentary on Veṇīśambhāra, p. 39; also vide *J.A.S.B.*, 1915, Vol. II, p. 414 with footnotes. Therefore, he cannot be earlier than 1390 A.D., which is the approximate date of Crikara.

⁴ Vide the end of his commentaries, on Veṇīśambhāra Nirṇayasagar ed; on Mālatīmādhava, Kavyamālā ed; and on Vāsavadattā of Subandhu. R. Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Vol. V., p. 304.

⁵ He was also called Vedeçvara. He is said to be Vividha-tantra-rahasya-veṭṭā—vide the end of Jagaddhara's commentary Tattvadīpaṇi on Vāsavadattā. R. Mitra's Notices, Vol. V, pp. 304, 305.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ He is described as Gurumataika-rahasya-vaçyah. *Ibid.*

⁸ Vide the end of the commentary on Veṇīśambhāra and Tattvadīpaṇi.

⁹ *Ibid.* At the end of the commentary on Mālatīmādhava we find him described as Gurupokta-çāstre-jyotiṣin.

¹⁰ Vide the end of Tattvadīpaṇi

Ratnadhara was the father of Jagaddhara. Jagaddhara's mother's name was Damayanti,¹ who was also a learned lady.²

Jagaddhara himself was a great scholar of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Kāvya, Pāṇinīya Grammar, Prosody and Rhetoric, and also of the Vedas.³ He was the author of various works. He not only commented upon Gītā, Devīmāhātmya (Durgā), Meghadūta, Gītagovinda, Mālatīmādhava, Veṇīśamhāra, Vāsavadattā, and Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharana, but also wrote original treatises on erotics—the Rasika-Sarvasva, and on music—the Sangīta—Sarvasva.⁴

In his published commentaries on Mālatīmādhava and Veṇīśamhāra, we find that he has used several Maithili words in order to convey the exact sense of some of the Sanskrit words. I give here the list of these words with a view to present before scholars a sample of Maithili of the fifteenth century.

Sanskṛta.	Maithili.	English equivalents.
<i>(From the commentary on Veṇīśamhāra.)</i>		
Cyāmalatā	... Sartula	... A particular kind of creeper.
Nakula	... Neura	... A mongoose.
Garbhagrham	... Gabhahara	... The interior of a house.
Dohadaḥ	... Dohara	... The longing of a pregnant woman.
Ālavāraṇ	... Thala	... A basin for water round the root of a tree.
Cīrṣakam	... Ṭoppara	... A helmet.
Kaṅka	... Kaṅkāri	... A skeleton.
Tuṇīram	... Tona	... A quiver.
Karmāntaḥ	... Kāmata	... A head-servant.

¹ *Vide* the end of the commentary on Veṇīśamhāra, Mālatīmādhava, and Vāsavadattā.

² *Vide* the colophon of the commentary on Mālatīmādhava, Act 9, p. 122, Kāvya-mālā ed.

³ *Vide* the end of the commentary on Mālatīmādhava, p. 229; Veṇīśamhāra.

⁴ *Vide* J.A.S.B., 1915, Vol. II, p. 431.

Sanskṛta	Maithili.	English equivalents.
Prājanam	... Pənā	... A whip ; a stick used as a goad.
Vṛka	... Huṇḍāra	... A wolf.
Grāha	... Goha	... A crocodile.
Yānapātram	... Vohita	... A small boat.

(From the commentary on *Mālatīmādhava*.)

Kubjakam	... Kūā	... A particular kind of tree.
Chata	... Cehata	... Splendour.
Snāyavaḥ	... Naharu	... Sinew.
Vṛkaḥ	... Ghoṣa (?)	... A wolf.
Rohiṇaḥ	... Rohana, or Ghog-	A particular kind of tree.
	harātti.	
Nalakam	... Narahaḍa, or Sarī.	A long bone near the thigh.
Karkaraḥ	... Kākara	... Broken parts of a skull.
Kurari	... Haputi	... A particular kind of bird.
Alindaḥ	... Oṭṭha	... A terrace before a house-door.
Macūḍakam	... Vithāvi	.....
Cyenaḥ	... Səwāna	... A particular kind of bird.
Koyaṣṭikaḥ	... Kauā	... A raven.
Datyūhaḥ	... Koṇḍāḍawuka	... A lapwing.
Yūthikā	... Jūhi	... A particular kind of flower.
Cilindhram	... Sūla	... Ditto.
Rājapaṭṭam	... Khaḍhi	... A particular kind of blue stone.

It is quite possible that there may be some mistake in the spelling of the Maithili words due to the misreading of the Maithili character, in which the books should be originally written, by the editors who cannot be expected to be fully acquainted with the Maithili letters. I, therefore, fully depend upon the printed books for this paper.

V.—Devendra Varman

By Kumar Gopinath Deb Tatwanidhi, Tekkali

The old Kalinga country was ruled by the brave and popular kings of the famous Ganga dynasty from the most rich and prosperous town of Dantapura as their capital. Devendra Varman was one of that dynasty. He was the son of Rajendra Varma. The favourite deity of the Kalinga dynasty was Gokarṇeśvara who seems to have been enshrined on the summit of the Mahendra Hill. Dantapura, the capital of the Kalinga kings, was at the foot of the Mahendra Hill. At present however there are no traces of its existence. The kings of Dantapura appear to have granted several śāsanas (inams) as is evident from the copperplates available. Such gifted villages are situated in the following divisions:—1. Varāhavartanī, 2. Koṣṭrukavartanī, 3. Rupavartanī, 4. Kaṇṭhakavartanī and 5. Chapavartanī. These divisions extended towards the north-east up to Chilka. Nothing is known about the further extension of these divisions to the north beyond Chilka.

Investigations made about the extent of this country show that it extended to the north as far as Chilka and to the south as far as a portion of the present Vizagapatam district, because the northern portion of this country is called Utkala, while the south is known by the name of Vengi Rajyam.

Devendra Varmā, son of Rajendra Varmā, occupied the Kalinga throne in the 110th year of Vijaya Rajyam. As the script coincides with that of the script after 812 A.D., it might be after 812 A.D. The title and style of all the kings of this dynasty are one and the same—the titles are distinguished for their power, prowess, bravery, and generosity. A short time ago I secured from a farmer living at Dwimila, a copperplate containing the grant of a land made by Devendra Varman. This plate was discovered by the farmer in the course of ploughing his land. Taking it for a gold plate, the farmer

took it to a goldsmith, who cut it at one end. As the inscription of the plate is not exactly on the top, it has not been defaced and can be easily deciphered.

The contents of the grant are engraved in three copper-plates fastened to one another by a copper ring, and are carried over from one plate to another, i.e. from the second side of the first plate to the end of the second side of the third plate. The following is the reading of the combined three plates :—

1. Om Swastyo moro purānu Kārino¹ Sorbottu Sukhoro
2. Monēyo bijoyo boto² Kolingonogoro bāsoko³ nmohēy
3. Ndra cholāmolo sikhoro protistitosyo sochorāchoro guro so⁴
4. Kolo bhubono nirmānaiko sūtrodhārasyo sasānko chū
5. Dāmonēy arbhogoboto gokorno swomino⁵ schorono komolo
6. Jugolo pronāmo dbigoto kolonko gonko⁶ nēeka

Second plate, first side.

7. Hobo sokhyōbho⁷ jonito joyosobdo pōoto pābonoto⁸ somo
8. Osto sāmanto chokrochūdāmoni probhā monjorē punjo
ronjito

9. Bēerochorono sito kumodo kudendey⁹ indwābo dāto di
10. Dgeso¹⁰ binirgoto jeshō¹¹ dhvastārāti kulā cholo noyo
11. Binoyo doyā dāno dākhyonyo¹² saurjo dārjo sotyo tya
12. Gādi guno sompodādhāro bhooto gongāmolo kuloti

Second plate, second side.

13. Lo ko mohārājo sri rājēndro dormo¹³ soonu mohārājo
14. Sri devēndro borma kusolee chapobortonyo bōsino grā
15. Mo nibāsino¹⁴ kutimbinam¹⁵ somojya poyati bidi
16. Tomcstu bōsinogrāmo nibāsinēy srutonābhāyo sunābho
17. Soonu mohāprodhi horihoro sormono¹⁶ sutāyo sukobi¹⁷
mātā

18. Pitroo rātmonoscho punyē¹⁸ biburdhoyē thembu syāsono¹⁹
sokolo

Third plate, first side.

19. Korobhorai²⁰ porityo²¹ theno chondrādityo projonto prodi²²
20. Te māyāsūtro seemālingāni likhyontēy grāmosyo purbodi
21. Sya byāsruto dhārā sorittoto dokhineno bahyo bonorāji
goita

22. Dokhino poschimeno gortātoto uttorey²³

23. No tiutilika brukhyo dhātika otro byāso

24. Gēēthā slokā bhovanti bohūbhi bosundha dotta rājobhi
sogora²⁴

25. Dibhi²⁵ jasyo jasyo jodabhumī tosyo²⁶ tosyo todapholo²⁷

Third plate, second side.

26. Swadattām porodattāmba jyo horēto bosundhara²⁸ sobi

27. Stāyām krumi rbhootwa pochyote pitrubhi soho²⁹

28. Gongo bumso³⁰ proborāhomāno bijoyorājyo

29. Sombochorēy sotomoyē dosottarēy litomi³¹

30. Dum sāsanam rohusinam sri sāmontho sorbobondhēno

31. Utkeernam³² chākshasalēnam sri sāmantho khondi

1. Noho, 2. bijoyobotocho, 3. kānmo, 4. sso, 5. swāmīno,
6. kolikolonko, 7. sonkhyōbho, 8. pābonito, 9. kundēndwalōdāto,
10. digdeso, 11. jeso, 12. dākhyino, 13. borma, 14. nibāsinoho,
15. kutumbinoho, 16. sarmonoho, 17. sukobyē, 18. punya,
19. sāsanam, 20. bhoraihi, 21. poridrutyo, 22. prodottām,
23. uttorey, 24. esogora, 25. dibhi, 26. stosyo, 27. pholum,
28. bosundharām, 29. ssoho, 30. bumso, 31. likhito, 32. utkirnam.

The sāsanam, the village granted as an inam is called Them-
bu. Perhaps, it may be what is now called Themburu (in the
Tekkali zamindari). It was granted to one Śrutanābha, son of
Hariharasarmā, in recognition of his intellect and poetic talents.
It was granted by Devendra Varmā for his future and for
peace of the souls of his parents.

Themburu village is now in Tekkali zamindari under
Śrī Śrī Śrī Brundavanchandra Harischandana Jaga Deb
Rajah Bahadur. This Themburu is situated at a distance of
nine miles towards the north-east of Tekkali. In giving
boundaries in the deed it is stated that the eastern boundary
is Vyasarutadharasarith. No traces of this sarith (river) are now
visible; but towards the north-west, there exists now a huge
tank called Padmanābhasagaram. This sagaram was construc-
ted by Padmanabha Deb, one of the late Rajahs of Tekkali, the
son of the Jugraj of Parlakhimidi and was named after him.
The huge sagaram or tank has still many hill streams flowing

into it. One of these streams might perhaps have been then known by the name of Vyasrutadhara Sarith. There is now extensive cultivation around the huge tank or sagaram. The name of the writer of the Inam patta or grant deed is given on the plate as Sorbobondhu Samantho and that of the engraver of the plate as Khondi Samantho. The plate also contains the royal insignia (conch and disc) of all the kings of the Gauga dynasty.

VI.—Notes on Tree-cults in the District of Patna in South Bihar

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Gulbighat is a locality situated on the bank of the river Ganges and included within the area of the quarter bearing the name of Mahendru in the town of Bankipore or Patna Junction. The greater part of the Gulbighat area has been acquired by the authorities of the Patna University; and in it they have constructed residential quarters for their professors and lecturers. One of these quarters, just to the east of the Ranighat pumping station, is occupied by Professor Sarojranjan Bose, M.A., of the Patna College. During my visit to Bankipore during the last Puja vacation I stayed with Professor Sarojranjan Bose from 4th October to 18th October 1927. While staying with him I noticed a Pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) growing near the south-eastern corner of his compound. Close to the contorted roots of this venerable tree is a small conical shaped mound of clay which has become so much hardened as to look like stone. On this mound are daubs of vermilion; and there are similar daubs on the lower portion of the trunk of the tree. On seeing these vermilion streaks, I at once came to the conclusion that this tree and the mound of clay must be objects of worship. My inference was confirmed by seeing a curious ceremony which, I observed, was being performed at the foot of this tree on the morning of the following day (5th October 1927). On making enquiries from the performers of the worship I was furnished with the following information :—

- (a) This tree-shrine is the *āsthān* of a godling named Bārham;
- (b) this godling is worshipped by persons who are desirous of getting their hearts' desires fulfilled;
- (c) this godling is worshipped on any day whatever that the worshipper likes and that there is no fixed day prescribed for the worship;
- (d) that the worshipper himself performs the worship and no Brahman priest officiates therein;
- (e) that the materials required for the worship are (i) incense, (ii) sacred thread made of jute fibre,

(iii) *gānjā* or hemp, (iv) milk, (v) flowers and (vi) vermilion; and (f) the *modus operandi* of the worship is as follows:—The worshipper daubs the clay mound and the tree trunk with streaks of vermilion, and then ties the sacred thread (*Janao*) of jute fibre round the clay mound, then he lights the sticks of incense and pours the milk before the mound of clay and presents the *gānjā* and flowers to the godling Bārham who is represented by the cone of clay.

I am inclined to think that this godling was originally a tree-spirit resident in the Pipal tree. This spirit was an invisible and incorporeal being and must have been worshipped in the way described above. It is for this reason that daubs of vermilion are still made on the lower portion of the trunk of the tree. In course of the time this invisible and incorporeal tree-spirit was canonized into a godling named Bārham. The worshipper must have supposed that this tree-spirit in his canonized condition requires some visible symbol. I think that it is, for this reason, that they erected the conical shaped mound of clay and dubbed it with the name of Bārham and the deified tree-spirit is now believed by the Bihari Hindu worshippers to reside in this cone of clay. So the sacrificial thread of jute fibre which is dyed with a deep red colour is tied round this mound; large patches of vermilion are streaked upon it and the food offerings and offerings of flowers are made to it.

The most noteworthy features of this cult are the offering of the sacred thread of jute fibre (and not of cotton thread) and of *gānjā* or hemp. I have already shown elsewhere¹ that offerings of tobacco and other intoxicants are made to aboriginal or village deities both in the district of Dinajpur in North Bengal and in Southern India. I can explain the offering of the sacred thread made of jute fibre by saying that the jute fibre is the product of a plant of indigenous growth and that it is for this reason that it is used for this worship, just as in the worship of other Hindu deities and in the performance of other rites, objects of foreign

¹ Vide my paper entitled *Village Deities of Northern Bengal in The Hindustan Review* for February 1922, pages 146-158.

manufacture are strictly tabooed ; and wooden combs and looking-glasses made of polished brass are used to the exclusion of cheap combs and mirrors of foreign manufacture. Just on the same principle flowers introduced from foreign countries are never used in Hindu worship. I am inclined to suspect that cotton must have been, in ancient times, a plant of foreign growth and was therefore tabooed by the ignorant villagers in the worship of their village deities. But this much I am saying tentatively.

Just to the north-east of Professor Sarojranjan Bose's residential quarter is another tree shrine. This shrine is made up of a Pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) growing intertwined with a Neem tree (*Azadirachta indica*). The roots of this tree are encircled with a masonry platform of brick which is now whitewashed. On this platform are placed ten to twelve small boulders of stone which are streaked with daubs of vermilion. This shows that the invisible spirit dwelling in this tree shrine is now believed to dwell in these boulders of stone which are therefore worshipped. But I have not been able to ascertain the name of this godling.

But the custom of symbolizing invisible and incorporeal spirits by mounds of clay and boulders of stone is universally prevalent in North Bihar as also in different parts of Chota Nagpur. I have elsewhere shown that, in the district of Champaran in North Bihar, almost every town or village has its shrines dedicated to the local village godlings and goddesslings, who, in many cases, have no priests to carry on their worship, who are not represented by any images, but are symbolized by small mounds of earth or rough unhewn blocks of stone daubed with vermilion.

The principal among the aforementioned *Grāma Devatās* or the village deities of the district of Champaran in North Bihar is the godling Birebhe-Deo. The shrine of this godling is situated on the western side of the town of Motihari—the headquarters of the district of Champaran. This godling is represented by a mound of clay.¹

¹ Vide my article on *The Cult of the Godling Birebhe Deo* in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for June 1922.

In the same town of Motihari there is the shrine of another local godling named Ajgaibi Nath, who and whose wife and sister are represented by three knobs of clay erected upon a rectangular platform.¹

Then again, in the village of Sundarpur Babbnauli, Pargana Semraon, which is situated at a distance of six miles to the north of Motihari, there is the shrine of the disease godling Gorayā Bābā who and whose two *sevaks* are represented by three clay knob images.²

In November and December 1927 I was at Ranchi. While I and party were going to the Hundrughāgh Waterfall on the 25th December 1927, I came across two shrines dedicated to village deities who were represented therein by small mounds of clay.

It will not be out of place to mention here that the authorities of the Patna University have shown great tact and judgment by not felling these trees which are regarded sacred by Bihar Hindus. This shows that they are aware of the religious beliefs, manner and customs of the people of Bihar and have shown their respect for them by abstaining from demolishing these shrines. It is, therefore, highly necessary for European and other foreign officials, who come to administer our country to acquire a thorough knowledge of the religious customs and manners of the people of our country so that they may be enabled to administer the provinces placed under their respective charge smoothly and satisfactorily. Anthropology and Ethnology should, therefore, be included in the curriculum of studies prescribed for the Indian Civil Service and other examinations prescribed for the recruitment of other high officials for the Indian administration.

¹ *Vide* my article entitled *Studies in the Cults of the District of Champaran in North Bihar* in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March—June 1924.

² *Op cit.*

VII.—The Korashanda Copperplate Grant of Visakhavarmma

By Satyanarayan Rajguru

In 1925, a cultivator of Kôrashandâ, a village nearly six miles from Parlakimedi (Ganjam district), while cultivating his own land, found a set of copperplates. He kept them in his own house for six months, until it was noticed by the public. At last, however, the plates were brought to the Sanskrit College of Parlakimedi. The Principal of the College, by the help of the other teachers, read them after a month or two.

The set contains three copperplates, each measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by 2". The first and the third are inscribed on one side only. The ring holding the plates is about half an inch thick and about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference. The inscription consists of twelve lines; four lines on each side. The letters are not clearly readable.

This inscription records the grant of a village called Tapôyaka, in Korāshodaka on the 20th Solar day of Tûla, by Mahârāja Visâkhavarmmâ. The grant was signed in favour of certain Brahamans by one Bôḍhudêva, who was a chief under the king. Now there is no village in that part under that name. But there is a small village called Kôrashandâ. Hence it is inferred that this village Kôrashandâ is named after Kôrāshodaka. Though not very near to this village, but at a distance of about 15 miles there are villages called Karasadâ and Karjôḍâ. For the present we do not find even a single ancient Brahman in any of the villages of this part.

We do not find the name Visâkhavarmmâ in the history of Kalinga, as well as of Orissa. From the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta (see *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. III. p. 339) we find the name of Svâmidatta, a ruler of Kalinga in the fourth century A.D. Again, from the copperplate grant of the Ganga Râjâ, Anantavarma Chôḍaganga Deva, (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII)

we come to know that in the seventh century A.D. Kāmārṇava, the first Ganga king, ascended the throne of Kalinga, after defeating Savallāditya, a Rājā of the countries of Mahendragiri. From these two instances we can guess that some kings of another unknown dynasty were also ruling over Kalinga, besides the above named Svāmidatta and Savallāditya. From this point we can imagine that Mahārāja Viśākhavarman might have been a member of that dynasty, which is not yet brought to light. However on the palæographical ground we can place him between the second and the sixth century A.D. The character of these plates resembles the Kuṭilākshara.

In this copperplate grant a nameless samvat is mentioned, which denotes simply 138. It may be the Śaka samvat or an undiscovered samvat of Kalinga itself. From this copperplate grant we come to know that Vijaya-śrīpura was the capital of Viśākhavarman. From the Orissā copperplate-grant of Mahābhavagupta, we learn that there was a capital of Orissā, Vijaya-Kaṭaka by name. Śrīpura means the main metropolis, whereas Kaṭaka gives the same meaning. So Viśākhavarman might have been the king of Orissā, as well as of Kalinga, just like Airarāja Khāravla, who was the ruler of both Kalinga and Orissā (second century B.C.).

Unless more information about Viśākhavarman is gathered, we are not able to come to any definite conclusion about the Mahārāja mentioned in the Kōrashandā Copperplate grant.

Text.

I Plate, second side.

- (1) Svasti vijaya—śrīpura parama daivata vallabhātāraka
pāda bhaktā śrī mahārājō
- (2) Viśākhavarman kōraśōḍaka pachālyē tapōyaka grāmē
kuṭumbinah
- (3) samājñāpayati astēsha grāmō smābhir=asmad valla
bhātāraka pādānām.

II Plate, first side.

- (4) Suralōkād=aprachyutānām bhūyah punyā pyā yanāya
āchandra tārār=kka prati—

- (5) shṭhm=agrahâram kṛitvâ sarva karabharais=cha
pari-hṛtya âtrêyasa gôtrê—
(6) bhyah Śavara bhêmḍaka Viṣṇu śarmma, Srêshṭhi śar-
mma, Agni śarmma, Nâga śarmma, Śiva śarmmé—

II Plate, second side.

- (7) bhyah sampradatta stad=êvam=avêtya pûrvôchita
maryâdâbhi=sarvôpa sthânam
(8) kartavyam=iti âjñâ bhôgika Bôdhdêva samvat 138
mâ 7 divasa 20.
(9) atra cha Vyâsa gîtam dvan ślôkan

III Plate, first side.

- (10) vahubhir=vvasudhâdattâ vasudhâ vasudhâdhipaiḥ yasya
yasya
(11) yadâ bhūmis=tasya tasya tadâ phaḷam shashṭhi varsha
sahasrâṇi
(12) svargê môdati bhūmidah âkshêptâ chânumantâ cha tân-
yêva narakê basêt.

VIII.—A Short Note on Dharanidasa, a Hindi Poet of the Seventeenth Century

By Anathnath Basu, Viswabharati, Santiniketan

While passing through Patna some years ago I was informed by a student of the Bihar Vidyapith that at Manjhi, a village not far from Chapra, there is an old *mīṭha* connected with the name of a local saint Dharanidāsa. My informant also told me that *bhajans* composed by that saint were still sung in the locality and that in all probability if a search were made there some MSS containing his *bhajans* might still be found. This information led to my visiting the village in January last year and the consequent find of a MS named *Prempargūs* (Premaprakāśa) containing verses composed by Dharanidāsa. I found there also another book by him which was printed by Babu Bishundeb Narayan in 1887. The title of the printed book is *Sābdaprakāśa*. It contains verses in *chaupāī*, *dohā* and other metres. Several *bhajans* current orally in the locality were also collected by me. Later on, it came to my notice that the Belvedere Press of Allahabad had published a collection of verses composed by this saint-poet, from manuscript materials supplied to them by several gentlemen.

On referring to Sir George Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindoostan* (Calcutta) I could find no reference to this Hindi poet nor was there any mention of Dharanidāsa in any other Hindi anthology or history of literature.

While reading the manuscripts and the abovementioned printed books the verses struck me as something worth noticing; these contain not only many beautiful reflections but they are remarkable in quite another way. Kabir's attempt at harmonising the two different cultures, the Hindu and the Mohammadan, are well known. In the epilogue to *Sābdaprakāśa* (apparently composed by some one of his later disciples) Dharanidāsa is mentioned as second Kabir and indeed in these verses we come

across a refined mentality almost like Kabir's but expressed, though not so much forcibly but less epigrammatically and sometimes perhaps in a more beautiful and polished language. The poetic merits of these compositions also amply deserve our notice.

This is the apology of the present writer for presenting this short note before the reader.

The printed book, of which a copy was obtained in the village, is of demy 8vo size. The title page runs thus—

SHABADA PRAKASH.

अथ

शब्द प्रकाश

महर्षि बाबा धरनौदास

कृत

जिसके श्री ३ बाबु रामदेव नारायण सिंह

साहेब जमौन्दार सैनपुर जिले

सारन ने अपने सनेही

बाबु विष्णुदेव

नारायण

मांझी ग्राम निवासीके

इच्छानुसार मुद्रित करवाया ॥

First Edition. Chapra: Narsim Saran Press. 1887.

Shabdaprakāśa contains 232 pages of closely printed verses. On the cover page at the end are printed a few verses beginning with *विहित हो की* "let it be known" and giving four verses in praise of the saint in which occurs the line *कबिरा पुनि धरनौ भयो शाहजहाँ के राज* "Kabir again became Dharani during the reign of Shāhjahān." After these a few lines more in praise saying that this gem of literature which lay hidden could not be published earlier; then follow a few more verses under the signature of Vishnudev Narain, a name occurring on the title page as the publisher.

The book begins with an invocation to Gaṇeśa and then occurs the line अथ शब्द प्रकाशं लिख्यते ॥ करता प्रसंगः ॥ "Now begins *Śabdaprakāśa*; (discussions) of the Lord."

From a perusal of the book it is apparent that sometimes the language has been tampered with, having been modernised in places.

So much for a description of the *Śabdaprakāśa*. I do not know nor could I ascertain whether it ran into any subsequent edition or not; but that it has become a rare book is apparent from the fact that I could not get any other copy of the book though I searched for the same in many quarters.

Of the description of the book printed from the Belvedere Press I need not give much as it is still available in the market. We shall now give a short description of the *Prempargās* which is preserved in the local library at Manjhi; the *maṭha* of Dharanidāsa has preserved nothing in writing of the saint but possesses his pair of wooden sandals which receives worship from the local people.

The size of the MS. is 9" x 7½". It contains 103 leaves bound in the shape of an ordinary book. The average number of lines on each page is fourteen. It is written on local hand-made paper and does not seem to be very old. The script is quite legible. On the whole the MS. seems to be well preserved. From a marginal note on the seventh page of the MS. we learn that it was written at the command of Bābā Rāmadāsa, eighth in succession of spiritual discipleship of Bābā Dharanidāsa. From the colophon at the end we learn that it was written in the year 1281 B.S. for Musammat Jānakidās alias Brat Kuār.

The MS. begins with an invocation to Gaṇeśa as in the case of *Śabdaprakāśa* and then occurs the line श्री पोथि प्रेम परमास "śrī pothi (book) *Prempargās*" and then begins the book proper with its usual invocation and salutation to God. In these very first lines are apparent the distinctive features of Dharani's religious faith; his God is no sectarian God; He is प्रमेश्वर, अखण्ड, अवर्द्धित, अगम, अपारा, जुग जुग अविच्छन्न एक विधाता । However, of this we shall discuss later on.

On the eighth page of the MS. occur a few lines giving some details about the life of our poet. He belonged to the Sri Vāstavya gotra of the Kāyasthas and was the grandson of Tikāitdās and the son of Parasrāmdās.

From these scanty materials, the preface to the Belvedere Press edition of his work and a genealogical table preserved in the locality, which begins with Tikāit Rāi, the grandfather of our poet, and gives the line of apostolic succession after him and some locally kept tradition, we can gather the following details regarding the life of Dharanidāsa.

Dharanidāsa was born during the last years of Shah Jehan's reign (1627-1658) about the year 1656 (the Belvedere Press edition of his works gives this as the year of his birth) when Aurangzeb was coming into power. The following couplet occurs in the *Prem-pargās*

शाहजहाँ तजि दुनियाई ।

फिरि औरंगजेब जो आई ॥

Mention has already been made of the line occurring in the printed cover page at the end of the *Sabdaprakāśa* giving an idea of the time of Dharani.

From these the date of his birth can be approximately determined but nowhere do we find any mention of the date of Dharanidasa's death. He died sometime in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

During his youth Dharani was engaged in the *sherista* of a local zamindar. His family guru was Yogindra Giri. At the time something miraculous happened¹ which determined the future course of his life. He gave up his service and began to live the life of a devotee. He erected a hut for himself on the banks of the river Sarajāū which flows by the side of the village; and there in the midst of the beautiful scenery, away from the din and bustle of the work-a-day world, Dharani passed the remainder of his life in meditation, and in composing

¹ The story of this miracle is current in the locality but need not be reproduced here.

and singing beautiful *bhajans* and preaching his doctrine of *bhakti* based on an attempt of harmonising the two antagonistic faiths on the lines of Kabir.

Dharanidāsa was a Vaiṣṇava sannyāsin as will be apparent from the fact that the *mantra* of his followers is *Rāmamantra* and in fact it is said that after he had renounced the world he was initiated by Vinodanand Dasji, a Vaiṣṇava sannyāsin of the Rāmānanda school.

Dharani was probably married but we do not hear of his having any child.

It is apparent that Dharanidāsa was indebted to Kabir's teachings as regards his own philosophical and theological standpoint; in fact he may be said to have belonged to the great school which was founded by Kabir, the greatest figure in the religious history of mediæval India. The tremendous influence which Kabir and his teachings exerted over his contemporaries and the generations which came after him can hardly be exaggerated. This fact would be apparent from the large number of saints, beginning with Nanak who followed his footsteps and were largely indebted to him, in their teachings of the same principles of toleration and harmonisation. Dharanidāsa was one of them and has been described as a second Kabir. The reason is not far to seek. In his songs he shows the same breadth of vision and outlook on life, the same unsectarian search after truth and the same attempt at reconciling knowledge and *bhakti* which are so characteristic of Kabir's writings. That the people were conscious of these facts are shown from the above tradition. It should be mentioned here that the same tradition is current in the case of Paltudāsa, another saint-poet of mediæval India.

Like Kabir Dharanidāsa did not believe in idolatry. Says he—

ब्रह्मक पूजै अशि जल, प्रतिमा पूजै गंवार ।
धरनी ऐसा को कहै, की ठाकुर बिकै बजार ॥

Very often we come across such sentiments in his writings. But with a strange irony of fate an image of Krishna is to-day

worshipped in the *maṭha* which goes by the name of Dharanidāsa. The present incumbent of the *gadi*, Mahant Harinandandāsa while asserting the non-idolatrous character of Dharani's teachings tried to explain away the presence of the image but to the present writer his reasons did not seem to be very convincing. But this is not a solitary instance of such a phenomenon ; the religious history of India beginning from the days of Buddhism is replete with such instances.

Dharanidāsa did not distinguish between the Hindus and the Muhammadans ; to him they were all equal, and their methods of worship, though apparently conflicting, led but to the same final goal, it does not matter by what name you designate it, by Rāma or Rahim.

हिन्दुके राम अल्लाह तुहकके बहुबिधि करत बखाना ।

दुंदुके संगम एक जहाँ तहवां मेरो मन माना ।

For Him the ignorant man searches the external world but Him he does not find, He lives not outside but in the heart of man, in everything pervading the whole universe.

रहत निरंतर अंतरजामी सब घट समायो ।

ओगो पंडित दानि देस दिसि खोजत अंत न पायो ॥

The inner temple is effulgent with His love and glory, why then try to find the light outside.

भीतर भवन भयो ऊंजियारा धरनी निरखि सोहाया ।

जा लिये देस देसांतर धायो सो घटेहि छखि पाया ॥

But to get Him you have got to be pure, to have that love which opens the portals of the house of the Lord ; you cannot deceive him with your dress and exterior.

कुल तजि भेष वनाइया हिये न आयी सांच ।

धरनी प्रभु रोझै नहि देखत ऐसी नाच ॥

To kindle the fire of that love is the one and only one desire of man.

जगमें सोई जौवनि जिया ।

जाके उर अनुराग उपजे प्रेम प्याला पिया ॥

To Dharanidāsa God appears as the lover eternal who with His overflowing love is always helping the worshipper, His beloved.

When that love has been kindled in the heart of the worshipper, after days of separation he meets his beloved Lord and then all his desires are fulfilled. The idea of the union with the lord and the intense and perfect joy of the union has been beautifully expressed in the following lines.

चित चित सरिया मैं लिहलौं लिखाई ।

हृदयकमल धड़लौं दियना लेसाई ॥

प्रेम पलंग तहँ धईलौं बिछाड़ ।

नखसिख सङ्ग सिंगार बनाई ॥

हृदयकमलबिच आसन मारी । ले सरधाजल चरन खटारी ॥

हितकै चंदन चरचि चढ़ायो । प्रीतिकै पंखा पवन डोलायो ॥

भावकौ भोजन परसि जँवायो । जो उबरा सो जूठन पायो ॥

धरनी इत उत फिरहि न भोरे । सन्मुख रहहि दोउ कर जोरे ॥

Thus does Dharanidāsa entertain his Beloved.

When once that love has been enkindled he is no longer of this earth ; its mundane duties and rules no longer hold him.

उर उपजल प्रभु प्रेम ।

छुटि गयो तब व्रत नेम ॥

This was Dharanidāsa's philosophy of life.

IX.—Chaurasi Grant of Sivakara Deva

By Narayana Tripathi, B.A.

Chaurasi (literal meaning, 84) is the name of a village of moderate size situated in pargana Antarodh, thana Nimapara in the Sadar subdivision of the Puri district. The sacred but now almost dry river Prāchi flows by its northern and eastern sides. The village is full of antiquities and remains of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Utkala, and it is strongly believed that in ancient times, when the Prāchi was a navigable river of some size, there stood on its bank and at Chaurasi a big and prosperous town. In and about this place are still to be found nearly 100 existing brick wells with almost twice that number already filled up or levelled up; six temples of moderate height are now extant although in a very dilapidated condition without timely repairs, and traces are found of ten other temples with some of their presiding gods or goddesses lying under bushes or trees hard by. In this locality are seen traces of a thick brick wall indicating a fort and several heaps of bricks, one of which is now called *Tajñakūṇḍa* (sacrificial altar) and the other the "Nawara," meaning the palace. Near the latter stands another high broken hall, some 40ft. long by 30ft. wide by 10ft. high, called "*Sabhāmaṇḍapa*," meaning the court or the audience hall. Tradition says that in times of old there lived a line of kings in the place who built the palace (Nawara) and the court hall (*Sabhāmaṇḍapa*) for their use.

In this village of Chaurasi, some six years ago, a cultivator was digging his sugarcane field when he came across some cemented bricks and stones placed or designed in a manner as if to form a cabinet to conceal something within. Had it been an ordinary find it would not have attracted his attention; because, old bricks or rather heaps of them, can be found everywhere in the village, and as to finds such as statues of Gaṇeśa, Śivaliṅgam, etc. these are found in plenty and no longer

excite the curiosity of anybody. But as the present discovery showed signs of a carefully concealed treasure, he did not venture to continue digging without informing the owner of the land who was also the Makadam (sub-zamindar) of the village. The Makadam with his few selected trustworthy servants turned up at the dead of night, began removing the cemented cabinet, and after removing the broken bricks and stones found in place of his much expected treasure, the above copperplate, securely kept within, concealed from public view and exposure.

The plate consists of two parts dovetailed together in the middle. It is $8'' \times 5.8''$, the bigger part being $5''$ and the smaller one $3''$ long. The rim of each part is dovetailed in one side with four projections and four depressions of unequal length constructed in a manner so as to fit in exactly and support one another.

On the left side of the plate is a circular seal of what appears to be of mixed metal. The diameter of this circle is 2 inches. Only a small part of it is fixed to the main plate, or rather the seal appears to be a projection of and not a separate and distinct piece from the main body. The design appears to consist of an impression of an expanded lotus flower. The seal has the representation in relief of a couchant bull facing straight to the right and chewing a bunch of creepers hanging down from its mouth. The dewlap, the horns, the ears and the tail and the hump are quite natural. A little above its haunch there appears to be something, presumably the usual conch-shell, and a little above its neck another something in the shape of a half-moon. Below the bull there appears to be some inscription presumably some alphabets indicating the name of the donor, but it has now become quite indistinct and illegible. It is unfortunate that this circular seal cannot be cleaned further without danger of damaging the seal of mixed metal and disfiguring its design.

The letters in the plate are uniform and bold and about $0.2''$ each. There are altogether 29 lines of writing, 15 lines on

the obverse and 14 lines on the reverse side. The shape of the letters bears resemblance to those of other copperplate records of the Kara family and corresponds to the scripts of not later than the ninth-tenth century A.C.

The language of the present record is Sanskrit. There are some spelling and other mistakes and *bha* has been used in place of *va* in several places. The genealogy of the family has been given with the usual *prasasti* after naming the camp of victory from which the charter was issued. The speciality of this charter is that the names of mothers of two successive kings including the donor himself have been given in the genealogy.

The donee is Ṛgveda Charan Jāllubhaṭṭa of *Kātyāyanasa goṭra* with three pravaras, Vaiśvānara, Mitra and Kāthakhilla. The motive of the grant is to increase the virtue (or merit) of self, parents and all living beings. The village granted is Vuvradā in Viṣaya Antarudra in the Southern Tosālā. The camp from which the grant is issued is Guha (or Śubha) Devī Patikā.

The donor of the grant is Śrī Sivakaradeva. He is styled as *Parama bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. The name of his mother is Śrī(matī) Mādhava Devī who is styled as *Mahadevī*. His father is Śrī Śubhakaradeva, who is also styled as *Parama bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. He was the paramount lord of Utkal and there was none in his time to supersede him in renown or wealth. This Śubhakaradeva's mother is Mahadevī Śrī Jayābalidevī, and his father is Śrī Śivankara Kara. The latter was born in the family of "Bhaumya."

The dynasty of kings to which the donor belongs appears to be the Kara family from the distinct mention of the designation "Kara" after the name of the first king "Śivankara." Mr. H. Panday, who edited a plate of Daṇḍi Mahadevī, mentions eight inscriptions and grants of this family that have yet come to light.

From a careful reading of the originals as given in the respective impressions of three of the grants mentioned by

Mr. Panday and of the plate which is the subject matter of this note it appears that all the four grants were issued from camps, the first word of the names of which is the same, viz. Śubha or Guḥa. The letters *sa* and *ga* are almost similar; so also *bha* and *ha*. Consequently some had read this word as Subha and others as Guha.

Who were these Kara kings and in what part of the country were they ruling? They are not mentioned in those parts of the Temple records of Puri which have yet been brought to light. The accounts of Orissa written by such eminent European scholars as W. W. Hunter, A. Sterling, etc. do not make any mention of them. A book known as the *History of Utkal*, written in vernacular by the late Pandit Krupasindhu Misra, M.A., of Satyabadi School, gives the information that a part of ancient Utkal, known as Kōṅgada comprising the present Khallikot, Athagarh, Ghumsar, Banpur, Ranapur, Nayagarh, etc. was under a dynasty of kings known as Karas. There are numerous palmleaf MSS. in the Puri district and in the rest of Orissa, and until they are read properly, it cannot be said with certainty that this dynasty of kings "was not known to literature."

With the scanty information supplied by the inscriptions it is not easy to trace the origin of this family. It has led to much speculation among the scholars who edited them, and each one puts forward his own hypothesis and draws his conclusions accordingly. It would be interesting to touch the salient points.

In the plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevī mention is made that in this Kara dynasty, kings such as Unmaṭṭa Keśari, Gayada, etc. once flourished, and when after the death of king Lalitabhāradeva, the family was threatened with extinction owing to the absence of any male member of the line, she the wife of the deceased king Lalitabhāra was prevailed upon by a large circle of feudatory chiefs and others to accept the kingdom of the Karas which had come down to her by right of succession. The exact passage making reference to older kings is—

Line 5 * * *. " *Unmilanaikaniratesu kshatasthitāna. Munmaṭṭa keśari Gayāda purahsaresu. * * ** "

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri who edited the plate has split the word "Unmatta-Keśari-Gayāda" into three proper names, and says :

"In the preamble mention is made of the extinction of three older dynasties, viz. those of Unmaṭṭa, Keśarī and Gayāda. Of these the Kesaris are well known, they were replaced in Orissa by the Gāngas in the eleventh century. There are grants by Gāyāda of the Tuṅga family in the tenth century. The Unmaṭṭa family is not yet known, but Unmaṭṭa may be an epithet and not a proper name; but the letters 'tt' are distinct, it cannot be 'tt'."

The translation of the text as rendered by him is hardly satisfactory. Whereas in the text the word "*Keśarī*" appears after the word "Unmaṭṭa" and before the word "*Gayāda*," in the translation it (the word "*Keśarī*") has been placed after "*Gayāda*" in the words "When the Mahārājas, such as *Unmaṭṭa*, *Gayāda*, *Keśarī* and others," presumably to make up the "three older dynasties."

The names may not be those of "three older dynasties" that preceded the Kara dynasty, but they were two individual and probably well-known members of the Kara family. Unmaṭṭa Keśarī is the name of one king and Gayāda the name of another. This Unmaṭṭa Keśarī has been mentioned as Unmaṭṭa Siṃha in the grant of Daṇḍi Mahādevī, Keśarī and Siṃha meaning the same thing, i.e. the lion. Even a superficial reading of the text of Tribhuvana Mahādevī's grant would raise a question in the mind of the reader why there should appear so many lines of eulogy in the preamble of the plate of a member of the Kara family, for "three older dynasties" that had long disappeared, if the latter are quite distinct from the former.

The appearance of the epithet "Keśarī" or "Siṃha" after the name of an illustrious king of this family, Unmaṭṭa, may lead one to suppose that this dynasty is identical with the

Kesari dynasty of Orissa. But the names of kings of Kesari dynasty as given in the Temple records of Puri do not correspond to those of this family as revealed in its several copper-plates and inscriptions brought to light up to date. Besides, the word "Karakula," i.e. Kara family, appears in several places in the text of the charters of the two queens Tribhuban Mahadevi and Danḍi Mahadevi. In the Neulpur grant of Śubhakaradeva the word "Kara" has not been specifically used to denote the family, although its use therein in all the three places appears as a part of proper names. In the Chaurasi plate it has once been used to signify the family, e.g. in *Śivaṅkaraḥ Karaḥ*, and in three places as part of proper names. It may, however, be presumed that the families of the donors of these two grants are identical with the Kara family.

But in the Neulpur grant *Kṣemaṅkara deva* is said to be "Bhaumānvayāt-*an-avāptā-janmā*," i.e., he was born in a family connected with "Bhauma." Mr. R. D. Banerji translates this passage as "who had obtained birth in the race of Nāraka" and then concludes "that the Kara kings were descended from non-Aryan Asuras of Kāmarupa," while Mr. Nilmani Chakravarty "saw some connection between Gayād Tunga of Oḍra and Pratāpa-Dhavalā, a non-Aryan ruler of a small principality near Rohtas in the Shahabad district of Bihar."

The word "Bhauma" (when analysed becomes *Bhumeh apatyam, tasyāḥ idam vā*) means (1) belonging to the earth, (2) being on the earth, earthly, terrestrial, (3) earthly, (4) relating to Mars, (5) Mars, (6) epithet of the demon Narakā, (7) water, (8) light and (9) sky. It is not understood why out of these nine meanings, particularly the sixth one, i.e., epithet of the demon Narakā has been selected by Mr. Banerji to explain the race of these kings.

The *prasasti* of the grant of Danḍi Mahadevi has led Mr. H. Pandey "to the conclusion that these rulers belonged to the lunar race of Kṣhattriyas." It may be so, but he is

mistaken when he says " This is supported by the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara where the family is described as ' Śomān-vayādvāptā janma'." He has misread " Bhaumānvayāt " as " Śomānvayāt " and drawn his conclusion accordingly.

In the Chaurasi plate we find that the king Sivāṅkaraḥ Karaḥ was born in the family of " Bhaumya." The word Bhaumya when analysed may signify either (1) " connection with Bhauma " or (2) progeny or son of Bhauma or (3) same as Bhauma or (4) collection of Bhaumas or (5) duty or action of Bhumi. I am inclined to think that " Bhaumya " of Chaurasi grant is the same as " Bhauma " of Neulpur grant, the additional suffix *ay* in the former is what in Sanskrit is called *Svārthe*.

In Orissa we find some sects of aboriginals such as Bhumija, Bhuīṇa, etc. that trace their origin to earth. But it is doubtful whether their ancestors ever ruled in any part of the country, or particularly in Tosala, somewhere from the fifth to the tenth century A.C.

There is a caste among the Hindus on the plains called *Kṣitvamsa* or *mātivamsa* both signifying Earth's family (*Kṣiti* = *matī* means earth and *vamsa* means family). Before the advent of the new system of western education primary education of Hindu boys in Orissa was entirely entrusted to their care. Teachership in *pāthasālas* was then their sole profession and even now continues to be so in the countryside in Orissa. This sect does not appear ever to have been a martial and ruling race, nor do they have any tradition that their ancestors ever ruled any kingdom anywhere.

Connection with *Bhu* (earth or land) has also given rise to several family titles, and in Orissa they are Bhuīan, Bhoi, etc. which are held by Kshatriyas and Karanas generally. Their duty, although originally meant to be clerical, latterly developed into performing functions both administrative and clerical in respect of the land under their charge, and in some cases they transformed themselves into actual landlords and sometimes petty kings over small principalities.

The Brāhmanas corresponding to Bhumihār class Brāhmana in Bihar are known in Orissa as Māsthāna Brāhmanas. As a class they are very hardy and industrious, and during the reign of the kings of both Keśarī and Gāṅga dynasties they used to subscribe a substantial number of military recruits to form the peasant militia of Orissa. Some of them bear the family title of Senāpati, meaning commanders of armies, but it would be hazardous to say either that the Kara kings were connected with the Māsthānas or that any of the other castes bearing titles connected with *bhu* (earth) are descended from them.

From the genealogy of the Kara kings it appears that the title of "Keśarī" or "Simha" is borne at least by one distinguished member of the family, viz. Unmaṭṭa Keśarī or Unmaṭṭa Simha. Sylvain Lévi in his article *King Śuvakara of Orissa*, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV. pt. VIII. p. 363-64, has shown that king Śubhākaradeva the donor of Neulpur grant is the same as king Śubhākara of the realm of Udra or Orissa who in 795 A.D. sent an autograph manuscript called *Avatamsaka*, and some other presents, including a beautiful canopy, to the Chinese Emperor Te-tsung as a token of homage. This Buddhist MSS. autographed by the king as well as the canopy are still preserved in the capital of China with a brief note as to the sender. From this note it appears that one of the many epithets of this king was *lion* which when translated becomes "Keśarī" or "Simha."

The founder of Keśarī dynasty in Orissa was undoubtedly a very great king. By his numerous successes in the battle-field as well as other works of public utility he won the title of *Keśarī*. He and his successors were proud to bear it; nay, they went so far as to call their family the *Keśarī* dynasty instead of the Gupta dynasty, Gupta being their previous family title. It may be that during those days, other independent or semi-independent kings were similarly honoured with the august title of *Keśarī*, and that is why we find the epithet of *Keśarī* after the names of Unmaṭṭa and Śubhākara

of Kara family. But in view of the powerful imperial dynasty adopting this as its family title, the individual Kara kings possibly were not allowed to bear the title of Keśarī, and this may explain why we almost miss this epithet in the charters and inscriptions of their family. The correct epithet borne by kings Unmatta and Śubhākara may have been *Simha* and not *Keśarī* and that was their family title. The reason why it was not used after individual members of the Kara dynasty in their inscriptions is that the system or the practice of adding the epithets after the name was either not in vogue, or its use was limited. It may, however, be presumed that the Kara kings belonged to the Kṣatriya caste, the title *Simha* being used in Orissa only by Kṣatriyas and Rajputs.

Now let us consider the territory over which these Kara kings held sway. The village Kontaspara granted in the charter of Tribhuvana Mahādevī was in *viṣaya Olāsrāma* in Tosala. In the Puri district we now find a big village called *Olāsing* on the Chilka side, but in the Cuttack district, both an important village as well as a pargana of the name of i.e. *Olāmsā* may now be found. A village directory of that pargana would reveal whether there is in it any village bearing any name similar to *Kontaspara*. In all probability it can still be traced.

In the Neulpur charter of Śubhakaradeva are mentioned two *viṣayas*, viz. Pāñchāl and Vuvyudaya in the northern Tosālā. Now there is a pargana Panchmal by name in the district of Balasore and another pargana Pānchgarh in the northern side of the Khurda subdivision of the Puri district. It may be surmised that the *viṣaya* Pāñchālā of the Neulpur charter is identical with one of these two parganas, particularly the latter. The *viṣaya* Vuvyudaya cannot be identified at present and presumably it was in one of the feudatory states adjoining the Puri district or in the Killah Baṅki.

In the Banpur plate of Daṇḍi Mahādevī we get a *viṣaya* named Khidingahāra in the southern Tosālā. This "Khidingahāra" is in all probability the Killah "Rodanga" in the southern side of the Puri district, "*Khi*" of eighth—ninth

century being similar in appearance to "Ro" of the fifteenth century it is possible that "Khidīṅga" has in course of time become "Rodanga" and "har" after "Khidīṅga" omitted. It is also possible that Khidingahāra is the present Khimdi in Ganjam.

In the Chaurasi charter of Śivakaradeva we find the village granted is Vuvradā in Antarudra viṣaya in the southern Tosālā. This Antarudra viṣaya is the present Antarodha pargana in the Sadr subdivision of the Puri district. The village Chaurasi in which the charter was found is in this Antarodha pargana. It forms part of the northern boundary after which the Cuttack district begins. The village Vuvradā cannot be traced but in all probability it is the present village Vānvaradā which is nearly three miles distant from Chaurasi and is in the same pargana of Antarodha. The Brahmans of the present village Vānvaradā are of the *Kūṭyāyana gotra* to which the donee in this case belonged. There is of course another village called Varadā in the Cuttack district, some fifteen miles north of Chaurasi, but it is doubtful whether Antarodha pargana was once so extensive as to cover that village.

In the Chaurasi plate the name of the camp of victory from which the charter was issued is *Guha* (or *Śubha*) *devī pātikā*. There is at present no such place in the locality bearing that exact name, but less than one mile to the east of Chaurasi is a village called "*Devī pātanā*." It is situated on the delta of the Prācī river and commands a strategic position both from the military and commercial point of view.

It has been surmised at the beginning of this note that there was once a town in the place where the village Chaurasi and the adjoining villages now stand. In this area there are lots of antiquities including a mound of bricks known as *Navara* and a high courtyard called *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*. The Kara kings contributed a great deal towards the improvement and importance of this town. It is these kings who had a permanent residential camp here and built the *Navara*, meaning the palace, and the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*, i.e. the audience

hall for their use. With their decline the fortunes of the town began to wane and the final desertion took place soon after the final conquest of Orissa by the Muhammadans.

Now after considering the above location of several *viṣayas* as suggested in the few charters of the Kara family that have yet been discovered, we can form a rough idea about the ancient kingdom of Tosalā in which these kings held sway. The kingdom of Koṅgaḍa or Koṅgaḍamaṇḍala comprised the area now covered by Khallikot and Ghumsar, etc. of the Ganjam district, Banpur of the Puri district and the feudatory states of Nayagarh, Ranpur, etc. This Koṅgaḍamaṇḍala was a part of Tosalā which also appears to comprise the present Khurda subdivision, the lower portion of the sadar subdivision of the Puri district and a portion of the Cuttack district including at least Banki in the north and Olāmsha pargana.

Tosalā appears to have had two subdivisions called the Northern and Southern Tosalā and in each subdivision there were some feudatory chiefs and lots of other officials of state. Each subdivision was also divided into several *maṇḍalas* and each *maṇḍala* into several *viṣayas*. Each *viṣaya* had its own *viṣayapati* and other officials.

The kingdom of Tosalā which was under the Karas was also known by the name of Uḍa or Oḍra.

Now the question arises what was the relation of the Kara kings with the kings of the Keśari dynasty who were undoubtedly rulers of Utkala comprising all the three Kaliṅgas. From the Temple records it appears that the kingdom of the Keśaris extended from the river Kānsabānsa in the north to the river Rusikulya in the south and from the Bay of Bengal to the feudatory states of Talcher, Angul and Baud, etc. The area of this kingdom was 15,000 square miles yielding an annual income of 15 lakh *maṛh* gold. The kingdom of the Karas appears to have been included within this area.

On the other hand we see the Kara kings bearing the titles of "*Mahārājādhirāja*", "*Parmesvara*", etc., which are imperial titles. The *prasastis* in their charters would invariably

give the impression that they were constantly engaged in warfare with their enemies and sometimes with success.

That the major portion of the Puri district was under the Keśari kings there is no doubt. The original temple of Jagannatha at Puri, of the Sun-god at Konarka, and the present numerous temples at Bhubaneśvara were built by them. They also built forts at Śisupāl, Sarangagarh, Chaudwar and Bidānāsi, etc. The famous bridge Atharanalā near Puri on the Jagannath road was constructed by one of them, viz. Matsya Keśari and there are reminiscences of many other works of that dynasty in the Puri district. In view of all these living monuments it cannot be said that the Puri district was, under the Kara kings, independent of them.

A question however arises why they built so many forts, viz. Sarangagarh, Pattia, Sisupal, Chaudwar, Cuttack, Bidānāsi, etc. all on this side. It is probable they met with troubles and dangers on this side and that led to their selection of sites. Then again from whom were troubles apprehended? In all probability it was the Kara kings that gave them trouble.

Taking every thing into consideration it would not be unreasonable to say—

(1) That the kingdom of the Kēras was overrun and conquered from them by the more powerful kings of the Keśari dynasty, especially by Janmejaya and his son Yayāti, and annexed to the Keśari kingdom. The Kara kings themselves were for a time reduced to a status of nominal subjection. But this state of affairs did not last long and after Lalātendu Keśari they again reasserted their independence and succeeded in recovering a part of their lost kingdom. This portion was the scene of many bloody strifes and very often changed hands.

(2) That the line of the Kara kings continued up the eleventh century A.C. and assumed imperial titles up to the last. They were finally overthrown and destroyed by the kings of the Gāṅga dynasty.

(3) That there were some kings in this family whose renown extended beyond the limits of their kingdom.

The kings *Sivan kara Kara* and *Śubhākara* mentioned in the Chaurasi plate appear to be identical with *Śivakara* and *Śubhākara* of the Neulpur grant. *Śivakara* the donor of the former charter is the son of this *Śubhākara*. These three kings preceded (?) king *Lolabhāra* mentioned in the Banpur grant of *Daṇḍi Mahadevi*. Mr. Panday's attempt to reduce the three kings of Neulpur grant into two brother kings, viz. *Śānti Kara* and *Śuvakara* mentioned in the genealogy as given in the Banpur charter is not correct as is now proved by the Chaurasis charter.

Text

SEAL—(Illegible)

Obverse

Line 1. Om siddhiḥ svastya nasta¹ mita² samasta sāmanta mahā mahinma samaṅgajarā.

Line 2. jagarjita saṅgitakam³ muraja dhvaniḥ⁴. Guhadevi⁵ pāṭikār vāsinah. Vijaya.

Line 3. Skandhābhārāt. ⁶Bhaumyasya mahati khyātiḥ guṇamāloktale kule.

Line 4. ābhūdabhūtā pūrvvosmin. Śrī Śivan⁸ karah karah. Tasyaputrasya tātpā.

Line 5. dānudhyāt. Śrīmānidhipatiḥ. kulasambandha yāyā mahādevyāḥ Śrī Ja.

Line 6. yāvali devyā samutpannah. Paramabhaṭṭārako mahārājādhirāja para.

¹ There appears to be a sign below "sta."

² This may be read as *tam*.

³ Another letter appears to have been joined with 'ka' in order to form a compound. Presumably this is a ' *ṅkam* '.

⁴ The sign of vowel *e* is peculiar here. It may also be read as *naik*.

⁵ The letters here have become indistinct. The word might also be read as *Śubha*.

⁶ There appears an indistinct sign of *ṭ* below " Sya. "

⁷ This looks more like *mra* or *mu*.

⁸ There appears to be a sign before *ka*, but it has been effaced by rust.

Line 7. meśvaraḥ. Śrī Śubhā karadevaḥ. [Kvo¹ śi mva da kṣi] ṇe rāva dhāra dadhaḥ. Kvā.

Line 8. dhanendrā mahendrā bhu simnā nimna [gā² × duvā] samala jalā Jahnabī śiddha.

Line 9. madrā ramyāya pāpa hantā purthu sa³ di śe mahānutkalendrasya yaśa.

Line 10. Tasya putrasya tat pādānudhyāt. Śrī mahānnidhi patiḥ kula sambhandha yāyā.

Line 11. mahādevyā Śrīr Mmādhavadevyā samutpannaḥ. Parama bhāṭṭārako mahārājādhi.

Line 12. rāja parameśvaraḥ. Śrī Śivakara deva kuśali dakṣiṇa tośalyā vartta.

Line 13. māna bhaviṣyan mahāsāmanta maharajaṃ rājapurtā nta ṇaṅga kumāra a.

Line 14. mātyo parikara viṣaya pati tadā yuktako, daṇḍa pāsika sthānāntārītā napi rā.

Line 15. ja pādopajīvina śchāta bhāṭa vallaba jātiyānya Antarudra viṣaya ma.

Reverse

Line 1. hā mahattara vṛhat bhogī pusta(ka)pāla koṭapāla sādhyā dhikaraṇaṃ yathāham.

Line 2. smarati vodhayati samjñāpayati sa × viditā mastu bhavatā etād viṣaya.

Line 3. samvandha Vuvradā grāma soparikaraḥ sod.śaḥ satantra vāye gokuta.

Line 4. śauṇḍikādi prakṛtakaḥ sthānādi gulmakah sa(rva) pīdā vivarjito lekha.

Line 5. ma praveśataḥ yābhūmī śchhidra-mapi dhāna na chandrārkkā kṣiti samakāle.

Line 6. mātā pitrorātmana sarva satvānāṇcha pūnya vṛdhdeḥ Kātyāyanasa.

¹ The letters here have become indistinct and illegible.

² The words within [] have become indistinct.

³ This may also be read as ya.

Line 7. gotrāya, vaiśvānara mitrā kātha khilla pravaraḥ
R̥gve da charaṇa jā.

Line 8. llubhaṭṭāya evamaśmābhī stāmbra śāsanikṛtya
yannīti dharmm(e)ṇa.

Line 9. karatvenavyāha śāśyadāta ddharmma gauravat
bhavabhiḥ paripāla.

Line 10. nīyāt sambat 13 kārtika sudi dvādaśī. Uktāñcha
dharma śāstreṇa.

Line 11. vahubhi rivasudhā ndattā rājānai Sagarādibhiḥ.
Yasya yasya yadā.

Line 12. bhūmī tasya tasya tadā phalam svadatta paradattā-
mbā yohared va.

Line 13. sundharāḥ sa viṣṭhāyām līmirbhuktvā pitṛbbhiḥ
saha pachyati. Śrī.

Line 14. chiraja vāstāvya tastākāra, Hari Bardbhdhanainam
likhita miti.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

1.—The date of the Mricchakatika

By Rai Bahadur Hira Lal

In the fourteenth volume of the *Journal of the Department of Letters* in the Calcutta University for the year 1927, there is an article on the date of the Mricchakatika from astrological data by Pandit Jyōtiś Chandra Ghatak, M.A. Marshalling his evidence he comes to a conclusion which may be put in his own words as follows :—

“ Thus, it would be quite evident that Mars is the bitterest adversary of Jupiter and that the author of Mricchakatika very significantly institutes the simile अङ्गारकविरुद्धस्य प्रचीणस्य बृहस्पतेः etc., and we feel a real pleasure in having found out the fertile chronological clue contained in that passage.”

In the course of his discourse, Mr. Ghatak speaks of certain parallel passages and remarks that “ either a very recent erudite astrologer culled such important passages from various sources and passed them on with the stamp of Pārāśara upon them or that such passages actually existed in the original Pārāśara treatise, but that the Pārāśara Śāstra being long out of use, such plagiarism on the part of Jīva-Śarman and Śrūta-Kīrti could not have been detected. I have collected abundant examples in its favour, all of which would illustrate a parallel fact. Let me point out at least one such case here. The verses अधमसमवरि-ष्ठान्यर्क केन्द्रादि संख्ये and many others have been purloined verbatim by Śrinibāsa in his Śuddhi Dipaka without any mention there of Varāha's name. This has been possible because the chronological gap between Varāha and Śrinibāsa has been so immensely great, viz., nearly a thousand years.”

In his preface, page viii, to the Mricchakatika edited in 1902 by Pandit Hirānanda Śāstri, M.A., M.O.L. (now Government Epigraphist for India) the following occurs (see Nirṇaya Sāgara

edition) :—"That this drama was posterior to the Mānavadharmasāstra is clear from the fact that the latter¹ is quoted in the body of the book (IX Act, st. 39). Its priority to Varāhamihira may be inferred from the fact that Angāraka (the planet Mars) is described, in the drama (IX Act, 33) as an enemy of Brīhaspati (Jupiter). This is contrary to the opinions of modern astrologers headed by Varāhamihira² but in strict conformity with the views of the writers who must be the predecessors of Varāhamihira since he refers to them and in his age their views were deemed as antiquated."

Does this not bring home to the reader that the discovery of the enmity of Mars with Jupiter and the priority of the Mricchakatika to Varāhamihira were made at least 25 years ago, and that the present claim of "Eureka" *without any mention of Hirananda's name has been possible, because the chronological gap between Hirananda and Ghataka has been so immensely great, viz., nearly twenty-five years?* Are we not then at liberty to equate the modern 25 years with the rickety "thousand years" of old?

It may be noted that Pandit Hirananda Śāstri's edition of the Mricchakatika is not unknown at least to M.A. students in some Universities and has been used in important works like Woolner's *Introduction to Prakrit*.

¹ Mann VIII, 381.

² See जीवेन्दूषाकरा : कुजस्य सुहृदः Brihajjātaka II. 16 ;

also, सूरै रसौम्य सितावरी रविसुतोमध्योऽपरे त्वन्यथा *ibid.* II, 17.

³ जोवो जोवबुधौ सितेन्दु तनयौ व्यर्वा : विभौमाः क्रमात् ।

बीन्दर्का : विकुजेन्दवश्च सुहृदः केषांचिदेवं मतं ॥ *ibid.* II, 15.

II.—Appendix to the Tarikh-i-Mubarak-shahi published in J.B.O.R.S., September—December 1927.

After line 23, page 259 ending with the words " upon Hasan and Husain " read the following :

The second page of the MSS. begins thus—

...(May Allah) [confer dignity

upon him (Abu Bakr), who was the second among the two who took shelter in the cave ;

upon him, who was the crown among the just and the selected, whose action is a proof positive of (the existence of) God, who was befriended by Allah, the Bestower of gifts—Amiru-l Muminin Amr binu-l Khatáb—May Allah be pleased with him ! whom He has honoured by saying, " He is severe upon the infidels ;"

upon him, who was the greatest martyr in the cause of Allah, the chief among the saints, who put into shape the Quoran—Amiru-l Muminin, Osman, the son of, Aafán, May Allah be pleased with him ! with regard to whom he has said " The most compassionate among them (followers of the Prophet) ;

upon him, who was the last of the (four) Caliphs, the helper of the weak, the victorious lion of Allah—Amiru-l Muminin, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, May Allah be pleased with him and May He honour him ! in regard to whom He has said " Thou seest in him one bowing and performing *Sijdah* and praying for the grace and glory of Allah ;"

upon them, who were the two pieces of the Prophet's body, the apple of the eye of Zuhra Batul (daughter of the Prophet)—Amiru-l Muminin Al Hasan and Al Husain—May Allah be pleased with them and may they remain contented with the decree of Allah, and May He (also) be pleased with all the companions of the Prophet, with those who came after them

(companions of the Prophet), with the *Imáms*, who were shown the proper path and were satisfied with the decree of Allah—those who pronounced judgment with honesty and administered justice with equity, every one of whom (companions and *Imáms*) was the leader of the Religion and believer in the Religion, according to the saying of the Prophet “My companions are like stars, whomsoever you follow, you take the proper path.”

III.—Date of Vardhamana

By K. P. Jayaswal

In the chronology of the literary history of Mithilā, dates are still approximately fixed. Any information bringing in precision is welcome. Such datum we have now regarding the jurist Vardhamāna whose nine works on Smṛiti have been noticed in our Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithilā, Vol I. We knew approximately the date of Vardhamāna, to be the latter half of the 15th century (Chakravarti, J.A.S.B., XI, p. 403). We have now discovered an exact date.

The dated manuscripts of his works go back to 1596 A.D. In his *Dandaviveka* (Cat., p. 197) he mentions the name of his king (Bhairava), and the names of his two teachers: Śāṅkara and Vāchaspati. The last is the famous lawyer of Mithilā.¹

Now we find from a manuscript noticed by our search Pandit, Vishnulal Sastri, which is dated in the Lakshmaṇa Sena era, year 372 (1491 A.D.)², that Vardhamāna was alive in 1491 A.D. The manuscript (the Ubbāṭa-bhāṣhya commentary on the White Yajurveda) is at present in the library of Mahāmahopādhyāya Rājinātha Miśra, village Saurāṭh, district Darbhanga. The manuscript was copied by the scribe Goṇḍe Miśra, for Mahāmahopādhyāya Justice Vardhamāna, (dharm-adhikaraṇika) in the L. S. 372.

“लसं ३७२ भाषाढवदि द्वादशे चन्द्रे रत्नपुरनगरे धर्म्मधिकराणक
महामहोपाध्याय श्रीवर्धमानमहाशयानामाज्ञया लिखितमिदं
सत्वरपाणिना श्रीगोण्डिशर्म्मेति ”

¹Śāṅkara is to be distinguished from the author of that name who composed a digest for Rājā Tōḍara under Akbar (Cat., p. 525).

²Cf. on the equation of L. S. with the Śaka era, the date in our *Dandaviveka* Ms. B., Cat. M. M., p. 198, Ś. 1541 = L.S. 499. This and many early dates in L. S. in Mss. support Kielhorn's calculation 1119 A.D. for the initial year of L. S. But latter L. S. datings do not tally with that. Some confusion seems to have arisen in subsequent centuries. The above Ms. is one of the latest giving the right equation in another era.

REVIEWS AND NOTES OF BOOKS

I.—A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS.—By P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., 1923. (*Reprinted from the Introduction to his edition of the Sāhityadarpaṇa.*)

This is an admirable work on the Alankāra literature and supplies a longfelt want. About ten years ago I suggested to some of my post-graduate students of the Benares Hindu University that a work of this kind might profitably be undertaken by them. Pt. Batukanātha Sāhityopādhyāya, M.A., actually did some preliminary work in this connection. But meanwhile the book under review and Dr. S. K. De's Sanskrit Poetics were out and there was no need of another work on the same subject. Mr. Kane's book is full of apt quotations from the authors he deals with. This is a feature of great interest and value and for this reason my M.A. students at Patna prefer this book to S. K. De's work. Writers on the history of Sanskrit literature would do well to follow the plan of Mr. Kane. Mere statements without citations in the original to support them are dry and almost useless, or at best, help only those junior University examinees or other candidates who are traditionally fond of cramming. Small epitomes of this sort on the other branches of Sanskrit literature, say on **कोश, धर्मशास्त्र, दर्शन, तन्त्र** etc., would be more welcome to the intelligent students than the current histories with very poor sketches of the various sections of the grand old literature.

The writer has dealt with every important author from **भरत** and **भामह** to **विश्वेश्वर** etc., at some length and appends a list of almost all the writers on the Alankāra literature known by the time his book was completed. It is to be regretted that some very important facts about **दण्डिन्** could not be given in this book. In the verse **अरत्ना-लोकसं-हार्यमवायं सूर्य-रश्मिभिः । दृष्टिरोपकरं यूनां यौवनप्रभवं तमः ॥ दण्डिन्**

paraphrases a well-known extract from शुक्रनाथ's teachings to चन्द्रापीड in Bana's कादम्बरी. Presumably बाण, the great poet and prose-writer, could not commit such a flagrant piece of plagiarism as almost literally to paraphrase an original verse of a second-rate author like दण्डिन्. But the काव्यादर्श is a rhetorical work and its author like others of his class could be excused if his examples were borrowed from his predecessors, and actually he borrows from the मृच्छकटिक the verse लिम्पत्येव तमोङ्गानि etc. He also paraphrases Kālidasa's मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्मीं तनोति in his लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्मीं तनोतीति This consideration alone would lead one to think that दण्डिन् is later than बाण and to discard the crude statements of early scholars that he is the author of the मृच्छकटिक or earlier than बाण. This is not noticed by Mr. Kane. To-day it has become more than an inference through the discovery of the अवन्ति-सुन्दरीकथा of दण्डिन् where he is said to have been the great-grandson of भारवि whose approximate date is about the end of the fifth century. The revival of the controversy whether रुद्र the author of the शृङ्गारतिलक may be identical with रुद्र the author of the रुद्रदालङ्कार is raising a corpse out of its grave.¹

There are some bad mistakes or misprints in the book, e.g. "वासोत्कम्पितराङ्गणी स्तनतटे" is a verse quoted from Kuntaka's वक्रोक्तिजीवित. It should be श्वासोत्कम्पितरङ्गिणि स्तनतटे It is correctly printed in the वक्रो० Similarly प्रथमोहि विद्रां-सोवैयाकरणा : should have been प्रथमे हि, etc.² R. S.

¹ Some useful works like the साहित्यरत्नाकर of धर्मसूरि and the अलङ्कारकौस्तुभ of कर्णपूर ought to have been described at some length by the author instead of merely mentioning them by name for they have been available to the public.

² The नाट्यलक्ष्य of रामचन्द्र and शृङ्गारप्रकाश of भोज are now better known. The former is noticed and reviewed by S. Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique* and the later has been partly published. In the next edition of Mr. Kane's book they will be naturally described in detail.

II.—KAUTILYA : A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF AN
EXPOSITION OF HIS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE.—*By*
Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya. M.A. 8½ × 5, pp. 318 +
x. R. Cambay & Co., Calcutta, 1927.

Almost every year since its first appearance in 1905, Kautilya's Arthasāstra has provoked special studies in India and abroad. The present book is another recent attempt in the same direction. It has utilised the results of its predecessors. As such it is opportune and welcome.

The author divides his book into five sections : I. Introductory ; II. Ideas about Society, State and Kingship ; III. The King, his duties and relation to the State ; IV. The Administration ; V. Retrospect and Criticism. Follows a short bibliography.

The introductory section is an occasion to discuss the authenticity of Kautilya (p. 16). The author, however, postpones its consideration to a continuation of his present study. He accepts the traditional date of the Arthasāstra, viz., the fourth century B.C. (p. iii). In any future discussion, he will find his task effectively simplified by the discoveries at Mahenjo-daro. The opposition points detailed by Jolly and Winternitz have ceased to exist. About writing, *suraṅga* (Gk. Syrinx) alchemy, etc., objected to by Jolly as too early for the 4th century B.C. (*Arthasāstra* of Kautilya, Lahore, 1923, Intro. pp. 1—47) have been actually found in a highly advanced stage before 2700 B.C. (Marshall, *Secrets of Prehistoric Indus Civilisation*, The Times of India Illustrated Weekly, January 15, 22, 29, 1928).

Sections I and II show a serious omission, viz., the exact relation between *Chakravartī-kṣetra* and *Saṅghavṛtta*. The latter is distantly mentioned in a footnote to page 297. A fuller treatment is necessary, specially in view of the fact that some new recruits (Nāg. *Les Théories Diplomatiques De L'Inde Ancienne*, p. 115) have zealously reproduced Jolly's old view (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1916-7) that Kautilya's large empire is not possible along with his *maṇḍala* or *prakṛti* theory

of neighbours, recording the existence of republics and a policy towards them. Jolly's own country worked out the principle with success. In his penetrating analysis *Bundesstat und Einheitstat* (Federalism and Centralisation) Treitschke discussed the three possibilities: the Staatenbund, the Confederation, he dismissed as unworthy of serious consideration; the Bundesstat, Federal State had its advantages but he was sceptical about the success of the American plan working in Germany; he wanted the Einheitstaat, the Unitary State, within which the governments of all the smaller States were abolished. As a matter of fact the German Empire born in 1871 turned out to be a Bundesstat—consisting of over twenty individual states—although owing to the overwhelming preponderance of Prussia, it is practically an Einheitstaat. In India, as late as Aśoka, Chandragupta's Einheitstaat (Chakravarti-kṣetra) under the unquestioned hegemony of Magadha, left intact the semi-independent States of the South, e.g., Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputa (*cf.* Aśoka Inscr.), similar to the special position of the three greater South German States, Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria. To Jolly's contention about Megasthenes's description, the simple reply is *non omnia possumus omnes*.

The author has rightly touched upon Kauṭilya's pregnant ideal of a "national king" (p. 298). Historians often indulge in a strain of haunting regret at the disappearance of the old Licchhavis and the other age-old principalities (*āmnāya-praviṣṭāḥ*) on the advent of the Kauṭilyan polity. To them is commended the story of Knyphausen in the second volume of Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte im XIX Jahrhundert*. Besides a few larger State-Communities, 285 small principalities, absurdly self-conceited, were all warring and quarrelling with one another. Napoleon made a clean sweep of a very great number of them. But there were still too many. There they were, these powerful potentates and communities like a Knyphausen, swaying vast realms quite equal in size to the municipality of Patna (Mālavas and Yaudheyas were exceptions), with mighty armies of a few dozen picturesque clowns (*cf.* the fate of their confrères in

India before Alexander). And woe if anyone dared to curtail their sovereignty ! Against the threat of these parochial and provincial particularists to disintegrate India completely, Kautilya raised his ideal of national patriotism. He saw the pitiable political weakness of such a collection of samples and condemned the small states because of their weakness.

The author's narrative of the details in the various departments of administration is lucid and fairly exhaustive. It is to be hoped that in his promised continuation, he will set off the background of political philosophy that prompted these details. The whole school of Kautilyan voluntarism is a protest against enfeebling Upaniṣadic introspection, against "stargazing" (Arthaśāstra, p. 19). The Indian counterparts of a Grotius, a Hobbes, a Puffendorf, a Bentham, a Mill, notwithstanding, —Kautilya realised, twenty-three centuries before Fichte, that the State is a purpose in itself ; and he proceeded to translate it into action—" *Sic volo sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.* "

A, B-Ś.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held at the Society's Office,
High Court Chambers, on the 13th
April 1928.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, Vice-President (in the chair.)

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhury.

Mr. H. Lambert.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. L. Van Hoeck.

Pandit Ramavatara Sarma.

Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh.

Dr. A. Banerjee Shastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 11th March 1928.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Sir Syed Sultan Ahmad, Kt., Barrister-at-law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

Khan Bahadur Syed Mohammad Ismail, Patna City.

Babu Haradeva Prasad Sukla, Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Association, Patna.

Pandit Janardan Misra, Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Association, Patna.

Mr. R. Venkatraman Raju, Secretary, Andhra Kshatriya Historical Research Society, Malikipuram.

Babu Srinarayan Jinjal, B.A., Patna College, Patna.

Babu Bishwanath Sahay, B.A., Patna College, Patna.

Babu Shyamanandan Sahay, B.A., Muzaffarpur.

3. Considered the amendment of rule 23 of the Society's rules.

Resolved that the rule be amended by substituting, for the last sentence, the following : " He shall observe the Account Rules contained in Appendix 2 of the Society's Rules."

Resolved further that the Draft Account Rules, as amended be adopted.

4. Read a note submitted by the Honorary Treasurer, with reference to certain statements made in the last Audit Report and in the letter from the Education Secretary, no. 1816-E., dated the 29th March 1928, communicating the orders of Government on the Report.

Resolved that the Council accept his explanations.

5. The Honorary Treasurer submitted the accounts for the year ending the 31st March 1928.

6. Resolved that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal be appointed to act as Honorary Treasurer for three months, during the absence from Patna of Mr. D. N. Sen.

7. Sanctioned the employment, on a pay of Rs. 60 a month, of Pandit Baldeva Sarma from the 20th March until the 10th April 1928, on which date he took over charge from Pandit Janardan Misra.

8. Sanctioned the expenditure of Rs. 303-13-0 in December last, in connection with the plates of the Hathigumpha inscription published in the September—December issue of the Journal.

9. Resolved that Buchanan's Purnea Report be published in one volume, and that Rs. 7-8-0 be fixed as the price of the volume.

Resolved further that, following the publication of the Purnea Report, the publication of the Bihar and Patna Report be taken in hand.

10. Considered an application for leave, dated the 31st March 1928, from Pandit Nagendranath Mahapatra.

Resolved that in the circumstances no leave can be granted.

11. Sanctioned the travelling expenses, amounting to Rs. 17-2-0, of Pandit Vishnulal Shastri in connection with certain work undertaken at the request of Sir George Grierson.

12. Read a letter, dated the 30th March 1928, from the Honorary Secretary, Bombay Historical Society.

Resolved that the Journal of the Bombay Historical Society be placed on the Society's Exchange list.

13. Resolved that certain manuscripts and books offered to the Society by Babu Tarapada Chowdhuri be purchased for the Society's Library.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary Secretary.

Account Rules of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

1. The annual accounts shall be prepared under the direction of the Honorary Treasurer. For this purpose a classified monthly account showing progressive receipts and expenditures under different heads shall be prepared every month from the details of Cash-book ; and after the close of the financial year the annual account shall be compiled from the monthly account. These monthly accounts shall be reported to the Council at intervals of not more than three months.

2. In the month of July in each year, the Honorary Treasurer shall present a statement of the income and expenditure in the preceding financial year, and shall draw the attention of the Council to such matters in connection therewith as seem deserving of notice. An estimate of the income and expenditure for the next financial year shall be prepared and laid before the Council in the month of July of each year. Such budget estimates shall make provision for fulfilling the liabilities and for effectually carrying out the objects of the Society. The Council shall consider the estimates so submitted to it, and shall sanction the same either unaltered or subject to such alteration as shall be deemed fit.

3. The funds of the Society shall be used only for the purposes indicated in the annual budget, as adopted by the Council. No payment in excess of the sanctioned budget estimates shall be made without the sanction of the Council.

4. For the receipt of all payments to the Society, the Honorary Treasurer shall cause to be maintained a printed receipt-form book with counterfoil.

5. All amounts so realized shall be paid into the Society's current account (in the name of the Honorary Treasurer) with the Imperial Bank of India, Patna branch.

6. The Honorary Treasurer shall cause to be maintained a Cash-book in a form approved by the Council, in which shall

be entered, as soon as the transactions occur, all receipts and payments with necessary details. The Cash-book shall be closed every month and a memorandum recorded reconciling the balance with that shown in the Bank Pass-book. The Honorary Treasurer shall cause the latter to be made up at the end of every month ; and he shall examine it to see that all the transactions have been duly entered therein. The payment vouchers and sub-vouchers, paid out of the imprest, shall be carefully preserved for production at the time of audit.

7. After payment, every voucher and sub-voucher shall be stamped with the word ' paid ' and ' cancelled ' respectively.

8. All bills presented for payment shall be checked by the accountant, and passed for payment by the Honorary Secretary (or in the absence, the Honorary Joint-Secretary) within the limits of the sanctioned budget estimates for the year. No payment in excess of these estimates, and no payment whatever of any extraordinary character, shall be made without the sanction of the Council.

9. The permanent advance in the hands of the Honorary Treasurer shall not exceed Rs. 100. This imprest shall be recouped from time to time by the presentation of a bill supported by payee's receipts.

10. All claims shall be discharged either by payment from the imprest held by the Honorary Treasurer or by cheques drawn upon the Society's banking accounts in favour of the actual payees.

11. With the concurrence of the Vice-President, the Honorary Treasurer is empowered from time to time to place any available balance in the Society's funds on deposit receipt in a local Bank crediting the interest so accruing under the appropriate head.

12. There shall be paid to the Search Pandits employed by the Society, such travelling and halting allowances as may, from time to time, be sanctioned by the Council.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

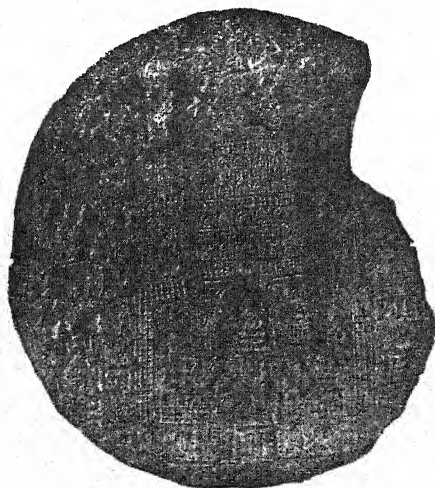
Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
ऌ	l	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l
च	ch	◌ (Anuvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	◌ (Anunāsika)	m̐̄
ज	j	◌ (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	×	(Jihvāmūlīya) ḥ
ञ	ñ) ((Upadhmanīya) ḥ	
ट	ṭ	ऽ (Aṅgraka)	,
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	ˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	ˆ
ण	ṇ		

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PART III.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

September



1928.

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa

Price

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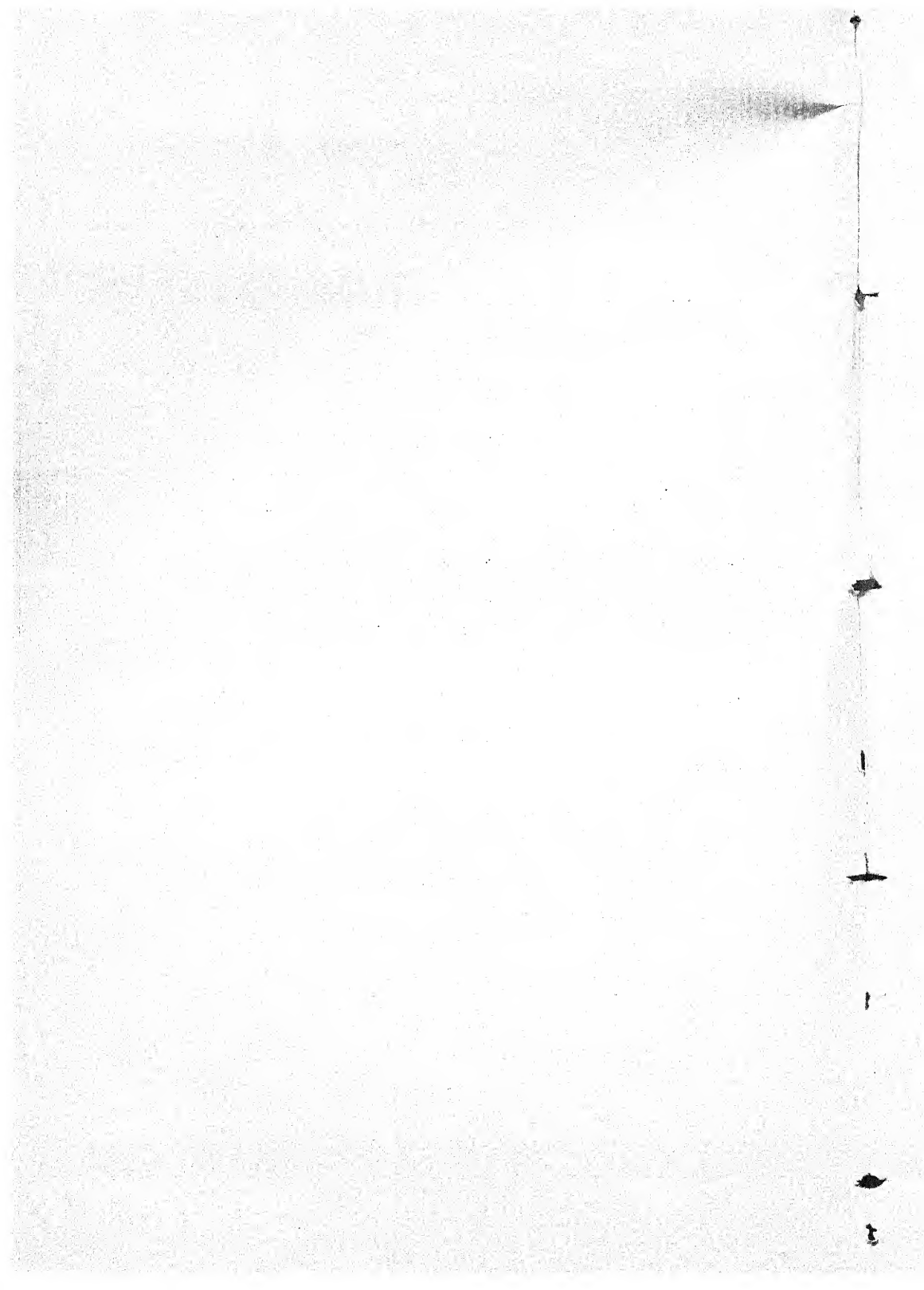
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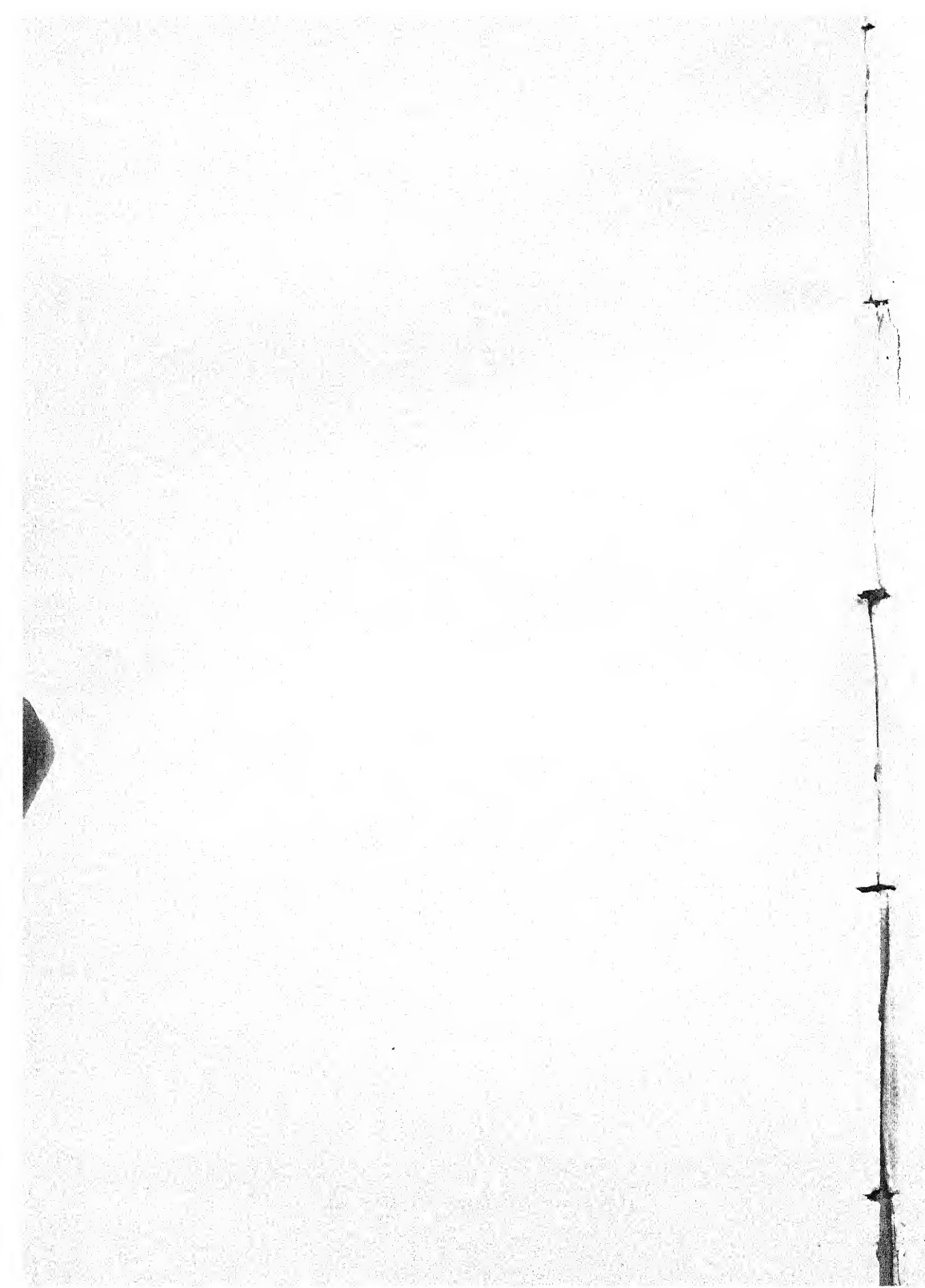
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[PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—The Maha-Puranas

By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society was started by its first governor, Sir Edward Gait, and he asked me to assist him in its organisation ; and I used to come all the way from Calcutta for the purpose, twice or thrice in the year. I assisted him in starting the operation of search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Orissa and Mithila. Since Sir Edward's retirement I thought that the Research Society had forgotten me ; but the other day I was agreeably surprised to find that the Society published a magnificent volume on the Smṛti manuscripts in Mithila, and that the volume was dedicated to me by the distinguished author. I was very happy to think that I was not altogether forgotten. Shortly after that came an invitation from the Secretary to address the annual general meeting, and with a delicate courtesy, the choice of subject was left to me ; and I chose the subject of Mahā-purāṇas to which my attention has been directed for some years.

The Purāṇa literature is very extensive. The 18 Mahā-purāṇas are said to contain 400,000 verses. Over and above these, there are 18 Upa-purāṇas, and 18 more Purāṇas unsuccessfully claiming position among the 36 Mahā and Upa-purāṇas. Besides these 54, there is a miscellaneous lot of Purāṇas bringing up the number nearly to a hundred. It, on an average 20,000 verses are given to each of these 100 works, the number of ślokas or verses would be 2,000,000. On an average 4,000 verses per volume, they would fill 500 volumes, a respectable library in itself. To speak of this enormous literature, with any authority, requires at least a life's study; but nobody has as yet given his life to it.

Yet, there are many stout hearts who have made bold endeavours to master this literature. Their success was partial, and will be so for many generations more. Horace Hayman Wilson was the first oriental scholar to take up the study of the Purāṇas. He trained four Bengali youths to the work of reading manuscripts of the Purāṇas and of rendering them to English. These four men afterwards became great men in different spheres of life, and the training received from Wilson stood them in good stead. With their assistance, Wilson translated many of the Purāṇas, made indices on them and bound them in foolscap volumes. These now adorn the shelves of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, and speak eloquently of the interest, Wilson took for the Puranic literature of the Hindus. Among these he published the translation of one Purāṇa only, viz. the Viṣṇu-purāṇa with copious notes and a learned preface dealing with the 18 Mahā-purāṇas. But, his materials were meagre, and that, in badly written manuscripts. For a learned Brahmin, unless he was a Paurāṇika himself, never copied the manuscripts with his own hands, but had it done by Kāyasthas whose knowledge of Sanskrit was not of the first water.

The first Purāṇa, edited under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, was the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, and he had to contend with difficulties in regard to manuscripts.

When the late Mr. Pargiter joined the Civil Service in the early eighties, he determined to do something for the Purāṇas and the only respectable edition of one, he found was the Mārkaṇḍeya by Rev. K. M. Banerjea; and in order to emulate the fame of Wilson he began to translate it and finished the translation only a few years before his retirement. He, however, kept up the study of the Purāṇas all through his life in India and all through his life at Oxford. At Oxford it struck him that instead of editing and translating the Purāṇas, it would be more useful to translate, and specially, to edit passages or chapters from the Purāṇas on a particular subject, and he chose the Purāṇa texts on the dynasties of the Kali Age. The same subject was simultaneously studied by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal while at Calcutta. These studies had marvellous effect. In the eighties my European friends advised me not to touch the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas for the purpose of getting Indian history from them. They worked hard with coins, inscriptions, notices of foreign travellers, archæology, sculpture, architecture for extracting chronology and history from them. In fact they studied everything but the Purāṇas. But lo! Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Jayaswal now produce a chronology from the Purāṇas themselves which agreed in the outline prepared with so much toils of nearly 150 years by the Orientalists.

The last work of Mr. Pargiter is on the reliability of Indian traditions, i.e., on the Purāṇas generally. He says that there is nothing in the Purāṇas to show that the Kṣatriyas came from the west. His idea is that they all came from the mid-Himalayas. But this is not the place for going into detail of what Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Jayaswal say. All that the present

Pargiter on Indian traditions.

address is concerned with is that they rescued the Purāṇas from the disrepute in which they were placed and heightened the respect for them.

As a consequence, the study of the Purāṇas has commenced in Europe, and the idea of editing

Willibald Kirfel. passages on particular subjects has taken root. In 1927, Willibald Kirfel has

come out with a stout volume, "Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa." He has collected together from various Purāṇas all the passages on the five characteristics of the Purāṇa, viz., creation, details of creation, ages of Manu, dynasties, and biographies of kings. This is a great service, for in it we can at a glance see what the original idea of creation, et cetera, were and how they developed in different ages. It has also served another great purpose. People were all along under the impression that the Purāṇas were concerned with these five subjects with others intruding upon and interpolated into these five subjects. Kirfel shows what an insignificant part these five play in the Purāṇas. They form about 10,000 verses, out of total of 400,000, thus being the one-fortieth part of it. So there are other characteristics of the Purāṇas, which form the bulk of them.

It would be a serious omission, in this connexion, not to

**Rai Sahib Nagen-
dranath Vasu.**

mention the name of Rai Sahib Nagen-dra-nātha Vasu who has taken great interest in the Purāṇas. His article on the Purāṇa in his well-known Bengali Encyclopedia Viśva-koṣa occupies pages 526-719 in vol. XI. He has treated of each Purāṇa, each Upa-purāṇa and each other Purāṇa as far as was possible for him 30 years ago. The contents of each Purāṇa have been noted and he has some remarks to make for each of them. On page 560, he has given the names of 18 Mahā-Purāṇas in a tabular form, the order in which these names have been mentioned in each of the Purāṇas, and their extent in ślokas, wherever found. This tabular statement could be useful to anyone studying the Purāṇas. The description of individual

Purāṇas is preceded by a dissertation on Purāṇa literature in general. The Rai Sahib thinks that the principal Purāṇas were compiled a short time after the Vedic age; but the literature continued to grow up to a very late time. The Purāṇas have undergone various changes in the hands of various sects. The Rai Sahib has included an examination of the Jaina Purāṇas which are only imitations of the Hindu Purāṇas. Some of the Jaina imitations are dated, from which he has attempted to prove the antiquity of the Hindu originals.

Up to very recent times, the Purāṇa scholars had to contend with one great difficulty. They had to

**Publication of the
Puranas.**

study their subjects mostly through manuscripts; and manuscripts are difficult to procure even for collation. But the way

shown by the Rev. K. M. Banerjee and by the piety of the Hindu public who used to print the Purāṇas and distribute them to pious Brahmins, led to excellent results. Mandalik from Bombay published the Padma-purāṇa in four volumes. The Ānandāśrama published the Matsya, Brahma and other Purāṇas. The popularity of these works led the Veṅkaṭeśwar Press, Bombay and the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, to publish the entire bulk of the 18 Mahā-purāṇas. People often complain that these editions are worthless. They are more full of errors than even the worst manuscripts. But I think they are useful. In the eighties of the last century, my late lamented friend Dr. Hoernle used to say of these editions that they serve a good purpose by multiplying bad manuscripts. The very multiplication is useful. One can with a few rupees procure any Puranic work and work upon it, instead of waiting till a manuscript is searched for and procured, say, in the course of a year or two. The public, indeed, should be thankful to these two printers for circulating printed editions of all the Purāṇas, the Vaṅgavāsī for Rs. 67 and the Veṅkaṭeśwar for Rs. 200 only. They serve another purpose. They represent the different provincial recensions and that means collations of different classes of manuscripts. They have made researches

on the Purāṇas practicable. By a cursory view of the two sets, one can at once come to know that the Muhammadan custom offering "Sirṇi" to Satyapir adopted by the Hindur of Bengal as the worship of Satya-Nārāyaṇa, is to be found in the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅgavāsī edition, but not in the Venkaṭeśwar edition, that some khaṇḍas of the Purāṇas are popular in one province and unknown in another and so forth.

With these preliminaries, I now enter into the proper subject
The 18 Maha- of my address. The late lamented
puranas. Mr. Jackson, I.C.S., Bombay, used to say that the Purāṇas were originally one. His arguments were that the word Purāṇa is used in singular in some of the Kalpa-sūtras, that the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas are couched in the same language in every one of them (that shows that they were taken from the same source), that like the Saxon chronicles which changed its character in different monasteries, the Purāṇa changed its character in different places, different families and in the midst of different sects of different religions. Many of the Purāṇas also declare that "Purāṇam ekam eva āsit." The Viṣṇu-purāṇa says that the Purāṇa was one. It was taught by Vyāsa to Loma-harṣaṇa who imparted it to six of his students, three of whom wrote three Samhitās. So here we get an account of four Purāṇas. The Vāyu-purāṇa is lost to all intents and purposes. But the first portion of the second Khaṇḍa of the genuine Vāyu is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. From that it is apparent that the Purāṇas at one time were ten, but at the time of writing that book it had grown to 18. In the Garuḍa-purāṇa we hear that Garuḍa obtained a boon that he should be known as a "Purāṇa-samhitā-kartā," and so the Garuḍa-purāṇa is independent of other Purāṇas. Vasiṣṭha's grandson Parāśara obtained a boon from Pulastya,—the progenitor of the Rākṣasas whom Parāśara determined to extirpate but subsequently desisted owing to Pulastya's intercession,—that he should be celebrated as a "Purāṇa-samhitā-kartā." These show the futility of the theory that all the 18 Purāṇas proceeded from Vyāsa who, after

writing the Mahā-bhārata, compiled the 18 Purāṇas to complete the Encyclopædia of Hindu life. That theory should be given up ; but the presence of Vyāsa, or his disciple Sūta, in at least 16 Purāṇas, should be accounted for.

This is accounted for by the fact that many of the Purāṇas

Revisions.

have undergone several revisions. From the Padma-purāṇa itself, as published by the Ānandāśrama Press, we know that it was at least six times revised. The Brahma, the Bhāgavata and the Brahma-vaiivarta were at least thrice revised. The number of revisions of the other Purāṇas cannot be determined. But the Viṣṇu and the Vāmaṇa were never revised. The Ṛṣis and Sūta have nothing to do in these two Purāṇas ; and it is a curious thing that in the other 16 Purāṇas, Sūta and the Ṛṣis come as the last revisors. So I think that there was a time when a theory gained ground that all the Purāṇas proceeded from Vyāsa, and with that view they revised the 16 Purāṇas. These latest revisors could not put Sūta and the Ṛṣis in the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, because the interlocutors there were Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa and Maitreya, his class-friend. The little historical sense they had, prevented them from committing such an outrage. In the case of the Vāmaṇa, too, Pulastya and Nārada were the interlocutors. They both were the original progenitors of the human race.

The celebrated lexicon Amara-koṣa says that the Purāṇas have five characteristics. Many of the Purāṇas say the same thing. Brī Kīrfel has shown that these constitute only the one-fortieth part of the whole bulk. The other 39 parts, therefore, should not be, according to Amara, considered as Purāṇa proper. Therefore, this theory also should be summarily rejected. The only characteristic of a Purāṇa is that it should be old. Anything old may be the subject of a Purāṇa, and it covers all the aspects of life.

The Bhāgavata attributes ten characteristics to the Purāṇas. But even those ten characteristics do not cover all, the 400,000 ślokas. The Matsya gives a rational theory about the Purāṇas. It says

that the Purāṇas not only have those five characteristics but they also dilate on the sanctity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Arka ; and on the dissolution and the preservation of the world. They also concern themselves with righteous conduct, economics, erotics and their opposites. (Ch. 43, vss. 65-67.) This, I believe, is the most comprehensive statement of the contents of the Purāṇas given in a Purāṇa itself. Even these, I am afraid, do not cover the whole field. My meaning will be apparent as I go on.

I should like to divide the 18 Purāṇas in six groups of the according to their character :—
Puranas.

- (1) Encyclopædia of literature ... Garuḍa, Agni and Nārada.
- (2) Tirtha and Vrata ... Skanda, Padma and Bhaviṣya.
- (3) With two revisions ... Brahma Bhāgavata and apparent. Brahma-vaivarta.
- (4) Historical ... Brahmāṇḍa, Lost Vāyu and Viṣṇu.
- (5) Sectarian ... Liṅga, Vāmana and Markaṇḍeya.
- (6) Old Purāṇa revised ... Varāha Kurma and Matsya.
out of existence

Group I.

The first group of the three Purāṇas is most remarkable as containing the sāra or abstract of all the great works in Science and Art in Sanskrit literature. In making the abstracts, the writers throw away all things that are redundant and not required for giving the abstract. The abstract is put into unequivocal, clear and simplest possible language. For instance, there is a

Gaya-Mahatmya.

Gayā-māhātmya as an appendix to Rājā R. L. Mitra's Vāyu-purāṇa in eight chapters. The Agni makes an abstract of it, in three chapters but leaving nothing important behind. The Garuḍa makes an abstract in 23 verses of a long chapter of the Vāyu complete in 66 verses. The Agni-purāṇa gives the stories of the Fish, the Tortoise, the

Bear, the Man-lion, and the Dwarf incarnations in three chapters in all. The Rāmāyana has been given in seven chapters, devoting a chapter to each Kāṇḍa in the Agni and in the Garuḍa the whole thing has been compressed into one chapter only. The Garuḍa gives the whole of the Hari-vamśa in 11 and The Mahābhārata. the Agni in 55 verses only. The Mahābhārata has been abstracted by the Agni in three chapters, 70 verses in all, and by the Garuḍa in one chapter of 42 verses only. Buddha is an Avatāra in the Agni-purāṇa which devotes half a chapter and 7 verses to him but Garuḍa does not mention him. This shows that the Garuḍa was

written at a time when he was not recognised as an avatāra. The Bhagavad-gītā in 18 chapters is separated from the Mahābhārata and given almost at the end of the Agni in a chapter of 58 verses, while in the Garuḍa it is given away from the Mahābhārata in a chapter of 30 verses.

Mr. Pargiter says that the Garuḍa is of use only for the names of the kings of the three earliest dynasties. According to him Garuḍa gives a string of names and nothing else. Agni does not say anything about the future kings.

Both the Garuḍa and the Agni give abstracts of works on medicine, the Garuḍa in 57 chapters and the Agni in 20 chapters. Garuḍa makes a distinction between Pathology and Medicine but Agni does not think of it. Agni devotes more chapters on snake-bite and poison but strangely enough Garuḍa devotes on this two chapters only. Veterinary art received more attention in the Agni than in the Garuḍa. It would have been very very interesting if a gentleman with ripe scholarship in medicine could have examined these chapters and pronounced an opinion on them.

The tradition of Sanskrit grammar in both Agni and Garuḍa is from Kārtika to Kātyāyana. Pāṇini's name is not mentioned. Pāṇini's school seems to have gone out of currency from the first century B.C. till it was reintroduced by Bhaṭṭhari in the

7th century A.D. Garuḍa gives an abstract of the Kātantra Sūtras, and Agni of the Cāndra Sūtrss. The Kātantra grammar was written for the benefit of a Sātavāhana king in the 1st century A.D. by Śarva-varmā who seems to have received his inspiration from the tail of a peacock on which Kārtika used to ride. Śarva-varmā's work is the briefest imaginable, it is briefer than the Upakramaṇikā of Vidyā-sāgara. It has no chapter on Kṛts or verbal derivations. That chapter was added by Kātyāyana, say, a century later. Garuḍa gives an abstract of Śarva-varmā's sūtras supplemented by Kātyāyana's. It may, therefore, come another century later, i.e., in the third century A.D. when Viṣṇu-worship was coming to the forefront and Garuḍa as the vehicle of Viṣṇu, began to attract worshippers. So much so, that in the early 4th century, the Guptas adopted Garuḍa as their "Lañchana" or insignia. The grammar section of the Garuḍa-purāṇa may, therefore, be placed in the 3rd or at the latest, 4th century A.D.

The Agni-purāṇa gives an abstract of the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa-

Grammar in the Agni

which we know from Tibetan sources, was composed in the 4th century A.D. at Candra-dvīpa in the district of Bariśāl.

Candra was most likely a Buddhist. In giving examples of Taddhita the writer, it seems, has made a confession of his being a follower of Candra. He says, "*Vetti adhite Candrakam*", i.e., Cāndraka is one who knows and studies Candra grammar. The abstract of Candra in Agni may therefore be placed before the reappearance of Pāṇini in the 7th century A.D. The chapter on Vyākaraṇa in the Nārada adopts the Pāṇinian tradition but arranges the different topics of grammar in a practical manner. I am not sure, what book Nārada abstracts from, but it is sure that he comes after Bhaṭṭhari, i.e., in the 8th century A.D. There is no Śikṣā or

Śikṣa

phonetics in the Garuḍa but the Agni has a short chapter on the subject and it is of the most elementary kind. Perhaps it is an abstract of the Nāradiya Śikṣā. The Nārada-purāṇa divides Śvara into

three classes : Ārcika, Gāthika and Sāmika. In connection with Sāmika come Tāna, Rāga, Svāra, Grāma and Mūrcchanā, terms well known in the art of music. The chapter ends with Udatta, Anudatta and Svarita and their varieties.

Kāvya, Nāṭaka and Ālankāra are not mentioned in the Garuḍa, nor in the Nārada. In Garuḍa's time, most likely, they were not regarded as subjects of special study ; and Nārada does not treat of them because they do not fall within the scope of his encyclopædia which is more religious than literal. But Agni devotes chapters and chapters on them. In Nāṭya-śāstra it gives the abstract of some work based on the dramaturgy of Bharata. On the face of it, it is not an abstract from Bharata. It speaks of Ritis as of four kinds :— " Pañcālī, Gauḍa-deśiyā, Vaidarbhī, Lāṭajā tathā. " It speaks of Nṛtya, of Abhinaya, of rhetorical figures, of defects of style and so forth. It shows a development of literary criticism which proceeded the invention of " Dhvani " by Ānanda-vardhana, or the Sūtra-kāra he commented upon. The Agni-purāṇa may, therefore, be put down in the pre-dhvani days, i.e., before the 9th century A.D. It embodies the ideas of Bhāmaha, Vāmana and others. But the particular work or works it abridged have not yet been found out.

Chandaḥ is another subject led under contribution by the Agni and the Nārada. Agni gives an abstract of Piṅgala's Chanda-sūtra with an unknown commentary but the opinions of this unknown commentary have been refuted by Halāyudha in the 10th century in Malava. Nārada's chandaḥ includes abstracted form of the Prakrit Chandas, too.

These three encyclopædias pass for Mahā-purāṇas. They afford us a clue of the literature existing in the 4th, 6th, and 8th centuries of the Christian era.

The second group of the Mahā-purāṇas consist of Padma,

Group II

Skanda and Bhaviṣya. They have been so often revised and so much revised that they may be said to have been revised out of recognition. The

Padma was originally divided into 5 Parvas, viz. 1. Puṣkara, 2. Tirtha, 3. Great Sacrifices, 4. Achievements of Kings and 5. Salvation. Here we can easily see why the Purāṇa is named after Padma or Lotus. It is because the Puṣkara or lotus Parva in which Brahmā is born from the Lotus, is the subject-matter of the first parva. The Padma-purāṇa in 5 Parvas is lost. But it had a Samuccaya or abstract, a manuscript of the first half of which is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, from which we can have an idea of what the Padma-purāṇa of those days had been. A second scheme of division is given in the first chapter of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa. It divides the Purāṇa in 5 khaṇḍas, viz., 1. Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 2. Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, 3. Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 4. Puṣkara-khaṇḍa and 5. Uttara-khaṇḍa. Even in this we can recognise the Padma-purāṇa in the Puṣkara-khaṇḍa. But in all other schemes it is revised out of recognition. The Ānadaśrama edition and the Vaṅgavāsī edition nowhere explained why it is called the Padma-purāṇa.

An old manuscript written in the Gupta characters of the Hori-uzi variety, without any indication that
Skanda the Skanda has ever been divided into Samhitās or Khaṇḍas, is to be found in the Darbar Library, Nepal. From the meagre description I could bring, it appears to be a Purāṇa of old with Skanda as one of its interlocutors. The manuscripts of the Amvikā-khaṇḍa and of the Revā-khaṇḍa, acquired in east Bengal and remaining in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, show that the Purāṇa was once divided into khaṇḍas the subject-matter being purely Paurāṇika. But at the present moment we find the Skanda Purāṇa in two different forms : (1) divided into 7 khaṇḍas, viz., Māheśvara, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma, Kāśī, Āvantya, Nāgara and Prabhāsa, dealing mainly with liturgy and legends of holy places ; and (2) in six Samhitās, viz., Sanat-kumāra, Sūta, Saṃkara, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhmī and Sauri, and 50 subordinate khaṇḍas. In none of these we find Skanda much in evidence. So it is seen that this Purāṇa has gone out of recognition by revision.

All the Purāṇas drew their materials of the dynasties of the Kali Age from the Bhaviṣya-

Bhaviṣya. purāṇa. But in the present recensions of the Purāṇa (and there are four of them)

not a word about the dynasties of the Pāṇḍavas down to the Guptas is to be found. It can also be said to have gone out of recognition in the course of revisions.

In the third group I have placed those Purāṇas which seemed to me to have undergone two

Group III general revisions. They are like eggs.

The yolk is the kernel, the white is the first revision and the shell is the second revision. In the Brahma-purāṇa, Brahmā's interlocution with the Ṛṣis on the mountain Meru, is the real Purāṇa ; but it is not large, being less than 46 chapters. That speech reported by Vyāsa with additions, to the Ṛṣis in his hermitage, is the second stage. The whole reported by Sauti to the Ṛṣis at the Naimiṣa forest is the third stage.

Similarly, the interlocution between Suka and Parikṣita from the beginning of the second Skandha

Bhagavata to the first-half of the 5th chapter of the 12th Skandha, is the real Purāṇa. The

introduction in the second-half of the 1st Skandha, explaining who Suka was, who Parikṣita was, and why they came together, with the 6th chapter of the 12th Skandha shows the second development of the Purāṇa. The first-half of the 1st Skandha and the last-half of the 12th form the third stage.

The Brahma-vaivarta as we have it at present also shows the three developments. The interlocu-

Brahma-Vaivarta tions between Nārada and Sanat-kumāra is the real Purāṇa. Nārada's quarrel with his father for his refusal to help him in creation and his consequent suffering and submission form the introduction and his marriage with the daughter of a king, the conclusion. These are developments of the second stage. Sūta and the Ṛṣis come and form the shell of the egg.

The 4th group may be called the historical group. In it there are three Purāṇas in which the Orientalists are greatly interested as historical and geographical. Of these again, the Vāyu is lost. Only a portion of the second part of the genuine Vāyu is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. The rest of the Vāyu as we find at present may be merged in the Brahmāṇḍa.

Group IV
The Lost Vayu

In the Viṣṇu, Sūta and Saunaka play no part, and they cannot, because the chief interlocutors are Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa and Maitreya his class-friend, to whose school Sūta belonged.

In the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, tradition ascribes the chief interlocutorship to Vāyu; but the works as we find them, Sūta and the Ṛṣis usurp nearly two-thirds of the talk.

The 5th group consists of sectarian works, Liṅga, Vāmana and Mārkaṇḍa. Liṅga is concerned with the worship of the phallic emblem and those worshippers of Śiva who confine their worship to the emblem. Vāmana, though it describes loosely from the beginning the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu and ends with the adventures of the Dwarf,—is in

reality a handbook of the Śaiva sects, (1) Pāśupata, (2) Śaiva, (3) Kāla-da-mana, (4) Kāpālika. Here Vāmana is nowhere one of the interlocutors. The chief interlocutors being Pulastya and Nārada; Sūta and the Ṛṣis having no concern with the Purāṇa. The second part of this Purāṇa is called the Vṛhad-vāmana, but we have not found it yet.

The Mārkaṇḍa-purāṇa has a long introduction in which four bird sages, undergoing punishment for disobeying their learned father in their previous existence as learned Brahmins, solving some intricate questions about the Mahābhārata. Then

Group V
Liṅga

Vamana

Markanda

commences the interlocution of Mārkaṇḍa giving the description of some of the previous ages of Manu and the worship of the Devi.

The sixth group consists of Varāha, Matsya and Kūrma.

Group VI

According to the tradition, the Purāṇas should be spoken by these three incarnations of Viṣṇu. But actually we find that Varāha speaks about a half of the Varāha, Matsya only the one-third part of the Matsya and Kūrma only the one-eighth part of the Purāṇa ascribed to his name.

I have found two criteria for deciding the age of a Purāṇa :

Criterion for deciding age

(1) the number and order of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and (2) the enumerations of tribes and castes of India and of surrounding countries.

(1) Number and order of incarnations of Viṣṇu. If in any Purāṇa the number of the incarnations is ten and the order is the present one, viz., the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-lion, Paraśu-rāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa or Bala-rāma, Buddha and Kalki,—it cannot go beyond the 10th century A.D. For in the 11th and the 12th century Kṣemendra in Kashmere and Jaya-deva in Bengal wrote hymns to the Ten incarnations, in the same order. Two centuries earlier, Daśāvatāra cards of Viṣṇu-pura with Buddha occupying the fifth place show another order. These cards were designed in the palmy days of the Malla kings of Viṣṇu-pura who started an era from 694 A.D. The Bhāgavata has 23 Avatāras ; of these the last two Buddha and Kalki come under rather suspicious circumstances. Up to Kṛṣṇa and Bala-rāma, the Avatāras are all numbered but these two have no number before their names, and this list occurs in the second stage of the Bhāgavata. So the latest revision must have been made some centuries before the 8th century A.D., for from 23 to 10 is a long leap. In the genuine portion of the Bhāgavata, the list runs up to 25 in chapter 7 of Skandha II ; and it is curious that

the Garuḍa, which I put in the third or fourth century A.D. for its taking Kalāpa tradition of Grammar, copies not the Bhāgavata enumeration of Avatāras but that which is found in its latest revision.

Similarly in the Padma-purāṇa, Bhṛgu, the father-in-law of Viṣṇu cursed Viṣṇu that he would be born on earth seven times only. I need not be exhaustive. But it is sure that a comparison of the enumeration of the different incarnations will lead to important results as regards the chronology of the Purāṇas.

(2) The enumeration of castes and tribes of India and surrounding countries, may also lead to important results as regards chronology. For instance, in the latest portion of the Brahma-purāṇa Pārasikas¹ are mentioned as an important people. The Pārasikas became dominant on the west of India in 226 A.D. But, in the real Purāṇa spoken by Brahmā, Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas are mentioned. These became powerful in the west of India from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. So there must have elapsed from two to eight centuries between the composition of the Purāṇa and its latest revision.

The study of the Purāṇas has brought to light India's **Indian Archipelago** work in the Indian archipelago. In a chapter of the Vāyu-purāṇa, published by Rājā Rājendralāla Mitra—call it Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa if you like,—there is an enumeration of six islands in the Indian ocean with a very large number of smaller islands many yojanas beyond the seas. The six islands enumerated are : (1) Aṅga, (2) Yama, (3) Malaya, (4) Śaṅkha, (5) Kuśa and (6) Varāha. They were inhabited by the ulecchas and the worshippers of gods. In one of these, i.e., Yama-dvīpa, there is a mountain named Mandāra where Agastya had his hermitage, and where on holy moments the heaven came down on the hills, and where there is a holy place sacred to Mahādeva and where his sister named Kumudā is worshipped. In the

Varāha island, Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation is worshipped to the exclusion of other deities.

The chief characteristic of the Purāṇas are not the five, **Holy place and given in the Amara-koṣa, nor the ten of religious vows** the Bhāgavata. The Matsya has given the true estimate of these characteristics. It practically says that the spread of education and knowledge is the scope of the Purāṇas. But one who runs can read two things in the Purāṇas, (1) the liturgy and legends of holy places, and (2) the liturgy and legends of religious vows. The liturgy is always a subject-matter of the Smṛti and the Purāṇas often usurp this, but the legends are their monopoly.

The description of the holy areas of Kurukṣetra, Mathurā, Vṛndā-vana, Ujjayinī, Prabhāsa, Abu, Dvārakā, etc., are so minute and appear to be so accurate that when on the first onrush of Muhammadan conquest, these were either abandoned or desolated, Indian archæologists, Sannyāsins and house-holders could with the Purāṇas in hand identify the holy spots even though these areas remained desolate for three hundred years. It is a glorious achievement of the Hindu religious activities that in the 15th and the 16th centuries, these areas were revived and restored. The descriptions of the temples of Somanāth, Mahākālā and others also helped the Hindus to restore them shortly after they had been demolished. These restorations and revivals were possible simply because the Purāṇas recorded and registered the holy sites. M. M. Nilmoni Mukherji, the editor of the Kūrma-purāṇa, regrets that many of the holy places recorded in the Purāṇas are not to be found in the present moment, but that the majority of them can be identified, even after so many revolutions,—political, social, cultural, religious and literary,—goes to the credit of the Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas also record minutely the religious calendar of **Ancient Hindu** the Hindus at different times and **Calendar** different places. A comparison of this calendar with those of the present day will be an anthropological interest of the highest kind. The comparison will show

low with every change in the habit, manners, customs, social and domestic arrangements the calendar also has changed. For instance, what is Sarasvatī-pūjā in Bengal with the imposing figure of Sarasvatī and her lotus garden is only a spring-festival in other parts of India ; what is Durgā-pūjā in Bengal—is an autumn-festival with the imposing worship of luxuriant vegetation in other parts of India. But look into the Purāṇas, these sacred days were allotted to some proper deities whose worship was the centre of attraction during those days. In this way the Purāṇas and specially the Mahā-purāṇas, are rich mines of information on ancient Indian subjects, and the best way for the beginner is to study the Garuḍa-purāṇa. It gives all things in one place in the briefest manner.

The operations in search for Sanskrit manuscripts have brought to light this vast mass of Purāṇic literature. But much remains to be done yet. Few Purāṇas are complete. Old recensions are to be sought for ; new manuscripts are to be brought to light, and its luxuriant growth for centuries are to be laid bare before an appreciative public. For this purpose a well-organized institution should be started and encouraged under the supervision of scholars of mature understanding and wide outlook.

II.—The Date of the Bauddha Gaṇ O Dohā

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Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstrī, the lucky discoverer of the *Bauddha Gaṇ O Dohā*, has rendered a yeoman's service to the cause of linguistic researches by furnishing us with a land-mark in the evolution of several Eastern languages. The book which is published in the Series of the Vangīya-Sāhitya Pariṣad is divided into four parts and contains four independent works namely :—(1) The *Caryācaryāvinīścaya*, (2) the *Dohākoṣa* of Sarojavajra, (3) the *Dohākoṣa* of Kṛṣṇācārya and (4) portions of the *Dākṛṇava*. The *Caryācaryāvinīścaya* contains a number of songs mostly in Bengali with a running commentary in Sanskrit. The two *Dohākoṣa*s also contain couplets in the same vernacular with running commentaries in Sanskrit. The *Dākṛṇava* is a Sanskrit Tantric work with passages written in a curious language intervening. The book was published some eleven years back in Bengali characters and that is probably the reason why it did not meet with the popularity it deserved ; and failed to attract the attention of the European scholars engaged in linguistic researches. In Bengal this publication met with absurd and hostile criticisms at the hands of literary adventurers and opportunists. This unique publication has been thus much neglected and thrown into the back-ground.

Some critics declared that it is not Bengali but Prakṛta. Some declared the language to be Apabhramśa. Others were content to say that the language is not so old as the editor would like to think. The editor, however, boldly declared the language to be the language of authors living in Bengal, and as a language at least one thousand years old, be it Bengali or Apabhramśa or Prakṛtā. He was modest in his estimate when he called them as only thousand years old. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee of the Calcutta University, who is a close student

of the Indian dialects with special reference to Bengali recognized the language of the songs and Dohās as Bengali but he declared in his monumental work on the *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, that the songs cannot be of any earlier date than the middle of the tenth century.¹ The object of the present paper is to show that the estimate of the editor and that of Dr. Chatterjee are too modest and that the date of the songs is much earlier.

In the *Caryācaryaviniscaya* we find mention of a large number of authors, some of whom are known to us from different other sources. If their dates are settled we naturally settle the dates of the songs they composed. Mm. Sāstri will argue that Luipā was the first Siddhacarya and as he helped Dipankarāsrijñāna—a contemporary of Mahipāla I (798-1080 A.D.), the songs can never be earlier than that period.² But the present writer unfortunately cannot associate himself with the arguments advanced by the learned editor as they are against all literary and historical traditions, as will be shown presently.

The authors of the songs include Luipā, Saraha, Nāgārjuna, Śabari, Kṛṣṇācārya, Dārikapā, Dombi Heruka and many others. And when we fix up their time we fix up the time of the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*. All these names are celebrated and well-known in the realm of Buddhist Tāntric literature and numerous works are attributed to them in the Tibetan Tangyur. They wrote a large number of Sādhanas and many among them are to be found in the *Sādhnamālā* published as nos. 26 and 41 of the *Gackwad's Oriental Series*. Some biographical accounts of these authors are also recorded in the Tibetan works like the Paṅ Sam Jon Zan, Tārānāth's *Geschieste* and the *History of the 84 Mahāsiddhas*, published in German by Arthur Grünwedel. These works, however, contain

¹ Op. cit, p. 81.

² In the Tangyur Catalogue only two authors are mentioned for the work *Abhisamayavibhāṅga*. It is quite possible that Dipankara wrote only a commentary on the original work composed by Luipā.

much that is legendary which appears to a student of scientific history as absurd and unreliable. But these are unfortunately at present our only material with which we may venture to build a chronology of the Tāntric authors.

Tārānāth informs us that Asaṅga—elder brother of Vasubandhu—introduced the Tantras into Buddhism and that they were handed down in the most secret manner possible upto the time of Dharmakīrti (600-615 A.D.).¹ In another place Tārānāth tells us that Saraha introduced the *Buddhakaṇḍa Tantra*, Luipā the *Yoginīsañcaryā*, Kambala and Padmavajra the *Hevajra-tantra*, Kṛṣṇācārya the *Samputatīlaka*, Lalitavajra the three divisions of *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, Gambhiravajra the *Vajrāmṛta*, Kukkuri the *Mahāmāyā*, and Pito (?) the *Kālacakra*.² Further materials for constructing a chronological account of these authors are afforded by the two lists of succession of preceptors and disciples, one given in the *Tangyur Catalogue*³ and the other in the *Paṅ Sam Jon Zan* quoted in the edition of the *Cakrasambhāratatantra*⁴ by the late Kazi Dawasam Dup in Arthur Avalon's *Tāntric Texts Series*. In the first the succession is as follows :—

Padmavajra
|
Anāṅgavajra
|
Indrabhūti
|
Bhagavati Lakṣmī
|
Līlāvajra
|
Dārikapā
|
Sahajayoginī Cintā
|
Dombī Heruka

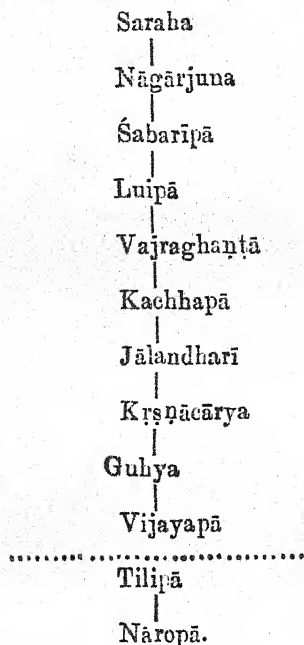
¹ Tārānāth, p. 201.

² *Ibid*, p. 275f.

³ *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain*, 2nd. Partie, pp. 211-212.

⁴ *Op. cit.* Introduction, p. xxxv.

In the second the succession is shown as follows :



Now Kamalaśīla the disciple of Śāntarakṣita (705-762 A.D.) went to Tibet at the invitation of the then Tibetan king in the year 762 A.D. He is well-known as the author of the voluminous commentary on the *Ta'tvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita which is published as nos. 30 and 31 in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. This Kamalaśīla wrote two commentaries in which he followed the earlier commentaries made by Saraha.¹ It stands to reason, therefore, that Saraha must have flourished at least before the middle of the 8th century. From the Tibetan sources we understand that Guru Padmasambhava went to Tibet on the invitation of the then king of Tibet in the year 747 A.D. and there established a monastery at Samye on the model of the Odantapuri Vihāra in the year 749 A.D. in collaboration with his brother-in-law Śāntarakṣita.² It therefore, stands also to reason that Indrabhūti—the father of Padmasambhava and

¹ *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain*, 2nd. Partie, p. 248.

² Waddel. *Lamaism*, p. 67.

disciple of Anaṅgavajra must have belonged to the 1st quarter of the 8th. century.¹

Thirdly Dārikapā in one of his songs reverentially mentions the name of Luipā and it stands therefore, to reason that Luipā was earlier than Darikapā.² Fourthly, it may be remembered that Kambala and Padmavajra were responsible for the introduction of the *Hevajratāntra* into Buddhism.³ Jālandharipā in the second succession list was the first to profess the *Hevajratāntra* and to write a few works on the same, and they are preserved to-day in the Tangyur collection in Tibetan translations.⁴

If we take Padmasambhava to be 30 years of age when he visited Tibet, 747 A.D. and if we take Indrabhūti to be 30 years of age when his second son Padmasambhava was born, then the time of Indrabhūti can be fixed in a period between A.D. 687-717 onwards. And if we take 12 years between each succession of a Guru and his disciple then the approximate time of the first succession list will be as follows :—

Padmavajra	...	...	Cir.	693 A.D.
Anaṅgavajra	...	...	"	705 "
Indrabhūti	...	...	"	717 "
Lakṣmīṅkarā	...	...	"	729 "
Līlāvajra	...	...	"	741 "
Dārikapā	...	...	"	753 "
Sahajayoginī Cintā	...	...	"	765 "
Ḍombi Heruka	...	...	"	777 "

Then again, if Jālandharipā is considered to be removed by one generation from Padmavajra who introduced the *Hevajratāntra* for the first time and the interval of 12 years is taken between each succession the chronological order of the second succession list will be as given below. But it must be remarked in this connection that I do not consider the second list as thoroughly

¹ *Glimpses of Vajrayāna* in the Madras Conference Proceedings, p. 133f.

² Cf. *Bauddha Gān*, p. 53.

लुइपाअपरा दारिक द्वादण भुअण्ये लधा ॥

³ *Tārānāth*, p. 275.

⁴ See appendix at the end of the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, p. 29.

exhaustive and it is very probable that there is a big gap somewhere in the middle because we know already that Tilipā and Nāropā definitely flourished in the reign of Mahipāla I (978-1030 A.D.) of the Pāla Dynasty. Therefore, in the proposed chronological order the time of the authors mentioned after Kṛṣṇācārya is to be taken as tentative :—

Saraha ...	...	...	Cir.	638 A.D.
Nāgārjuna	...	...	"	645 "
Śabaripā ...	...	...	"	657 "
Luipā ...	...	...	"	669 "
Vajraghaṇṭā	...	...	"	681 "
Kachhapā	...	...	"	693 "
Jālandharipā	...	...	"	705 "
Kṛṣṇācārya	...	...	"	717 "
Guhya ...	...	...	"	729 "
Vijayapā...	...	...	"	741 "

When we fix the time of Saraha we practically go to the root of Buddhist Tantra because Saraha is reputed to be one of the chief promulgators of the Tāntric doctrines and practices, and both Tārānāth and the author of the *Pag Sam Jon Zan* agree in saying so. According to these authors Rāhulabhadra or Saraha was the name of a Buddhist sage born of a Brāhmin and a Ḍākinī in the city of Rājñī (?) in the eastern country. He was an adept both in the Brāhmanical and Buddhist lore and flourished during the reign of king Chandanapāla of Prācya. He worked some miracles in the presence of king Ratnapāla and his Brāhmin minister and thereby converted them into Buddhist faith. Afterwards he became the high priest of Nālandā. It is also related of him that he visited Orissa where from one Choveśakalpa he learned the Mantrayāna and from there proceeded to Mahārāṣṭra. There he united in Yoga with a female ascetic who had approached him in the guise of an archer's daughter. Having performed the Mahāmudrā ritual he attained to Siddhi. He was thenceforward called Saraha. He used to sing Dohā hymns of mysticism and thereby converted 5,000 people and their king to Buddhism.¹

¹ Pag Sam Jon Zan, Index, p. xxvi.

Saraha wrote a large number of works and many translations of these are preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur. He is characterised as one of the earliest diffusers of Tantric Buddhism and it will, therefore, be interesting to know that our calculation makes him a contemporary of Dharmakīrti during or after whose life-time the Tantras got publicity. Several songs of his are recorded in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* and the language of these songs must be as old as the middle of the 7th century. We do not know where Saraha flourished beyond the fact that he belonged to the eastern country. There are two sādhanas in the *Sādhana-mālā* for the worship of Raktalokesvara or Trailokyavaśāṅkara which is described as coming out of Uḍḍiyāna and as introduced by Saraha. I have shown in an article contributed to the *Indian Historical Quarterly* that Uḍḍiyāna was very likely situated in Assam, probably the Western part of it, which is also a part of Bengal. Saraha is connected with Uḍḍiyāna—one of the four sacred spots of Tāntric Buddhism. And is there any wonder if we consider him to be a Bengali and the language he used in the songs as the language of his own country? One may raise up an objection that the Tāntric Saraha may not be the same as the Saraha of the Dohās. In reply, it may be pointed out, that Saraha was a Vajrayānist and in the songs he has given ample evidence that he was so.

Saraha had a disciple in Nāgārjuna who is of course different from the Nāgārjuna—the founder of the Mādhyamaka system. Absurd accounts are recorded of his life and wild stories are told of his stupendous magical feats. We can, however, establish that Nāgārjuna was a historical person and belonged to the Tāntric school of Buddhism. Two sādhanas of his are recorded in the *Sādhana-mālā*. One relates to the worship of Vajratārā, while the other refers to the worship of Ekajaṭā. In the colophon of the latter it is distinctly mentioned that Nāgārjuna rescued the sādhanā from the country of Bhoṭa which is the ancient name of Tibet.¹ The worship of Ekajaṭā,

1. *Sādhana-mālā* p. 267.

therefore, appears to have been current in Tibet and the goddess probably belonged to the original Bon religion of that country. Nāgārjuna was a famous scholar and composed a large number of works. Translations in Tibetan of most of his works are preserved now in the Tibetan Tangyur. He wrote several works on the *Guhya-amā-jatantra* and this shows the antiquity of this authoritative work on Tantra and the esteem in which it was held. No song of his appears in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* and it is not definitely known as to the place where he was born and flourished.

Śabaripā (657 A.D.) is our third author in chronological order and a disciple of Nāgārjuna. He is described as having belonged to the hill-tribe caste, the Śabaras or huntsman, in Bāṅgālā where he met Nāgārjuna during the latter's residence in that country and embraced Tantrism, and after being initiated by him along with his two wives Lokī and Guṇī attained to Sainthood¹. Śabaripā was a historical person and he had composed a sādhanā of Kurukullā which is published in the *Sādhana-mālā* for the first time. He is also the author of a number of melodious songs in the vernacular of his country. He wrote moreover, a large number of works and many of them are preserved in Tibetan translations. He was a follower of the *Vajrayoginī-tantra*.

Unipā (669 A.D.) is our next author in chronological order, and a disciple of Śabaripā. He is regarded as the first Siddhācārya or magician and is even now respected by the Tibetan Buddhist. In Cordier's *Tangyur Catalogue* he is distinctly called a Bengali.² He is further said to have sprung up from the fisherman caste of Uḍḍiyāna and was very fond of the entrails of fish. He was formerly a clerk in the employ of the king of Uḍḍiyāna and was known as Sumantaśubha.³ Several songs of his are recorded in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, and

¹ *Pag Sam Jon Zan*, Index, p. cxxxi.

² *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain*, II, p. 33.

³ *Pag Sam Jon Zan*, index, p. cxv.

these songs being written by a Bengali in the soil of Bengal may appropriately be called Bengali.

No information is available about Vajraghaṭṭa and Kachhapā and therefore, leaving them out at present, we pass on to another great name in Tāntric Buddhism. This is Padmavajra (693 A.D.)—the first name in the first succession list above referred to. He is credited with the authorship of a large number of works in the Tibetan Tangyur. He was first to introduce the *Hevajratāntra*,¹ and he stands as the author of a most interesting work in Sanskrit titled the *Guhyasiddhi* which the present writer had the good fortune to discover. Padmavajra is also said to be a contemporary of Indrabhūti, Lalitavajra and Kukkurīpāda.

Jālandharīpā (705 A.D.) also known as Haḍipā whom we have placed one generation after Padmavajra or Saroruhavajra, is characterized by Tārānāth as a contemporary of many important personalities such as Bhartṛhari, Vimalacandra, Kṛṣṇācārya or Kānhupā, Tāntipā and even Dharmakīrti. In several works notably the *Pag Sam Jon Zan* it is said that he was buried in a hole underground by the order of the king Gopīcandra of Cātigāon who was afterwards converted to mysticism by the Ācārya. It is indeed very difficult to fix his time correctly from the above account and all that can be said now is Jālandharī was regarded as a very ancient Siddhācārya as may be evidenced by Tārānāth's making him a contemporary of Dharmakīrti whose time is definitely known to be the first half of the 7th century A.D. His other contemporaries are mostly mysterious persons and none can say, with any measure of accuracy, as to the time when they flourished. The very fact that Jālandharī wrote a commentary on a work of Saroruhavajra (also known as Padmavajra) and followed the *Hevajratāntra* introduced by the latter, places him at least one generation after Padmavajra who flourished at the end of the 7th century. Jālandharī wrote several works in Sanskrit, translations of which are preserved in Tibetan Tangyur. From

¹ Tārānāth, p. 275f.

the list of works composed by him we can understand that Jālandharī knew about the existence of the *Cakrasamvaratantra*, the *Vajrayoginītantra* and the *Hevajratantra*.

Anaṅgavajra (705 A.D.) the disciple of Padmavajra, is characterized in the *History of the 84 Mahāsiddhas*, as the son of king Gopāla of Eastern India. The time of Gopāla has been fixed by V. A. Smith as cir., 746 A.D. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa placed him between 695 and 705 A.D.¹ Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar also doubts the date proposed by V. A. Smith and in the absence of any inscriptional or monumental evidence we are more in favour of accepting the earlier date. Anaṅgavajra's time will therefore, be in consonance with the theory advanced in the *History of 84 Mahāsiddhas*. Anaṅgavajra seems to be a fairly well-known author as can be seen from the works written by him whose translations now find place in the Tibetan Tangyur. One of his famous compositions is the *Prajñopāya-viniścayasiddhi*, copies of which are available in the Nepal Darbar Library, the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The work is characterized by his boldness of spirit and the lucidity of his teachings. Like Jālandharipā, who is probably his contemporary, he also wrote several works on the *Hevajratantra* which was for the first time introduced into Buddhism by his Guru Padmavajra in collaboration with Kambalapā. We do not know if Anaṅgavajra wrote any song in vernacular, but it can be easily seen that he was a native of Bengal.

Indrabhūti (717 A.D.) the king of Uḍḍiyāna is the direct disciple of Anaṅgavajra. His sister was Lakṣmīṅkarā who was married according to the *History of 84 Siddhas* to the prince of Sambhala and attained Siddhi. Indrabhūti was regarded as an authority on Vajrayāna and had written a large number of works. Twenty-three among them are preserved in the pages of the Tibetan Tangyur in translations. He stands as the author of the Kurukullā sadhana in the *Sādhana-mālā* and as the author of a very interesting work the *Jñānasiddhi* which

¹. Indian Logic, p. 323.

has been taken up for publication in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. He is not known to us as a writer of vernacular songs but as he belonged to Uḍḍiyāna he may be taken to be a man from Bengal.

The next author in chronological order is Kṛṣṇācārya (717 A.D.) also known as Kānhupā the disciple of Hādipā. Tārānāth makes him a contemporary of Jālandharī, Bhartṛhari, Gopīcandra and even Dharmakīrti. Tārānāth is probably wrong in making him a contemporary of Dharmakīrti who as we definitely know flourished in the first half of the 7th century. Kṛṣṇācārya seems to be a contemporary of Jālandharī and Gopīcandra both of whom in all probability flourished in the first quarter of the 8th century. According to *Pag Sam Jon Zan* Kṛṣṇa was born in a Brāhmin family of Orissa and was initiated into the mystic cult by Jālandharipā. His disciple was a weaver (Tāntipā) and he is credited in the same work with having introduced the Tantras in which the male and female divinities sit clasping each other.¹ Kṛṣṇācārya stands as the author of a *Dohākosa* and several songs of the *Caryācārya-viniścaya* written in his own vernacular which was probably Uḍḍiyā and showed great affinity towards the old Bengali language.

In the history of Vajrayāna the name of Lakṣmīṅkarā (729 A.D.) is interesting not only because she is a woman but also because of the novel doctrines she preached without reserve and with great confidence and emphasis. Born in the royal family of Uḍḍiyāna as sister of Indrabhūti, she showed remarkable boldness in preaching her own peculiar theories in a small but interesting work entitled the *Advayasiddhi*. This work was long lost in the original Sanskrit but was preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur in translation. To this work in the original Sanskrit attention of scholars was first drawn by Mm. Hara-prasād Sāstri in one of the stray numbers of an extremely irregular journal which is known as the *Dacca Review*. We have since had an opportunity of studying the original work more carefully but this is not the place to enumerate the leading

¹ Op. cit. index p. v.

ideas revealed by the study. Suffice to say, that in this work the influence of Indrabhūti's Jñānasiddhi is very pronounced, and this is due probably to the fact that Lakṣmīnīkarā was not only a sister of Indrabhūti but one of his favourite disciples also.

Lakṣmīnīkarā's direct disciple was Līlāvajra (741 A.D.). He was also a Vajrācārya of great repute and wrote a large number of authoritative works. So far as we know none of his works is extant in original Sanskrit, but many are preserved in Tibetan translations in the Tangyur collection. In his time both Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna were in a flourishing condition; and the *Guhyasamājatantra* and *Kṛṣṇayāmāritantra* were regarded as very authoritative. In fact Līlāvajra composed works on all of them. It appears from the Tangyur that he acknowledged also another guru by name Vilāsavajra besides the one already mentioned. In the same way besides Dārikapā he had another devoted disciple in Karuṇācala. This latter was a poet of high merit and two of his compositions appear in the *Sādhana-mālā*. His compositions are distinguished by the easy flowing diction and devotional language. In the end of the *sādhana* of Vajramahākāla he has mentioned the name of his guru Līlāvajra with great reverence.

The name of Dārikapā (753 A.D.)—the disciple of Līlāvajra is fairly well known through the publication of Mm. Haraprasād Sāstrī. He is inclined to think that Dārika was a Bengali and wrote a number of songs in his own dialect, some of which are recorded in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*. In one of his songs he offers obeisance to Luipā and this leads the editor to think that Dārika was a direct disciple of Lui. Luipā as we have shown belonged to an earlier age and as such any close connection between the two is hardly admissible. Lui was reputed to be the first Siddhācārya and that may be the reason why Dārika reverentially mentions him in one of his songs. Dārika composed a pretty large number of works in Sanskrit but none of them is found to be existent in original Sanskrit. From the Tangyur it appears that Dārika wrote books on *Cakrasamvaratantra*, *Kālacakratantra*, *Vajrayoginītantra*.

In the same chain of succession another woman-guru steps in in the person of Sahajayoginī Cintā (765 A.D.); who is a disciple of Dārikapā, and is known to us as the author of the *Vyakṭabhāvanūgatatattvasiddhi*—a small work in Sanskrit of which a translation in Tibetan also exists. It appears from her work that she was a follower of the Vijnānavādī school of Buddhist philosophy, and laid particular stress on the universe being nothing but the creation of the *citta* or the mind. It is the mind, she says, which begets misery and in consequence creates all external objects. The Prajñā and Upāya are also the creations of the mind and when they combine they give rise to Mahāsukha in the mind which fancies the whole external world to the forms of Mahāsukha. The mind, she says, has its vagaries and its own ways. Sometimes it sleeps, sometimes it is awake and active. Sometimes it begets the desires, sometimes it is pure or impure. Sometimes it has many forms and sometimes it is in an undescrivable state. The Yogin who is able to realize the voidness of the external world and keep the mind free from reflection in all its different states and in all its vagaries and ways is really emancipated and the Buddhahood for him is easy of attainment.

Next comes Dombī Heruka (777 A.D.)—the disciple of Sahajayoginī who like Dārika is well-known to many through the publication of the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*. He is described as the king of Magadha who later on became an ascetic. He composed several songs which appear in the *Bauddha Gān* and is reputed to be the author of the *Dombīyītika* containing vernacular songs. He also composed a sādhanā of the goddess Nairātmā which is recorded in the *Sādhana-mālā*. From this sādhanā it appears that he was a follower of the *Hevajratāntra*. He wrote a fairly large number of works and translations of many exist in Tibetan. Besides these he wrote another work entitled *Sahajasiddhi* which we had the good fortune to discover.

In the history of the evolution of Tantric Buddhism and the Bengali language, there is a big gap of about 200 years from

777 to 980 A.C. and the chronology of the period is completely shrouded in mystery. The palmy days of the Tāntric culture again reappeared in the reign of king Mahīpala I of the Pāla dynasty who flourished according to V. A. Smith in a period between 978—1030 A. D. It is in this period that Dipaṅkaraśrījñāna flourished and carried the torch of Buddhistic culture to Tibet to illumine that country. It is in this period that Advayavajra or Avadhūtipā, his disciple Lalitagupta, Tilopā of Cātigaon, Ratnakaraśānti, Prajñākaramati and Nārōpā flourished and were regarded by their highly technical compositions as the greatest luminaries of the Vikramaśīla monastery.

Having thus outlined the chronological history of the Buddhist Tāntric authors, some of whom wrote in vernaculars also, let us now divert our attention to the others, authors of songs who do not come under the scope of the previous discussions. Unfortunately for us we have no information as regards the time or biographical details of the authors like Guṇḍarī, Cātilya, Mahīdhara, Vipā, Dheṇḍhana, Bhāde Tāḍaka and Jayanandī. Regarding the rest we shall here give a short account together with their dates wherever possible.

1. & 2. Kukkuri and Kambala : In Tangyur Kukkuri was also known as Kukkurāja or Kukkurarāja and a large number of works are attributed to him in Tibetan Tangyur. In the *Sādhanamālā* he stands as the author of the Mahāmāyāsādhana where Mahāmāya represents Heruka in the embrace of Buddhaḍākinī, and is described as four-armed and four-faced surrounded by four Yoginīs. In this sādhana the word Heruka is analysed, dissected and each particle explained. It contains also some couplets in vernacular which may very probably represent either Bengālī or Uḍiyā. According to Tārānāth¹ he introduced the Mahāmāyā-tantra and was a contemporary of Kambala, Padmavajra, and Lalitavajra. It has already been shown that Padmavajra flourished in A. D. 693 and therefore the time of Kukkuri and Kambala also should be placed some-where near.

¹ Tārānāth, pp. 188, 275.

Viruva : He stands as an author of more than a dozen works in the Tibetan Tanyur. He is styled as Mahācārya, Yogīśvara and Mahāyogī. In the *Sādhanaṃālā* he appears as the author of the last sādhanā which refers to the worship of a very furious form of Mahākālā with eight faces, sixteen arms and four legs. In the sādhanā the whole Maṇḍala of Mahākālā with attendant deities is described in detail and numerous applications of the mantra are mentioned for a variety of purposes beginning with the relieving of pain of a woman in labour and ending in the scaring of animals. He was a native of Tripurā and his songs must therefore, be in Bengali.¹

Bhusuku : Bhusuku is a very interesting figure but who was he and where he flourished are the two questions which must be regarded as problematic for some time to come. He appears to be identical with Śāntideva who is reputed to be the author of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and the *Sūtrasamuccaya*. A manuscript preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal gives an interesting biography of Śāntideva and there we meet with an account of how Śāntideva was nicknamed Bhusuku. There it is said :

भुज्जानोऽपि प्रभास्वरः सुप्तोऽपि कुटिङ्गतोऽपित्वदेवेति
भुसुकुसमाधिसमापन्न-त्वात् भुसुकुनामख्यातिं सङ्केऽपि ।

In the *Pag Sam Jon Zan*² it is said that Śāntideva was a native of Saurāṣṭra but I am inclined to think that he belonged to Bengal. It is evident from his song—

आजि भुसु बंगाली भईली ।

गिम्न घरिणि चण्डाली लेलि ॥

It is not known when he flourished. He was quite a well-known figure in the Nalanda monastery but P' Tsing did not mention him in his travels. Sāntarakṣita (705-762 A.D.)—author of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* in one of his works entitled the

¹ Pag Sam Jon Zan, index, p. lxxii.

² Ibid, index, p. xcix.

Tattvasiddhi quotes from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. It is therefore, very likely that he must have flourished sometime after I' Tsing's departure from India in 695 A.D. and Śāntarakṣita's first visit to Tibet in 743 A.D.¹

Śānti : Ratnakaraśānti is nicknamed in the Tangyur as Śāntipā. He wrote a large number of works and their translations are preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur. He was styled as Ācārya and Mahāpaṇḍita. In the *Sādhana-mālā* he stands as the author of a sādhana devoted to the worship of Vajratārā. There his name is also mentioned in connection with the diffusion of the worship of Trailokyakṣepa—a form of Heruka.² He was a fairly well-known scholar and was incharge of the eastern gate of the Vikramaśīla monastery. He was a contemporary of king Mahipāl (978-1030 A.D.) and therefore must have flourished during his reign.³

Āryadeva : All that we know about him is that he was a follower of Vajrayāna and the author of the *Cittasādhana-prakarana* which was published by Mm. H. Sāstri in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the year 1898. He must be distinguished from the earlier Āryadeva—the disciple of Nāgārjuna who is the founder of the Madhyamaka system and flourished in the second century A.D. Āryadeva was very hard on Hindus whose pet theories and doctrines of salvation he scathingly criticized and held up to ridicule. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few stanzas from his work :

प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव श्वाशुद्धिमर्हति ।
तस्माद्धर्मधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानं तु निष्फलम् ॥
धर्मो यदि भवेत् स्नानात् कैवर्त्तानां कृतार्थता ।
नक्तन्दिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनां तु का कथा ॥
पापक्षयोऽपि स्नानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
यता रागादिषुद्धिस्तु दृश्यते तीर्थसेविनाम् ॥⁴

¹ Foreword to the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, p. xxiif.

² op. cit. p. 474.

प्रणम्य श्रीगुरुं नाथं त्रैलोक्याच्चेष्टहेतुकम् ।

तत्साधनविधिः शान्तिपादोक्तः प्रविभज्यते ॥

³ *Pag Sam Jon Zan*, index, p. ex.

⁴ J.A.S.B., 1898, p. 175ff.

From his songs it appears however that he was a resident of Bengal.

Kaṅkana : Kaṅkanapā is reputed to be the author of the *Caryādohākoṣāgītikā* and only one song of his appears in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*. The clue to ascertain his date is furnished by the Tangyur catalogue¹ where he is described as a descendant of Kambalāpa. Kambalāpa, it may be remembered, was the person with whose collaboration Padmavajra introduced the *Hevajratāntra*. Padmavajra flourished in Cir. A.D. 693 and therefore Kaṅkanapā must be only one generation later and his time will fall in with the time of Anāṅgavajra 705 A.D.

Thus the time of the earliest Dohās in Bengali goes back to the middle of the 7th. century when Saraha flourished and Bengal may justly be proud of the antiquity of her literature. These songs, moreover, furnish a land mark in the development of provincial dialects and their accurate time of composition will facilitate their study in a more precise manner.

¹ Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain, II, p. 231.

III.—A dramatic production of the eighth century : The development of Modern

Swāng.

By N. C. Mehta, I.C.S.

The Kuṭṭanāi-Matam by Dāmodar Gupta, the Chief Minister of King Jayāpīda of Kashmir, written about 755-766 A. D. in 1059 *āryā* verses deserves to be studied in detail for the light it throws on the social conditions of India in the eighth century. The work is ably edited with a very good Sanskrit commentary of the modern type by the late Tanasukharām Mansukharām Tripāthi.

It would seem that the amours of Krishna were firmly established in traditions even of the eighth century.

किंवहसि वृथागर्वं प्रियोऽहमिति योषितां नराधीश ।

काञ्चन्तिस्म मुरारिं षोडशगीपी सहस्राणि ॥ ७७३

Again in verse 860

अपसरसः किं न वशे वैदग्ध्यवतां च किं न धीरियः ।

येन चक्रारासक्तिं गोविन्दो गोपदारेषू ॥ ८६०

Gambling appears to have been in vogue during the Holi festival as it is now in Northern India among the Hindus during the Diwali, for Dāmodar Gupta says that it is only by the presence of the veil or otherwise that it is possible to distinguish good women from bad ones, who are engaged in the game of dice and use the language appropriate to the occasion :

तुल्यव्यापारगिरांकनानां देवनप्रसक्तानाम् ।

आर्यानार्याविगमं बदनावृति जालिका कुर्वते ॥ ८८५

Students of Sanskrit have long known that the veil in India is not a Muslim innovation at all, but that it is at least as old as the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. It is however possible that the Muslim rule strengthened the rigours of the veil in some parts of India, though in Gujrat at any rate, which came under

Islamic subjection about the end of the 12th century, there was progressive emancipation of women till at the present day the women of Western India enjoy perhaps the greatest freedom among the women folk of India. The Marāthā women do not appear to have observed the custom of the *parda* for many centuries, though for centuries Mahārāshtra the land of the Marāthās was under the sway of the Muslim power of the Tughlaks and later of the Bāhmāni rulers of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmadnagar. The fact is that the Musalmāns have been unfairly accused of having established and supported the seclusion of women. The conception of equal freedom for both sexes is one of modern growth and in some ways, especially, in the recognition of women's status in the scheme of inheritance, the Muslim law was far in advance of any other law till recently, and is even now infinitely more just and equitable than the personal law of the Hindus; while the latter have been on the whole more progressive at least in recent times than the Musalmāns in relaxing the rigours of the social system and in promoting the educational development of their women. *Vadana averti jālikā* which exactly corresponds to the word *burkhā* or the veil, was, as it is now, except in Western India, the privilege — the hallmark of the upper classes and the *bourgeoisie*.

The portion of the book of particular interest to present-day students is the one dealing with the episode of the prince Samarabhaṭṭa, of Devarāshtra (modern Mahārāshtra), the son of Simhabhaṭṭa, who visited the famous shrine of Vishveshvara in Benares.* Here the prince met various classes of people, and when he inquired about the state of music, the Nṛtyācharyā—the dance-master, 'replied : how can there be equality in the art of acting, where the leaders are calculating individuals, (वणिज)

*The description of Samarabhaṭṭa with a walking stick, a dagger, a *dupatta* and creaking shoes as given in V. 742 is rather interesting.

धृतवेचदण्डकूचकपरिवेष्टितसामिधेनुखड्गश्च ।

मृदुतरपटिका वरणः शब्दोल्लसत्सुचुराङ्गुचरणतः ॥ ७४२

and the actors are disreputable women—the very home of guile and cunning ?'

स एवाव ततो वणिजो नेतारोच्चयत्र, यत्र पात्राणि ।

शाठ्यायतनं दास्यंस्तत्र कुत* : सौष्ठवं नाट्ये ॥ ७८४

It seems that Benares was famous as now for its courtezans, but as the dance-master pointed out :

चेतोऽन्तरा न सत्त्वं, सत्त्वे सति चार्ता प्रयोगस्य ।

न भवति सा वेश्यानां मद्यामिषपुरुषनिहितहृदयानाम् ॥ ७८५

'Distraction of mind is not conducive to good performance. On good performance depends the beauty of acting and that is not possible in the case of courtezans with their minds pre-occupied with wine, meat and men.' The arts of acting, dancing and music seem to have already fallen on evil days in the latter half of the eighth century and became the monopoly of the *danseuse*—the social outcast. The next verse no. 800 is of special interest, for the master says, he and his pupils have sought refuge in the temple on account of its being a place of pilgrimage, and also as the King ANANGA-HARSHA was now no more :

यद्यपि देवनिर्केतनमनगं हर्षं गते त्रिदिवलोकम् ।

आश्रितवन्तो गत्वा [मत्वा ?]† तीर्थस्थानानुरोधेन ‡

The implication is clear as to the decline of the arts since the death of the emperor Harsha in 648 A.D. The name Ananga-Harsha seems to have become current after the following verse from Ratnavali, Act I, as first pointed out by Professor K. H. Dhurva in 1915 in his introduction to Harsha's play—*Priya darshanā*.

अनंगोऽयमनगत्वमद्य निदिध्यति ध्रुवम् ।

यदनेन न संग्राह्यः पाणिस्पर्शोत्सवस्तत्र ।‡

*The reading वेद्या : instead of दास्य : is, as pointed out by Professor K. H. Dhurva is more suitable.

†C.f. verse 918 which is a paraphrase of this Verse.

‡मत्वा makes no sense. तीर्थस्थानानुरोधेन is a better reading and more appropriate, as suggested to me by Professor K. H. Dhurva.

Mr. Tripathi has cited several parallels, such as

धूमकालिदास दोपशिखाकालिदास आतपत्रभारवि ।

for Kalidasa and Bhāravi-Bhatta Shrikantha became famous as Bhavabhūti Shrikanṭha.—The memories of Shri Harṣha as the great patron of learning and arts and also as a dramatist of distinction seem to have been poignantly vivid to the Chief Minister of the King Jayāpīda of Kashmir.

The dance-master in order to terminate the argument between the prince's minister and the mother of one Manjari a pupil of his and a famous exponent of the part of Ratnāvalī, whether the association with concubines is preferable to that with courtezans, offers to give a performance of the first act of Harṣha's well known play Ratnāvalī. The performance is described in verses numbers 880—928, and the description is of surpassing interest as the only extant one giving us detailed information regarding the representation of a play of the type of Ratnāvalī in ancient India. It should be noted that the entire troupe of the dance-master consists of women, two of whom are described by him. One of them is Manjari who is the heroine in the episode of Samarabhata and the other is unnamed who plays the rôle of the King Udayana in the play. The status of these danseuses is that of the ordinary courtesan. *Devadāsīs* would appear to have been a feature common to celebrated shrines in ancient India. When they disappeared except in the South is unknown, just as the history of the emancipation of the women from seclusion in Gujerat, Mahārāshtra and some portions of the further South.

The subject-matter of the performance is the first act of Ratnāvalī by Shri Harṣha, the summary of which is quoted below from Keith's Sanskrit Drama, pp. 171-172 :

"The ubiquitous Yaugandharāyana, insatiable in seeking his master's welfare, has planned marriage for him with the daughter of the King of Ceylon, but to attain his end has been difficult ; to avoid vexing the queen Vāsavadattā, he has kept her in the dark, and has spread a rumour which he has had conveyed by Bābhavya, the king's chamberlain, of the death

of Vāsavadattā in a fire at Lāvāṇaka. The king of Ceylon then yields the hand of his daughter, and despatches her in the care of the chamberlain and his minister, Vasūbhūti to Vatsa, but, wrecked at sea, she is rescued by a merchant of Kāṇsāmbī taken there, and handed over to Vāsavadattā who, seeing her beauty, decides to keep her from contact with her inconstant spouse. But fate is adverse; at the spring festival which she celebrates with Vatsa, Śāgarikā, as the princess is called from her rescue from the sea, appears in the queen's train; hastily sent away, she lingers concealed, watches the ceremony of the worship of the god Kāma, thinking Vatsa is the god in bodily presence, but is undeceived by the eulogy of the herald announcing the advent of evening."

It should be mentioned that the performance takes place within the precincts of a temple and though the provision of the orchestra राचते सकलातोद्ये is mentioned, there is no reference to any scenery whatsoever. The representation is introduced by singing accompanied by appropriate instruments as described in verses 381-384. The dance-master alone as Sūtradhāra appears to have sung the *Dvipadī* and *Dhruvā*, though it was permissible for a chorus to sing them. This musical opening or overture takes place before the benediction or *Nāndī* and seems to have been independent of the play proper in its literary and musical composition, for most plays begin with the direction—"enters Sūtradhāra at the end of the benediction" नाचन्ते सूत्रधारः and even in plays such as, by Bhāsa, the musical *dvipadīs* and *dhruvās* are never described or incorporated in the body of the drama. The musical overture was perhaps generally in the nature of a chorus followed by the Sūtradhāra who introduced the real subject of representation. As Mr. Tripathi says (page 340), there were probably two Sūtradhāras—one for the *nāndī* and the other for the story of the play. *

* As Professor K. H. Dhruva first pointed out in 1909 in his *Mudrā-rakṣasa*

द्वैतगसूत्रधार and नाटकसूत्रधार ।

The minister Yaugandharāyana is introduced in 2 verses 885-6. He merely points to Vatsarāja going up the palace and departs. In verses 889-895 is described the motley crowd engaged in celebrating the Holi with colour syringes, *gulāl* and bad language, very much as at the present day. Then are introduced two servant girls—Madanikā and Chūtalatikā, going to the king with a message from the queen Vāsavadattā (896-903). The girls are a little drunk and let themselves go in a round of vigorous dancing. The king's companion, Vasantaka also joins in (904) with the permission of his master. In verses 910-919 is described the worship of the god of love by Vāsavadattā in the presence of the king with Sāgarikā in the background, unobserved. The close of the act is again signalled by the singing of the *dhruvās* signifying departure and by the playing of various instruments (928-9).

It will be seen from the brief analysis of the description above that the performance was more in the nature of an operette with plenty of music and dancing rather than a piece of dramatic representation, as we now understand it. From the description given by Dāmodar Gupta the performance of Ratnāvali was not much removed from that of a modern *Swāng* such as Rāmālilā acted annually during the Dasera festivals all over Northern India or that of a *Bhavai* occasionally seen in rural Gujerat, as pointed out by Mr. Tripathi on page 286.* The dance-master in fact says that he and his pupils have resorted to the temple as a matter of necessity and having become discouraged in the matter of seeking a livelihood (verse 801).

The comment of Samarabbāṭa on the performance after ordering a suitable reward to the dance-master and wishing him to become a Thakur in course of time, also emphasizes the musical part of the entertainment. Both singing and accompaniment are praised. The singers are approved for their keeping correct time

*The version of Rātnāvali in Kuṭṭani-matam is in my opinion an actual acting version of Harsha's play and not merely a description of a regular performance of Harsha's play. Hence it is similar to *Bhavai* where the actors have to improvise a version of some well-known story or play.

and singing with the proper *Rasa*-sentiment. **रसवस्त्ररीपयजं कृत-साभ्यं साधु गातृभिर्गीतम् । ८४४** While the prince enters into the technicalities of music, he only notices the appropriate changes of dress made by the actors. No one in particular is singled out for eulogy and there is nothing about acting as such in the 14 lines of the prince's comment (V. 940-7) : though faultless delivery is mentioned and the criticism is concluded by a verse in praise of the play itself (947). The absence of any reference to acting is easily understood when we remember that the play was *read* with accompaniment of song, dance and music. It was read, as the prince notes, nicely with easy delivery in all the various languages (Sanskrit and prakrits) :

अभिरामाविश्रान्तं पठितं निरवद्यमखिलभाषासू । ८४३

In these popular entertainments of *Swang* or *bhawai* one man, usually a Brahman recites the narrative part, while the other actors interpret the narrative by appropriate dance, music or gesticulation. There is no attempt at scenery and the performance usually takes place in the open. Much depends on the subject-matter of the entertainment, which must be generally familiar. Acting, as such, plays a rather subordinate rôle, for the subject-matter of the representation produces the necessary *Stimmung* in the audience by its very familiarity, as for instance in the case of the *Rāma-līlā* shows or the performances of *Krishna-līlā* from the *Bhāgwata-purana*. The celebrated *Gītā-Govinda* by Jayadeva is akin to the version of *Ratnāvali* given by Damodar Gupta. Dance and song rather than acting formed the essence of such popular entertainments and we have described in *Kuttanī-matam* the earliest prototype of the popular *Swāng* or *bhāwai* of the present day.* The one-act and one-actor *Bhāṇa* which came into vogue after the 11th or 12th century is only a variety of these popular entertainments and there is now but little distinction between *Bhāṇds*—comic actors and

*of Keith op.-cit page 273. The extraordinary development of dancing is testified by the elaborate classification of it in *Bharatas Nāṭyashāstra*, chapter IV of 331 verses. Singing and acting were two of the most important elements of classical dancing, see pages 195-6. *Nāṭyashāstra*. Vol. 1, Gaekwar oriental series.

the *bhavaīyās*, the strolling players. Thus our modern *swāṅgs* and *bhavaīs* trace their origins from a remote past. Their performances were highly developed and accompanied by proper music and dance as early as the eighth century. They derived their material from the epics and the Purāṇs—the lore of popular legends and adapted such splendid versions as of the Shrimad Bhāgavata in the case of the Krishna-līlā, of the Rāmāyaṇa for the Rāmalīlā and as seen in Kuṭṭanī-matam of Shri Harsha's Ratnāvalī for the exploits of perhaps one of the most popular heroes of ancient India—the king Udayana.

A work such as Kuṭṭanī-matam could only have been written in an atmosphere of extreme licentiousness—especially by the chief minister of a State. This is borne out also by the testimony of Rājataranginī. Jayāpīda himself was a poet, but also addicted to the grosser pleasures of life. No wonder then, that his chief minister became famous as the author of the 'Advice of a Procuress'.

I should perhaps note in conclusion that the art of dramatic representation has not yet been really acclimatised in Northern India. The Hindi drama is a growth of the latter half of the 19th century, and even now there are no theatres for regular performances of dramas. The national entertainments are the annual Rāmalīlās and to a lesser extent the Krishnalīlās, the frequent gatherings of poets—the *mushāīrās* or *kavi-sammelans* and wrestling. Nowhere in India or perhaps anywhere in the world would people congregate in such numbers as in the United provinces to hear the recitations composed for the occasion by the authors themselves. The standard of critical judgment is unexpectedly high, as also the number of people who are capable of writing verses of merit. The audience instinctively understands the rules to be observed in an assemblage of poets and the patience and good humour displayed by it are really astonishing. The *swāṅgs* and the *mushāīrās* are specially characteristic of the intellectual life of the masses in the north.

IV.—Account of Mubarak Shah, the second Sayyad ruler of Delhi

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Muiz ud duniya wa ud din Abu Fateh Mubarak Shah commonly known as Mubarak Shah, is the second in the line of the so-called Sayyads who ruled over Delhi after the anarchy that had lasted for a decade and a half. Of the four sovereigns who formed the Sayyad house that ruled for six and twenty years, Mubarak's reign was the longest. His personal ascendancy lasting for over thirteen years holds out no incident which is a departure from those connected with the rule of his father, the late Khizr khān. It is practically a replica of those of his father's—the recurrent rebellions and retributive campaigns forming the current coin of his administration.

In the first decade of the fifteenth century the territories of Delhi had been parcelled out into nineteen principal fiefs each under a fiefholder : the monarchy became a congeries of merely independent principalities, jagirs and provinces. The creation of an *imperium-in-imperio* undermined the safety of the central authority and increased the centrifugal tendency. The aristocracy had attained power over the King who held his throne on a precarious tenure. Feelings of bitter jealousy and rivalry ran high in the country making it a cockpit of conflicts and quarrels. As a matter of fact, it was the individual and not the law that reigned. The friends or foes, the officials or otherwise, all alike made speed to feather their own nests, and were ever ready to strike the best bargain out of the situation.

In fairness to the zeal and integrity of the first two Sayyads, it may be said that, they made herculean efforts to settle down to work in that welter of anarchy and confusion. During his short tenure of office, Khizr with his characteristic energy shouldered his way to repeated though short lived conquests over his adversaries. Fierce and brave, kind and generous,

religious and confiding, Mubarak tried to heal the wounds left by the internal quarrels and internecine wars. Taking courage in both hands, he made a show of activity by his repeated attempts to stem the rising tide of sedition. The rebellions headed by Jasrath Khokhar and Tughan signalised the opening years of Mubarak's reign and made a presage of stormy weather ahead. The recrudescence of insurrection in the countries of the Dcab, followed next in order by the animated opposition from Kampilah and Etawah, made the Sultán sick to his heart's centre. The armed resistance of Muhammad Khán, Governor of Bayáná, followed in its steps by the re-appearance of Jasrath and the revolt of Paulad aided by Malik Yusuf Sarup and Henu Bhatti, made things hot for the Sultán and added fresh chapters to the story of his troublous reign. There was, thus, scarcely any event which seemed to accord with his desire. The appearance of the Governor of Kabul in aid of Paulad was another melancholy chapter in the history of Mubarak's reign; indulging in an orgy of indiscriminate bloodshed and murder, the invader struck terror into the heart of the Punjab, and for the nonce, brought the machinery of government to a standstill. Lacking, though, in the sternness and capacity of Balban, the ingenuity and statesmanship of 'Alau-d-dín, or the genius and intellect of the ill-fated Muhammad bin Tughlik, Mubarak boldly attempted to vindicate the waning prestige of the Sultáns of Delhi.

Was Mubarak like Khizr merely an agent or a representative of Timur? Yahiya, the contemporary narrator of events, who waxes eloquent in praise of Mubarak, his patron, commits nothing to writing that gives the answer in the affirmative. In marked contrast to what he wrote in connection with Khizr whom he merely designated as *Rayat-i-'dád*, Yahiya makes use of a host of high-sounding phraseologies in honour of the second Sayyad ruler of Delhi.

The copper tokens issued by the Sultán between the years 833 H. to 837 H, or 1429 to 1433 A. D., carry on the obverse the words *Shah Mubarak* or *Mubarak Shah Sultán* included in

the middle of a circle, which on its exterior is to be seen either the expressions *Ba hazrat Dehli* or *Sultán Zurbat*, the latter meaning "struck by the Sultán"; on the reverse of these coins are inscribed the words, *Naib-i-Amiru-l-Mauminin*, i.e., deputy of the commander of the Faithful, referring to the acknowledgment of formal allegiance to the Khalifá of Egypt, a practise which came into vogue since the days of Muhammad-bin-Tughlik who might have thought that "his sovereignty was in need of external confirmation of the Khalifá". The expression *Naib-i-Amiru-l-Mauminin* has been in use on the reverse of the coins since the year 785 A. H., or 1383 A.D. Thus the coins issued in the reign of Mubárak go to show, that the Sultán wielded an independent authority of his own, rendering only a formal homage to the Khalifá of Egypt.

In the pages that follow, an attempt has been made to give in detail an account of the first six years of Mubárak's reign, and it is hoped that, the incidents connected with the remaining period of his rule will be narrated in the next issue of the Journal.

Three days prior to his approaching death¹, on the 17th
Accession of Jamadiu-l-auwal, 824 A. H.² Khizr
Mubarak Shah, Khán³, May the blessing of God be on
 17th **Jamadiu-l-** his tomb! nominated his worthy and P.
auwal, 824 A. H., favourite son⁴ heir-apparent, and
May, 1421 A. D.* made him sit on the imperial throne
 with the approbation of all the *Amírs*
 and *Málíks*. After the death of Khizr Khán, the people in

* The page reference in the margin indicate the pages of Yahiya's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*.

¹ چوں وایات عالی حضرتخان طلب ثراه قریب شد که از دار غرور بدار سرور بخرامد.

² In Elliot (IV. 53), 19th *Jamadiu-l-auwal*; In Badaoni, 821 A. H.

Firishta says "three days after his death".

³ The full name of the Sultán and the authors benediction upon him runs thus: معزالدنيا والدين ابرالفتح مبارك شاه خلداليه ملکہ و سلطانہ و علي امرہ و شانه— etc., means, Eternal be his kingdom and sovereignty and most high be his command and dignity. Elliot has, "*Sultá ni-i-'azam way Khuddigán-i-mu'azzam Mu'izzu-d-dunyá wau-d-din Mubarak Sháh*."

⁴ فرزند شایسته و خلف بایسته ؟

general made a fresh acknowledgment of obedience (to the new successor). The *Amirs* and *Maliks*, the prelates and chiefs, the judges and all those who were given an office in the reign of the defunct Khizr, May he have a good resting place! were confirmed in their (respective) offices, fiefs, pergannas, villages, pensions and allotments: the new Sultán even increased them

Distribution of fiefs and emoluments to nobles and people. of his own accord¹. The fiefs in the districts of Hisar Firozah and Hânsi² were taken from Málík Rajab Nádir, and entrusted to *Malikus-sark* Málík

Badah the Sultán's nephew.³ Málík Rajab obtained the fief of the district of Dipalpur.⁴ News now arrived that Jasrath Shaikhá Khokhar⁵ and Túghán Ráís had raised the standards of rebellion.

The cause of Túghán's resistance to authority was, that

P. 225 **Rebellions of a year previous to this incident, in the Jasrath Shaikhá month of Jamadi-ul-auwal, 823 A.H., Khokhar and (1420 A.D.) Sultán'Alí,⁶ King of Kashmir, who took his cohorts to Thatta⁷, had Tugan Rais.** on his way back been opposed by Jasrath, when the Sultán's army was driven pell-mell⁸, a portion being still in Thatta, and a part only came out.⁹ Incapable of sustaining the attack, it

¹ ماورای آن خاصه خویش زیاده گردانیده It means, "he increased his own possessions", but as it gives no sense to the context, we have adopted Elliot.

² Hisar Firozah and Hânsi, in the Punjab; the former between Lat. 28° 36'—29° 49' and Long. 75° 16'—76° 22'. Hânsi in Hisar Division.

³ The Ms. has, ملك بنه برادر زاده : Firishta reads, Málík Badr :

⁴ Firishta says that Málík Rajab obtained Dipalpoor and the Punjab. Dipalpur, in Montgomery, district Punjab, Lat. 30° 37', Long 73° 33'.

⁵ The Khokhars (كه، كه) sometimes written as (كه، كه) is a totally distinct race from the Gakhars: they style their chief as *Rae* as well as Sultán: Badauni, (289) says:—چسرت كه، كه بن شېخا كه، كه; Firishta says, Jusrut brother of Sheikhá Gukkar.

⁶ In Firishta, Ally Shah.

⁷ Thatta or Tatta (Thato) in Karachi district, Sind, Bombay.

⁸ Badauni says, چسرت كه، كه غافل ساخته درون كه، كه شكيست داد.

⁹ The Ms. reads, چيزی در در چيزی بيرور آمده.

made a stampede: Sultán 'Alí was made captive and his baggage and provisions were plundered. Excited with victory and exultant at the strength of his battalion, an imprudent rustic that he was, Jasrath displayed (symptoms of) intoxication and fool-hardiness, and began cherishing imaginary visions of the conquest of Delhi.¹ Being informed of the death of Khizr Khán², he went across the Biyáh (Beas) and Sutlej with a column of cavalry and infantry and fell upon Raí Kamálu-d-dín Main at Talwandi.³ Raí Firoz was constrained to betake himself to the desert.⁴ Jasrath next ravaged the territory from Ludhiyána to Rupa⁵ on the Sutlej. A few days after, he crossed the Sutlej again and led his army to Jálándhar. Zirak Khán was invested in the fort of Jálándhar, and Jasrath having encamped on the bank of Bení,⁶ at a distance of three *kuroh* from the town, made a false negotiation for peace.⁷ At length, agreement was arrived at between the contending parties on terms that, the fort was to be given up and left over under the care of Tughán,⁸ that Majlis-i-'álá Zirak Khán was to take a son of Tughán to the Sultán,⁹ and that Jasrath was to send an embassy (to His Majesty) and return home. Accordingly, on the 2nd Jamadiu-l-ákhir, 824 A.H., (June, 1421) Zírák Khán

¹ The Ms. is faulty. It runs: چسرت مذکور صوفی کوتاہ اندیش و روستایی بود: برپاد شد و مشتبی (؟ مستی) حشرات (P) (؟ چسارت) کرد خویش جمع دیر و ماخلریا دهلی در سرار افتاد -

² بندگی ریای اعلی -

³ In Gujranwála, district Punjab, 45 M. N. of Lahore.

⁴ چرل an error for چرل

⁵ Ms. has, جدارو, Rupa, a subdivision of Ambála, district Punjab: Between 30° 45' and 31° 18' N. and 76° 19' and 76° 44' E,

⁶ Ms. has بینگی; In Elliot Beni: Badaoni has سرستی

⁷ مذاکره (؟) اصلاح در میان آورد

⁸ Firishta says, Jasrath appointed Tughan as the general-in-chief of his troops

⁹ Ms. has, يك نفر (؟) پسر طوغان مذکور برابر کرده در حضرت برد

emerged out of the fort of Jalandhar, and Jasrath with the whole of his *entourage* was ready (to receive him) on the banks of Bení. **Jasrath imprisons Zírak, Governor of Jalandhar and besiege Sultan Shah at Sirhind.** Approaching Zírak Khán, Jasrath broke the sanctity of contract, and under proper escort carried him off a prisoner

over Sutlej to Ludhiyána. Then on the 20th Jamadi-ul-ákhír he left the place by successive marches for Sirhind, where he arrived in the middle of the rainy season. Malik Sultán Sháh Lodí¹ was besieged in the fort of Sirhind², and although Jaserath put forth best efforts to take the fortress he failed, as God guarded it.

P. 227. When the statement of affairs supplemented by a request for succour from Sultán Sháh Lodí reached the Sultán³, he left the city (Delhi) in spite of the rainy season in the month of Rajab,⁴ and made for Sirhind; with successive marches he reached Kohilá,⁵ near Sámána*, when Jaserath hearing of his advance raised the siege on the 27th Rajab and fell back to Ludhiyána. He released Zírak Khan⁶, who went to Sámána and joined the King. The Delhi army now advanced towards Ludhiyána, where Jaserath having forded the Sutlej encamped in front of the victorious army, (on the other bank of the river). As Jaserath had secured all the boats on the river, he retarded the progress of his adversaries across the stream. For forty days they fought with each other remaining posted in their respective places. But with the appearance of canopus the waters subsided, and the

¹ Firishta says, Islám Khán.

² Sirhind (or Fatehgarh), in Patiala State, Punjab, situated in 30° 38' N. and 76° 27' E. The spelling Sirhind is modern, and due to a fanciful derivation from *Sir-hind*, the "head of India" due to its strategic position. Sahhind is said to mean the "lion forest", but one tradition assigns its foundation to Sáhír Rao, a ruler of Lahore, Imp. Gaz. Punjab. II. 309 *et seq.*

³ خداوند عالم پناه

⁴ بقاریخ ماه رجب The copyist has omitted the date by mistake.

⁵ Ms. has, كوهلی : Elliot, Kohila : May be identified with mod. Koi or Khoi a village in Patiala State, Punjab, 48 miles south of Ludhiyána.

* Sámána, in Patiala State, Punjab, 17 miles south-west of Patiala town.

⁶ Ms. has, مسند عالی زیرکشان ; Firishta is of opinion that Zíruk Kháⁿ contrived to effect his escape : Badauni states, جسرت زیرکشان را گذاشت ;

Sultán moved to Kabulpur. Jasrath, too, keeping himself to the river bank made a *pari passu* progress. On the 11th Shawwál (Oct. 8) His Majesty sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfá, Ziruk Khán¹, Mahmud Hasan², Malik Kálu, and other Amírs with strong reinforcements to cross the river higher up at Rupar. P. 228. They forded the river in the morning, and on the same day the King (with the main body of the army) advanced to the place where his *avant-courier* had crossed the stream before. Keeping himself to the river bank, Jasrath made a parallel move. When the tidings that the Imperialists had crossed the river reached him, Jasrath in a fit of nerve stationed himself at a distance of four *kuroh* from the ford. Crossing the river with his baggage and elephants, the Sultán approached the rebel, who without making any show of resistance took to his heels. The King's forces pursued the enemy closely, capturing all their equipage and slaying many a horse and footmen. Jasrath beat a hasty retreat towards Jálandhar with his brave cavalry³, and on the day following he crossed the Biyáh. At the advent of the victorious army near the Biyáh, the fugitive ran precipitately towards the Ráví. In chase of the enemy, the Sultán crossed the Biyáh at the base of the hills and reached the Ráví near Bhowá⁴. Jasrath crossed Jánháva⁵ and entered Tilhar⁶, situated in the mountains. Rái Bhim⁷, the chief of Jammu, was P. 229 honoured with an interview by the Sultán⁸ and received the eminence of being appointed as (a Imperial) guide⁹. The Rái went across Jánháva, and the Royalists demolished Tilhar which was Jasrath's strongest place, imprisoning many of those

¹ مجلس عالی زیرک خان

² ملك الشرق محمود حسن

³ Ms. has, سواران چارہ : Elliot has, " with some light horse "

⁴ Ms. has, بھوہر

⁵ Ms. has, چانرہار ; Badauni چہناڑ ; The river Chinab is meant.

In Ms. تیلہر, Tabakat-i-Akbari has Thankar ; Badauni تیلہر ; Firishta, Beosul. (mod. Bisauli, a town in Kashmir State, Punjab ; situate on the Ravi).

⁷ Ms. reads, دای بھیلہم

⁸ بشرف بابا بھوس مشرف گشت

⁹ م. ا. ا. ا. ا. ا.

who had sought refuge there. Safely and securely laden with booty, the Sultán, then found his way to Lahore.

In the month of Muharram, A. H. 825, (Jany. 1421) the shade of the blessed fortune and the shadow of the Imperial umbrella of the Sultán¹ fell upon the deserted city of Lahore, which was bereft of any living soul, save the inauspicious owls which had made it their abode. After a time, the Sultán turned his attention to the restoration of the city², and under his royal favour building was reconstructed. He stayed there encamped by the side of Rávi for nearly a month, engaged in repairing the fort and the gates. When the repair work was brought to a completion, the fief of Lahore was bestowed upon Mahmud Hasan, and a contingent of a thousand horses³ was placed under him. Having made suitable arrangements for the upkeep of the army and the fort His Majesty returned to Delhi.⁴

In Jamadi-ul-auwal⁵ of the aforesaid year, (825 A. H.) Jasnath's advance Jasnath Shaikhá crossed the Jánhavá and against Lahore and the Rávi with a large body of infantry and his defeats. cavalry and proceeding to Lahore⁶ encamped near the tomb of Saiku-l Mushaikh Shaikh Hasan Zanjání. On the 11th Jamádi-ul-ákhir, the two forces opposed each other in the mud fort(?). By the grace of God and the prosperity of the Emperor the refuge of the world, Jasnath was overthrown⁷. The triumphant army, in pursuit of the fugitives, issued out of the mud fort, but did not advance very far, so that the contestants kept to their respective position. Next day,

¹ سایه همایون دولت و ظل چتر سلطنت خداوند عالم پناه

² بعد مدتی معلوم روی به آبادانی آورده

³ In Elliot (IV. 56) 2,000 horses;

⁴ etc. هرده خود , should be خود در دهلی بار گشت

⁵ In Elliot Jamadi-ul ákhir.

⁶ "شهر میمون مبارک باد لاهور", The "happy city" of Lahore was called *Mubārakbād* after its restorer the Sultán.

⁷ بعد پنج ماه چسرت ... لاهور در امور ... نایک ماه هر روز بقصد گرفتن شهر و حمله میکرد و آخر الامر به مقصود رسید و باز گشته ...

Jasrath sacked all those places¹. Being powerless,² Jasrath ran towards the Rávi on the 16th of the aforesaid month, collected the wise men of the spot, and fell back one *kuroh* off Lahore. On the 21st of the month an engagement took place in the mud fort, when the Royalists came out victorious, and gave chase to the retiring force. Jasrath returned to his army.³ In this way did the battle continue outside the fort for a month and five days, but at last Jasrath losing P. 231. his heart made off towards Kálánor.⁴ Rái Bhím, who had come to the fort of Kálánor for rendering aid to the royal forces, excited the enmity of Jasrath (against him),⁵ and when the latter approached Kálánor, fighting went on between them but neither side could claim a victory: Ultimately peace, was declared in the month of Ramzán. Jasrath then retired to the banks of the Biyáh in order to mobilise his forces from the Khokhars who had been friendly to him. Sikandar Tuhfá now arrived (from Delhi) with an innumerable army at the ford of Búhí⁶ to join forces with Malik Mahmúd Hasan, who had been deputed before by the Emperor against Jasrath. Failing in constant persistence,⁷ Jasrath fled across the Rávi and Jánháva with his followers, and proceeded to the hills of Telhar.⁸ Maliku-sh-Shark Sikandar crossed the Biyáh at the ford of Búhí, and on the 12th Shawwál, he arrived at Láhor. Malik Mahmúd Hasan met him at a distance of three *kuroh* outside the fort.

Previous to this, Malik Rajab, Amír of Dípálpur,* Malik Sultán Sháh Lodi, Amír of Sirhind, and Rái Fíroz Mian joined

¹ Elliot reads, "Jasrath held his ground". The Text runs—*مذکور ہما نیجاالت روز دیگر چسرتہ*

² *فر دست*

³ This line is not clear. It runs—*چسرتہ مذکور باز گشت ہم در پردہ خویش نزل کرد*

⁴ On the Kírrán, in the Guradaspur, district Punjab.

⁵ Jasrath attacked Rái Bhím for having betrayed his retreat to the King.

⁶ Badauni says Puhí (*پوهی*)

⁷ *طاعت مقارعت نبرد*

⁸ Badauni says Tilwára.

* Dípálpur (Dibálpur, Debálpur) in Montgomery, district Punjab, 30° 40' N, 73° 32' E, a place of historical importance, and identified by Cunningham with Daiddala of P tolemy.

Malik Sikandar. The victorious army (of Sikandar Tuhfá) proceeded along the Ráví, and forded that river between Kálánor and the town of Bhoḥ.¹ On reaching the frontiers of Jammú they were joined by Rái Bhím. Afterwards some of the Khokhars who fell asunder from Jasrath at the bank of Janháva were worsted, and the royal army retraced their way to the happy city Mubárákábád. His Majesty issued firmáns² that, Maliku-sh-Shark Mahmúd Hasan should go to the fief of Jálandhar, and having got ready³ (his followers), should return and join him. Malik Sikandar⁴ was entrusted with the civil administration of the auspicious city, and in obedience to the royal mandate, he proceeded with an army to the fort. The Emperor having recalled Mahmúd Hasan and the other *Amírs*, removed Malik Sikandar from the *vizirate* and appointed Maliku-sh-Shark Sarwar-ul-Mulk in his stead as the governor of the city. The son of the latter succeeded him in the office of governor.

In the year 826, A.H. (A.D. 1423) His Majesty, the refuge of the world, drew up his forces and resolved upon marching against Hindustan. In the month of Muharram he entered the territory of Katehr,⁵ and exacted revenue and taxes. Meanwhile, Muhábát Khán, *Amír* of Badáyun⁶ who

The Sultan's expeditions against Katehr, Rathore and Etawa.

P 233.

¹ Ms. reads بهر.

² فرمان معالی همایون

³ مستعد شده

⁴ ملك سكندر بتهانه شهر میمون نگاهدار

⁵ In the early Muhammadan period the tract now known as Rohilkhand or the Bareilly Division of the United Provinces, was called Katehr. It was named after their inhabitants, the Katehriyá Rajputs who, as the tribal traditions point out, came from Benares or Tirhoot, in the 13th and 14th centuries.

⁶ Badáyun or Badaun, is a district in the United Provinces. It became an important post in the northern boundary of the Sultanate of Delhi, and its governors were chosen from distinguished soldiers who had constantly to face revolts of the turbulent Katehriya Rajputs. Acc. to Firishṭa it was Muhábát Khán who had been entrusted with a commission against the tribe of Rathore Rajputs.

had been in great fear of the late Emperor, Khizr Khán¹ May his tomb be sanctified! was honoured with an interview and special favours. The Sultán then crossed the Ganges and ravaged the territory of the Rathors;² putting a large number of the turbulent infidels to the sword. For sometime the Imperialists encamped on the Ganges, and then His Majesty left Mubáraz, Zirak Khán and Kamál Khán with a detachment at the fort of Kampila³ to suppress the Rathors. The son of Rái Sabír who had joined His Majesty, and had moved about in his suite, now took alarm and went off. Malik Khair-ud-dín Khán⁴ was sent after him with a vast army, but he failed to overtake the refugee. Khair-ud-dín, however, laid waste the territory (of the Rái) and descended upon Etawah. The Sultán, too, with successive marches led his army to Etawah, where the turbulent infidel had thrown himself into the fort. The son of Rái Sabír being worn out submitted at last, and promised to pay him as of old revenue, and also to render him services.⁵ P 234. The Sultán returned victorious to Delhi in Jamádi-ul-ákhír, 826 A.H. From Jálándhar came Malik Mahmud Hasan with a large body of followers to wait upon His Majesty, and he was received with great distinction. The office of 'Ariz Mamálik⁶ was taken from Malik Khair-ud-dín Khán and given to Mahmud Hasan. Worthy, righteous and trustworthy, Mahmud Hasan assiduously took to the affairs of the State, and his dignity was

¹ Badauni says, مہابت خان بداولی کہ باحضر خان باغی شدہ ہرد

² Badauni writes در فوجی کھور عرف شمس آباد ولایت پنواران (? راقہوران) رانخت

³ In Farukkhábád district, United Provinces, 27° 35' N. 79° 14' E. In Mahabharat, capital of South Panchala, under King Drupada.

⁴ Ms. reads ملک خیرالدین خانی

⁵ Firishta says " the Rajas son was delivered as a hostage for his father's future good conduct into the kings' hands".

⁶ Ms. has عہدہ عارض ممالک : 'Ariz Mamálik is the officer through whom petitions are presented to the Sultan : Elliot has " Pay Master of the Forces ", Firishta, " Bukshy of the forces "

in the increase. In Jamādi-ul-awal of this same year, a battle was fought between Jasrath and Rāi Bhim, in which the latter was slain, and a large number of his horses and arms fell a prey to Jasrath. On ascertaining the death of the Rāi, the victor united a small force of the Mughals with his own¹, and sacked Dipālpur and Lahore. Malik Sikandar who was on the alert immediately ran after Jasrath, and the latter retreating crossed the Jāuhāva. Meanwhile news arrived of the death of Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk, *Amīr* of Multān.

It was rumoured that, Shaikh 'Alī², the vice-regent of the prince, the son of Sar 'atmash³ was moving forward with a large army to make an incursion into Bhakkar⁴ and Siwistān. To stem the tide of Mughal invasion and suppress the outbreak, His Majesty placed the districts of Multan and Siwistān under the charge of Maliku-sh Shark Malik Mahmud Hasan, and sent him with a big army, and with all his family and dependents to Multan. Reaching Multan he restored order among the populace, and bestowed upon each of them suitable rewards, pensions and allowances. The people of the place preserved a tranquil mind and became happy; the inhabitants of the city and the country led a quiet and secure existence. Mahmud Hasan renovated the fortress at Multan that

¹ ماخیش copyist's error for باخیش: Firishta says "Jasrath formed an alliance with "Ameer, Shaik Ally, a Mughal chieftain in the service of Sharokh Mirza, governor of Kabul."

² The Ms. runs—شیخ علی فایب امیرزادہ و سر سرعتمش
Jasrath raised an army of 12,000 Gukkurs.

³ Firishta is of opinion that Shaikh Ali was prevailed upon (to make the incursion by way of creating a diversion, in order that, by drawing off the King's forces from the capital, for the defence of Sindh, his own views on Delhi might be facilitated.

Badauni makes no mention of Shaikh Ali's invasion.

⁴ In Dera Ismail, district Punjab: situated on the left bank of the Indus; Lat. 31° 37' 43", Long. 71° 5' 52".

had been damaged in the struggles with the Mughals, and assembled an army around him.

In the meantime news came to His Majesty that, Alb Khán, Amír of Dhar had led his army to Gwalior.¹ The Sultān hastened thither with a big army, and on his reaching the district of Bayána,* the son of Auhad Khán², Amír of Bayána who having assassinated Mubarak Khán his paternal uncle raised the banner of insurrection, laid waste the fort of Bayána, and retired to the brow. The

P. 236.

Emperor struck his camp at the base of the hill, and after a time, being hard pressed the rebel paid his revenue and tribute, and put his neck into the collar of obedience. The King then moved towards Gwalior against Alb Khán.† This chief had secured the (usual) fords of the Chambal,³ and the royal army passed over the said stream by another (new) ford, Malik Mahmud Hasan and sundry other nobles, and the Mewattis,⁴ and Nusrat Khán who were the

The unsuccessful revolt of the Amír of Bayana.

¹ Badanni writes (291) :— *اب خان حاكم دهلي بقصد تنبيه راي گواليار و عزيمت* Firishhta calls him Sultan Hooshung of Malwa.

² Ameer Khán, the son of Wahid khán, governor of Bayána. (Firishhta).

* Bayána or Biána, in Bharatpur State, Rajputana and 50 miles south-west of Agra.

† Tabakat-i-Akbari has Alf Khán and Alaf Khán. Both are errors, for Ulugh Khán.

³ Ms. reads— *البخشان كناره آب چيتك (پ) كدرها كرتة: فرود آمده بود*

⁴ Ms. has *ميوان* : Mewat, an ill-defined tract lying south of Delhi, include the Br. districts of Muttra, Gurgaon, most of the Alwar and a little of Bharatpur states. It takes its name from the Meos, who appear to have been originally same as the *Mīnās* of Rajputana. The origin of the name "Meo" is disputed, some deriving it from Mewat, which is said to be the Sanskrit *Mīnā-vatī*, rich in fish; while the Meos derive it from *Maheo*, a word used in driving cattle. Throughout the period of Muhammadan rule the Meos were the Ishmaelites of their own country and of the upper Doab, and harried again and again by the Kings of Delhi from 1259 to 1527. During the troubled times of Timur's invasion, Bahádur Náhar founded the subdivision of the Mewattis called *Khánzádas*, members of which for many years ruled Mewat. Imp. Gazz. U. P. I. 223. The Ms. reads— *محمود حسن و بعضي امرا ديگر چنانچه ميوان و نصرت خان* چنانچه There should be a, after *امرا ديگر* instead of *چنانچه*

heads of the victorious army with their horse and foot,¹ plundered the baggage of Alb Khán, and brought many of his men, horse and foot back as prisoners. Taking into account that both parties were Musalmans, His Majesty spared the prisoners' lives and set them free. Next day Alb Khán despatched envoys to make overtures to the King. Learning that Alb Khán was reduced to a state of weakness and compulsion, and disapproving any further design (of hostility) against his co-religionists, the Sultán consented to make peace on condition of Alb Khán sending in tribute and retiring from Gwalior. On the following day Alb Khán forwarded his gifts to the Emperor and turned his way towards Dhar. The King stationed himself for sometime on the banks of the Chambal, levying contributions upon the infidels according to old custom, after which he safely returned to his capital, laden with booty, in Rajab 827 A.H. (June 1423) and took to administration.

In the month of Muharram, 828 A.H.,² (November 1424) the Sultán moved towards Katehr. When he reached the banks of the Ganges, Har Singh³ joined the Sultán and was honoured with great compassion, but as he had put off paying his quota of tribute for three years, he was detained for a few days...⁴ In short, the royal forces went across the Ganges, took the rebels of those parts to task, and continued their progress to the hills of Kumáyun. Here they halted for sometime, but when the weather became sultry they retired homewards along the banks of the Rahab.⁵ Crossing the Ganges near Kampil they made for Kanauj, but owing to a severe famine having broken out in the cities of Hindustán, the Imperialists moved no further.

¹ زيادة an error for دياره :

² Badauni says 827 A. H. سبع وعشرين وثمانماية

³ Firishta says Nursingh.

⁴ Here the Ms. is illegible, eaten up by worms.

⁵ Ms. reads آب رهپ

Informations relating to the insurrection of the Mewáttis reaching the Sultán, he set out with successive marches against Mewát, and carried fire and sword through their country. The Mewáttis deserted their country and took refuge in Jahra, their *point-d'appui*. This retreat being invulnerable and the provisions running short, the Sultán laden with booty, retired to his capital where he arrived in the month of Rajab. The Amírs and Máliks were permitted leave, and His Majesty abandoned himself to amusement and pleasure.

The following year, 829 A. H. (November 1425) the Sultán proceeded to Mewát, when Jallu and Kaddū,¹ grandsons of Bahádur Náhir, and several Mewáttis who had co-operated with them having laid waste their own territories, retreated to the hills of

Sultan's third expedition to Mewat: submission of Jallu and Kaddu.

Andwar. After a seige lasting for several days when the Imperialists pressed hard, the beseiged evacuated Andwar and made off to the mountains of Alwar.² The Emperor levelled the fort of Andwar in the dust, and hastened to Alwar. On his approach, Jallu and Kaddū shut themselves in the fort, and the victorious army followed them.³

Being reduced to a state of deep depression, they begged for mercy and were granted with quarter.⁴ * Subsequently, Kaddu

¹ چلو و کدو, for Julal and Kuddur, to which "Khan" was usually suffixed. In Firishta we get Jullu and Kudroo. Badanni gives no name. The second should be omitted after کدو in the line چلو و کدو نسیگان بهادر ناهر, as its existence would imply the existence of the grandsons of Bahádur Náhir other than Jallu and Kaddu.

² Alwar or Ulwar, in Rajputana, bet. lat. 27° 4' 28° 13' and long. 76° 7' — 77° 14'.

³ The Ms. has لسكر منصور متواتر دھورو (؟) كدو Firishta is more precise when he says, "the grandsons of Bahádur Náhir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, and defended the passes with much obstinacy."

⁴ Tabakat-i-Akbari and Firishta relate that they (Jallu and Kaddu) were imprisoned.

* In Elliot (pp. 62-63) the portions that follow have been taken from *Tabakat-i-Akbari* as the pages of the Ms. used by Elliot were lost at this place. But the Ms. which is at our disposal is here intact.

was exalted with the eminence of being permitted to kiss the feet (of His Majesty), but as he was on the point of running away towards the mountains he was captured and committed to custody. The powerful lord and the centre of the universe¹ ravaged Mewat, and for a time took up his quarters there, but owing to the outbreak of famine in that country he retraced his steps to Delhi where he arrived in the month of Sha'aban.

Next year, in Muharram, 830 A. H. the King proceeded to Bayána, and coerced the Mewattis on the way. Muhammad Khán, son of Auhad Khán Amír of Bayána, shut himself up in the fort. He destroyed the city, retired to the fortress situated on the summit of the mountains, and held out for sixteen days². On the 2nd Rabī'-ul-ákhir the royalist faced Muhammad Khán; accompanied by his numerous army and the notable veterans, the Sultán made an ascent on the hill by a pathway situated in its rear. Getting wind of this (incident), the son of Auhad Khán lost his power of resistance and went *hors de combat* inside the fortress.³ Discerning his rank unsteady and the fortress in confusion, Muhammad Khán gave up offering resistance and having come outside his strongholds with a turban round his neck kissed the dust.⁴ The Sultán, the centre of the universe and the just, promised him safety, the Khán (in return) offered whatever hard cash, valuable goods, arms, furnitures and cattle he had stored in the fort to the victor⁵ who remained there for a few days (more). By the order of the Sultán the family and dependants of Muhammad Khán were taken out of the fort,

¹ خدايان گيتي مدار

² The word "كوه" should be omitted from - بقوت كوه بالشكر منصور معاذ به ميگرد -

³ Firishita relates that owing to the desertion of part of the garrison, Muhammad Khán had to surrender.

⁴ دست و پاي كم كرده بغروات دستار درگلو (P) انداخته و پاي: از سر ساخته از درون پرون آمد بشرف خاكبرس مشرف گشت

Firishita states, "with a rope about his neck (he) was led into the royal presence."

⁵ The Ms. reads: آنچه از جنس نقره و نفايس اسباب و اسلحه و رخت و گار درون قلعه - داشت بوجه فعل بها (P) اسپان لشكر منصور پيش كزانيده -

despatched to Delhi and allowed to live in the palace of *Jahán-numah*. The charge of the fief of Bayána was handed over to Mukbil Khán, a slave of the Sultán, and the viceregency of *pergannah* Sikri¹ was vested on Malik Khair-ud-din Tuhfa. P. 241.

His Majesty then proceeded to Gwalior. On his arrival **The Sultan** the Rái of Gwalior, Bhangar² and **marched against** Chandawar made their submission and **Gwalior and ac-** paid tribute according to old rule. At **cepted submis-** the desire of his friends the Sultán safely **sion of its Rai.** returned to Delhi, laden with booty and reached his palace in the month of Jamadi-ul-akhir³. He then, took the fief of Multan⁴ from Mahmud Hasan, giving him charge of Hisar Firozá and transferring Multan to Maliku-sh Shark Rajab Nádrah. Shortly after, Muhammad Khán seceded from the Sultan, and effected his escape to Mewat with his wife and children. Some of his attendants who had been dispersed rejoined him. It transpired that Malik Mukbil had set out with his whole force for Maháwan⁵, leaving Malik Khair-ud-dín Tuhfa in the fort and the *Khittah* of Bayána (empty of soldiers). Reposing trust in the inhabitants and the chiefs of (that) country,⁶ (Muhammad Khán) went to Bayána with a small force, when he was joined by the people of the *khittah* and the country. Subsequently, the fort (Bayána) capitulated and the soldiers that

¹ Later became known as Fatehpur; now a district in the Allahabad Division, United Provinces, lying between 25° 25' and 26° 16' N. and 80° 14' and 81° 20' E. According to tradition, the Rájás of Argal held a large part of the district as tributaries of the Kanauj Kingdom before the Muhammadan conquest. Nothing definite is known of the history of the district during the early Muhammadan period when it formed a part of the Kingdom of Kora

² Ms. has *بھنگر*: Bhangar may be identified with Bhangurh, in Ulwar State, Rajputana, 38 miles south-west from Ulwar. Lat. 27° 7', Long. 76° 22'.

³ In Elliot, Jamadi-ul-auwal.

⁴ The copyist has omitted "ملتانی" after "قطاع". The line would then read as *قطاع ملتانی از ملک الشرق ملک محمد حسن تحویل شد*

⁵ Mod. Mahaban, in Muttra, district United Provinces, near the left bank of the Jumna 27° 27' N. and 77° 45' E.

⁶ *براعتماد (؟) سکان خطه و مقدمان ولایت*

had been stationed there were withdrawn to Delhi. The Emperor took Bayána from Malik Mukbil, and entrusted it to Malik Mubáriz with orders to suppress the rebellion of Muhammad Khán. At the advent of the Imperialists, the rebel retired into the fort, and Malick Mubáriz took possession of Bayána and its adjacent countries. Entrusting the defence of the place to some of his followers, Muhammad Khán ran away to join Sultán Ibráhim Sharkí.² The Sultán summoned Malik Mubáriz to his presence to account for the escape of Muhammad Khán,³ and in the month of Muharram, 831 A. H., he ordered his army off to Bayána.

On the way, there came an epistle from Kádir Khán, the ruler of Kalpi⁴, communicating the approach of Sharkí, at which the powerful lord and the centre of the universe made a change of front and went out to meet

the invader. It got wind that Sharkí having laid waste *Bhūn-Kánūn*⁵ was working his way to Badáyūn. The Sultan⁶ forded the Jaun (Jamuna) at Nuh-Patal, sacked Harolí⁷ and from thence he led his army to Atrolí⁸.

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It now reached the ears of the Emperor⁹ that, Mukhtass Khán,¹⁰ brother of Sharkí had arrived at Etawah with a large contingent and numerous elephants. Upon this the King described from the main body Mahmud Hasan¹¹ with 10,000 brave and experienced horsemen and sent

¹ خداوند عالم² Sharkí was at that time advancing with an army against Kalpi.³ Ms. runs—ملك مبارز را نیز برای مصلحتی (؟) در حضرت طلب شد— Elliot.⁴ In Jálau district United Provinces. Lat 26° 8' N. and Long. 79° 45' E.⁵ Ms. reads. بهیر کانون ; Badauni has بهرس کانون ; Elliot Bhūkanū.⁶ حضرت اعلیٰ⁷ Ms. reads چترولی ; Badauni, چترولی⁸ In Aligarh, district United Provinces ; Elliot's translation from Tabakat-i-Akbari here ends.⁹ بندگان را بایات اعلیٰ¹⁰ Elliot calls him Mokhlis khán ;¹¹ ملك الشرق محمود حسن

him against Mukhtass Khán. Mahmud Hasan and his battalion descended upon the place where the army of Sharkí had pitched their camps. When the Khán was apprised of this news he fell back on his brother, but Mahmud Hasan halted there for sometime more with the object of making a night attack upon the adversaries. As the latter were on the look-out, he returned and rejoined the Delhi army. Sharkí, too, advanced along the banks of *Abi-siyáh*¹ to Burhanábád, in district Etawa. To meet his enemy, the Sultán evacuated Atrolí and pitched his camp at Mabin Kotáh,² where the belligerents remained only a short distance apart. Discerning the valour of the Emperor, and the strength and vastness of his army, Sharkí retired to Rapri³ in the month of Jamadí-ul awal. There he crossed the Jamuna at Gudrang⁴, and marching on towards Bayána, he encamped on the river of Katehr⁵. In pursuit of the retreating force, the powerful lord and the centre of the universe, crossed the Jamuna with successive marches at Chandawár and halted at a distance of four *kuroh* from the enemy. The vanguard of the Imperial army made constant raids upon their opponents, carrying off prisoners, cattle and baggage. This state of things continued for twenty days, the belligerents remaining at a short distance from each other. Drawing out his equipage, footmen and cavalry Sharkí presented a bold front on the 17th Jamadiu-l ákhir.⁶ His Majesty, Maliku-sh-shark Sarwarul Mulk the vazir, Sayyadu-s-Sádát Sayyad Sálím and several other prominent chiefs remained in the camp in safety, while some others were

P 244.

¹ Badauni has *آب سیاہ عرف کالی پانی*; Firishta, Kaly Nye, referring to Káli Nadi, properly Kálinđi, a river in United Provinces, rising in Muzaffarnagar.

² Ms. has *مابین کونہ*: Badauni simply *کونہ*; Firishta Malykota; Tabakat-i-Akbari, Máli Koná and Elliot Páyin Kotáh.

³ Firishta says Rabery Rápri, in Shikohábád *taluk* of Mainpuri district, United Provinces has always been important as commanding one of the crossings of the Jumna.

⁴ Ms. reads *کڑی*

⁵ Ms. has *آب کیتھر* Badauni has *آب کیتھر* :

⁶ Ms. reads, *هفتم ماه*; Elliot has 17th: Firishta says 17th Jamad-us-sany.

P. 245.

sent against the enemy, such as, Maliku-s-shark Malik Mahmud Hassan, Khán-i-'Azam Fátih Khán, son of Sultán Muzaffar, Mazlis-i-'alá Zirak Khán, Maliku-s-shark Malik Sultán Sháh who received of late the title of Islám Khán, Malik Jaman, the grandson of Khán-i-Jahán, Malik Kálú Khanī master of elephants, Malik Ahmad Tuhfá and Malik Mukbil Khán. The action commenced at noon and continued till sun-down, and when night fell¹ the combatants withdrew to their respective encampments. Neither side retreating, fighting continued till end². There were many wounded on the side of Sharkī, so that when on the next day he saw the strength of the royal forces, he marched off towards the Jamuna. On the 17th Jamadi-ul ákhir he forded (the river) at Gudrang, made his way to Rápri and from thence retraced his steps to his own country. The

P. 246.

Emperor pursued him to Gudrang, but the contending party being Muhammadan, he refrained himself from any further chase. He then took his way to Hath Kant,³ and after exacting customary tribute from the Rái of Gwalior and the other Ráis, moved in the direction of Bayána along the course of the Chambal. Mahmud

**The Sultan to
Gwalior and
Bayana.**

Khán Auhadi who had befriended Sharkī, being frightened out of his wits shut himself up in the fortress situated at the summit of the hill. The Emperor laid siege to the fortress that was excessively lofty and most impregnable. Nevertheless it was due to the prosperity of His Majesty, the centre of the universe, that the low born tribe suffered losses and their vanity disappeared before the (royal) punishment;⁴ their hands were powerless against the assailants and their feet unable to flee. The siege, thus, continued for a week ; at length they allowed

¹ The author here indulges in a verbose style : — میان یکدیگر مقاتله و مبارزه از : نیم روز تا وقت شام هم در عین قتل (؟) بودند که سلطان سپهر از ناحیه نیم روز در حدود شام ناخست و بمنزل عین حمیه (؟) عنم نزل و اذیت جهان روشن در چشمها تاریک نمود
² آن وقت برساوا مقامت بازی قایم ماند

³ Ms. reads عشمکانون : Badauni has استگانه : Firishta Hulkant ; Elliot Hathkant.

⁴ Ms. has, عزور ایشان از آتش قهر لشکر منصور فرور نشست

the invaders to claim the victory and sought for mercy. Full of clemency and pity for the Musalmans, the Sultán forebore to punish Muhammad Khán and granted him forgiveness; firmáns were issued to the soldiery ordering them to evacuate the fort.

P. 247.

On the 26th Rajáb, His Majesty marched out with his attendants and went off towards Mewat. **The Sultan to Mewat.**

He remained there for sometime to set in order the wasted city, and with a view to the administration and upkeep of the district of Bayána he appointed as its governor Malik Mahmud Hasan, who had exhibited bravery and loyalty in the government and the defence of the frontiers, and was successful in the accomplishment of many great duties. He had, thus, signalised the opening years of the Sultan's rule¹ by waging a war against Jasrath Khokhar; (again) when he held the command at Lahore he had made a stand against the prince-deputy of the Sultán of Khorassan,² and hindered him from making an ingress to Multan. He was now appointed as the commandant of the fort of Bayána with its adjoining territories. The *itka'* of Bayána and all its dependencies were placed under his control.

At the desire of his well-wishers His Majesty worked homeward along the bank of the Jaun **The Sultan's return to Delhi.** (Jamuna), and reaching the capital on the 15th Sha'abán 831 A. H., (May 29, 1427 A.D.) took up his residence in Sírí. Then he bade farewell to the *Amírs* and *Málíks* to their fiefs, and gave himself up to pleasure and merry-making.

¹ The text is faulty. چنانچه در ممبران جلوس با جستند
مجرأ جلوس should be شیخ زاده نایب شاهزاده خراسان

² We have adopted Elliot: The personage referred to is the general of Shah Rukh.

V.—Cup-marked Stones near Rajgir (with Plates.)

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph. D. (Oxon.)

In December 1916, Mr. Jackson was walking from Pātharkāṭi to Rājgir. He had gone to Pātharkāṭi to verify the following description by Buchanan in his Patna-Gaya Journal under the date 23rd November, 1811-12¹:

"Having examined these I visited the quarry on the hill called Jerra or Paterkati, situated about a mile south-westerly from Baliya. It is also very rugged, and consists in a great measure of granite, but its southern end is chiefly of the hornblende kind. The greater part is black potstone with a fine grain, and is so much impregnated with silicious hornstone that it has a conchoidal fracture². It is very hard and [is] used for making pestles and mortars. It is called merely Kalaputur or black stone. There is however a very fine quarry of [hornblende]³ consisting of large crystals,⁴ which is called Vishnupodi, because it was employed to erect the temple of that name at Gaya, and the workmen were brought from Jaynagar on purpose. There is no demand for this stone now, and the workmen are reduced to live by making cups, plates, etc. of the potstone, and mortar and pestles of that impregnated with silicious matter. Very fine masses of the pure hornblende may be procured, the silicious potstone is more intersected by fissures. The tradition at the quarry is that it was first wrought by Harchand Rajah, who built Rotas and dug the caves⁵ of Burabar, etc., and who finding

¹ Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Journal, edited by Jackson, 1925, pp. 23-4.

² Black potstone (kalapathar), hornstone impregnated with hornblende; Jackson, *ibid.*, p. 190.

³ Rock intermediate between granite and hornstone, *ibid.*, p. 191.

⁴ Hornblende, very fine, crystals large and distinct, does not take a fine polish: *ibid.*, p. 195.

⁵ Asoka does not claim to have excavated the caves but to have simply bestowed them on the Ājivikas (*dinā*): cf. Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, vol. 1, 1925, pp. 181-2.

the materials too hard desisted and sent his workmen to Alura (Ellora) in the south, where he dug very great works in the rocks."

From Pātharkāṭi to Rājgīr, the distance is about 13 miles, from south-west to north-east. Mr. Jackson was proceeding across fields. About eight miles from Rājgīr, at the foot of its south-western ridge,¹ near a place now called Mokhtargarh,² he noticed thousands of stones of a peculiar size and shape lying on the surface or half-buried in the ground. They were roughly conical, about 2 feet in width and 1½ feet in length with cup-like depressions artificially fashioned on 5, 6, sometimes 8 flat corners.³ The stone is black gneiss, like that used at Pātharkāṭi and resembling that of the Barabar hills. Both the colour and the grain were markedly different from the living rock of Rājgīr, both of the neighbouring ridge and the main chain. It was getting dark and Mr. Jackson had no further opportunity of a closer inspection. An added difficulty lay in the inaccessibility of the spot except on foot.

In November 1926, I led a trip of the Archaeological and Historical Society of the Patna College, on foot from Islampur to Rājgīr. Following a zig-zag course across fields, we covered about 65 miles in 5 days. Our route was Islampur—Keur—Pātharkāṭi—Jethiān—Rājgīr.⁴ I was specially instructed by Mr. Jackson, to look up the cup-marked stones and photograph them. There they lay near Mokhtargarh to the south and Natesa to the west—cf. the Bihar and Orissa District Maps, district of Patna, 1910, sheets⁵ no. 85 D.5. To the east was the ridge of Rājgīr leading to the Jethiān valley. The stones lay over more than an acre of ground, about two furlongs from the nearest spur of the ridge. Examining the locality

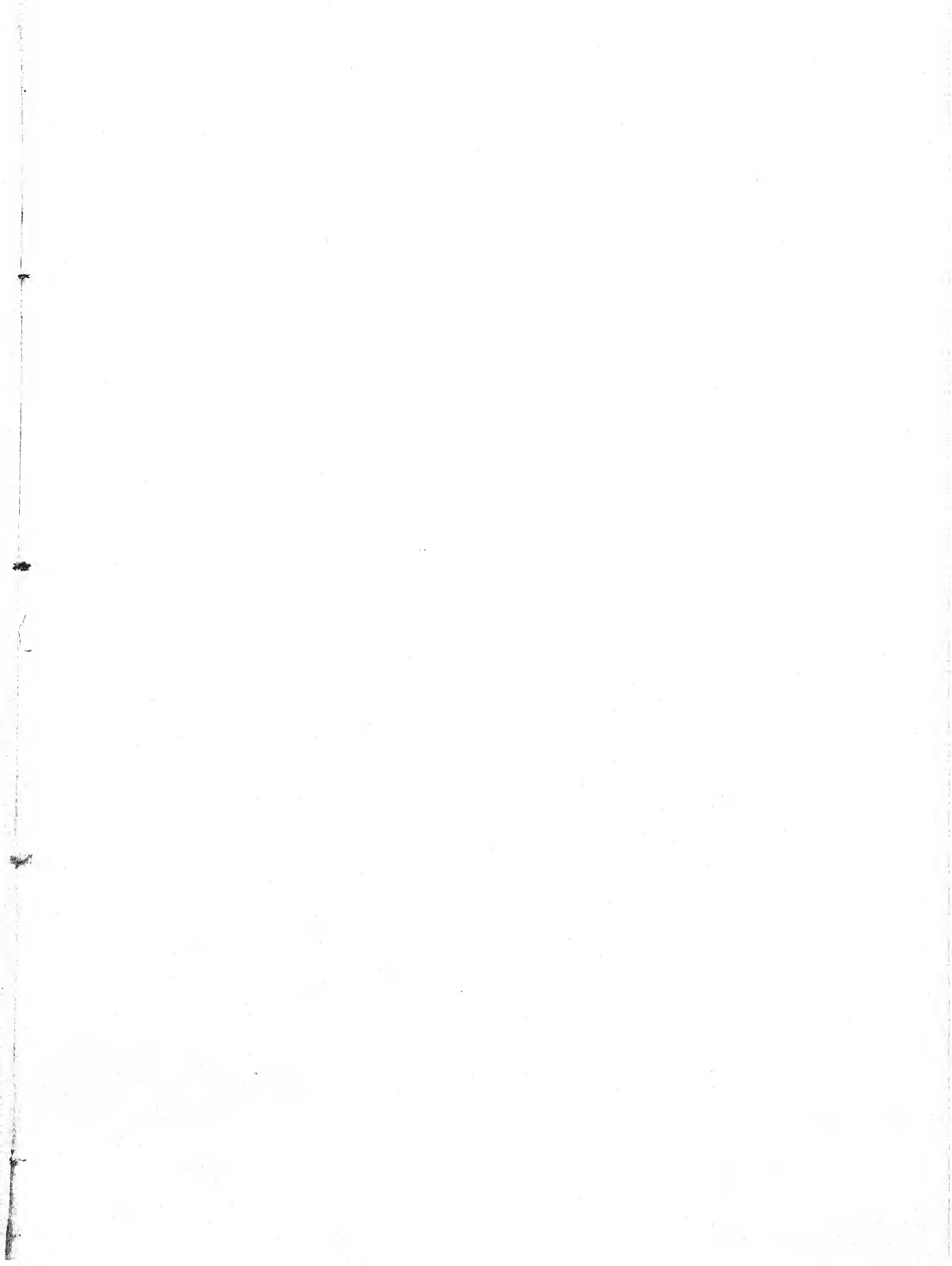
¹ Due north from the Jethiān Valley.

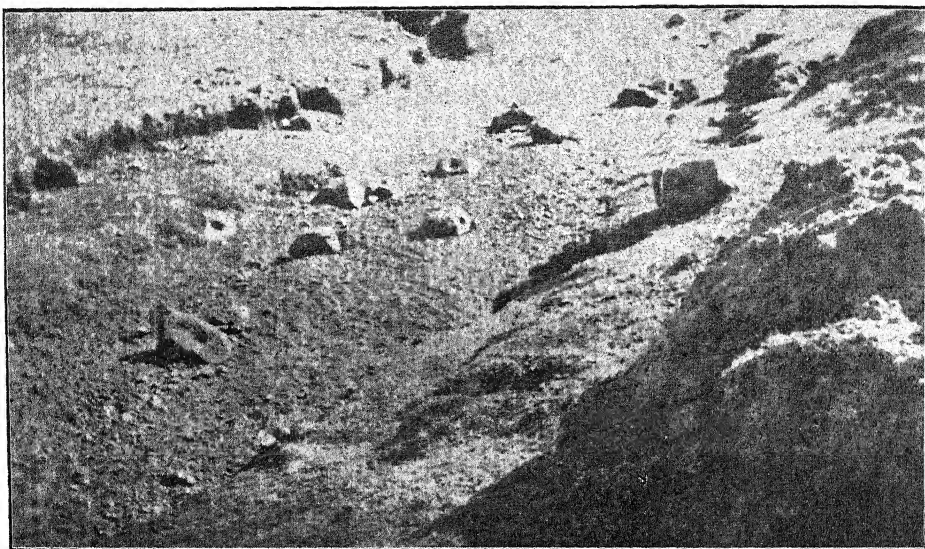
² A recent name after the owner, a Mokhtiar from Gaya.

³ Sometimes also in the middle or the sides, cf. plates.

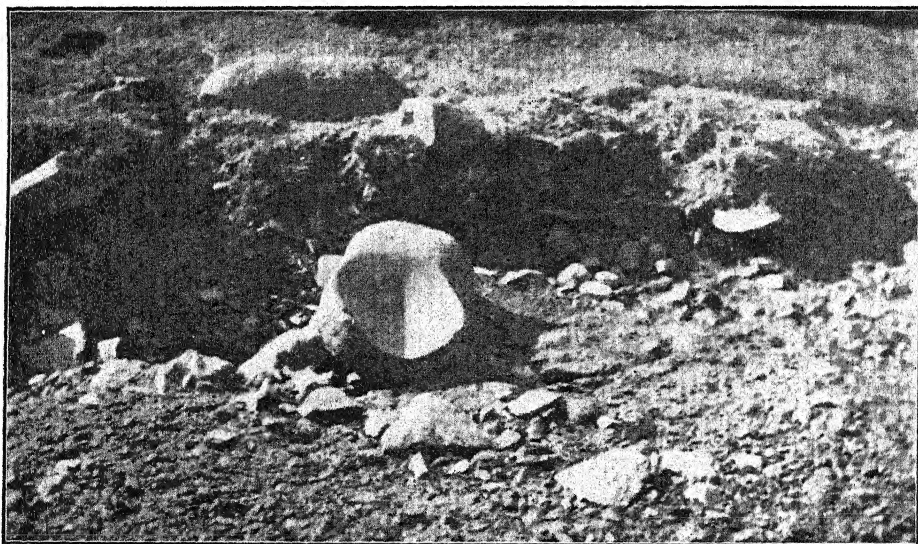
⁴ The whole connected area is full of remains of successive civilisations hardly noticed by anyone after Buchanan.

⁵ Survey maps, Bihar and Orissa, 1905-10. District of Patna.

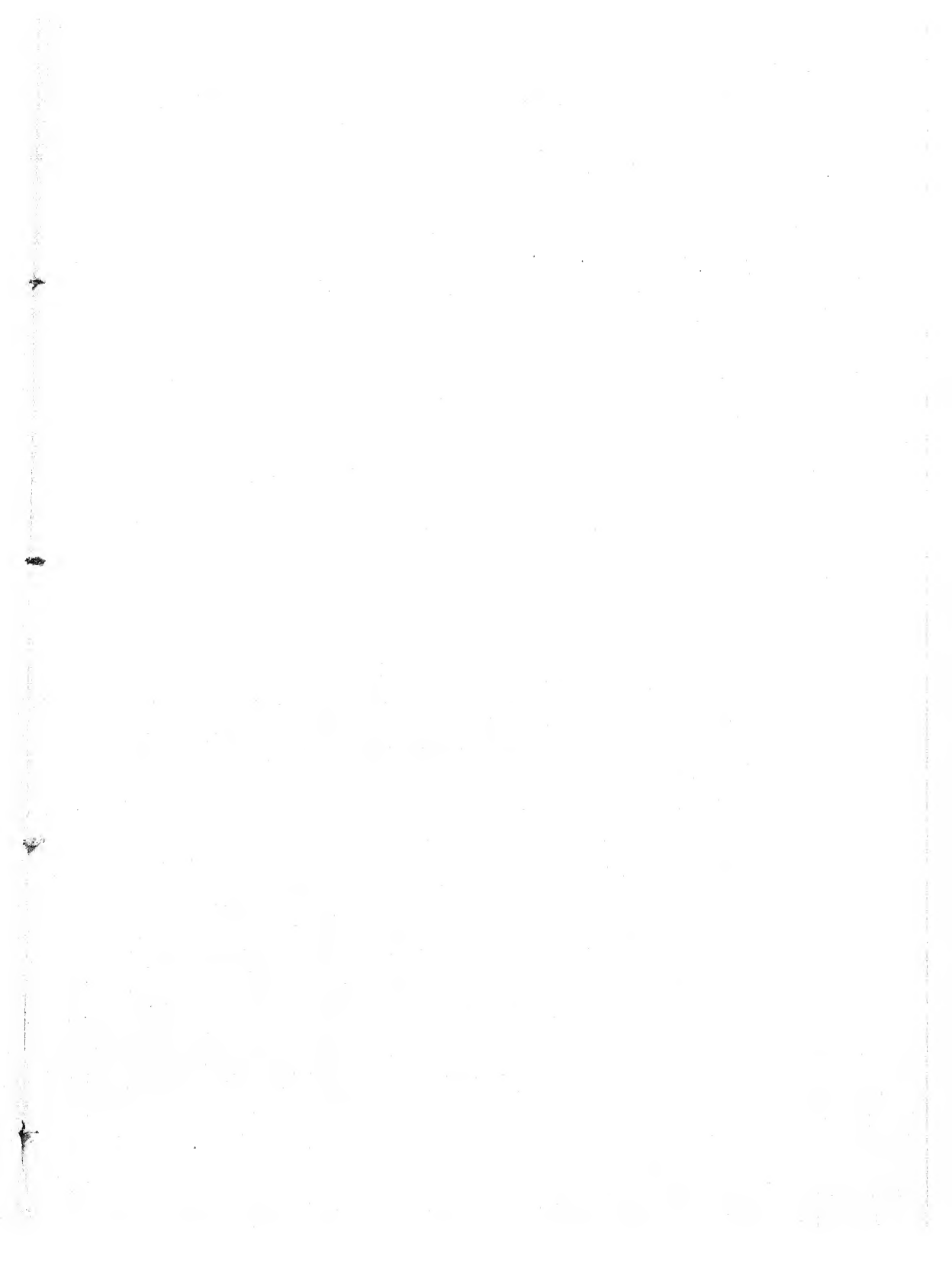




3. CUP-MARKED STONES IN WATER-COURSE.



4. STONE IN WATER-COURSE SHOWING LONG GROOVE.
(THE LINE ALONG CENTRE IS ONLY EDGE OF SHADOW.)



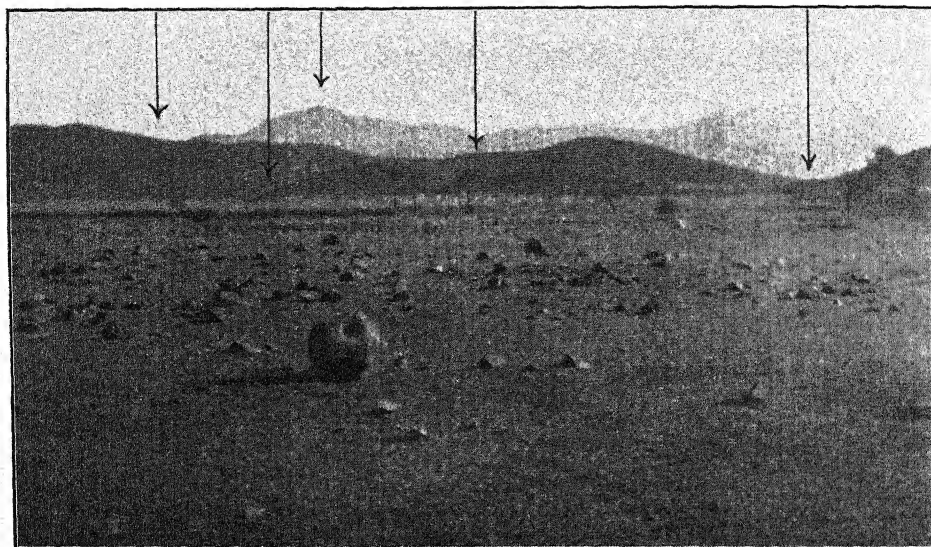
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DUKRI (

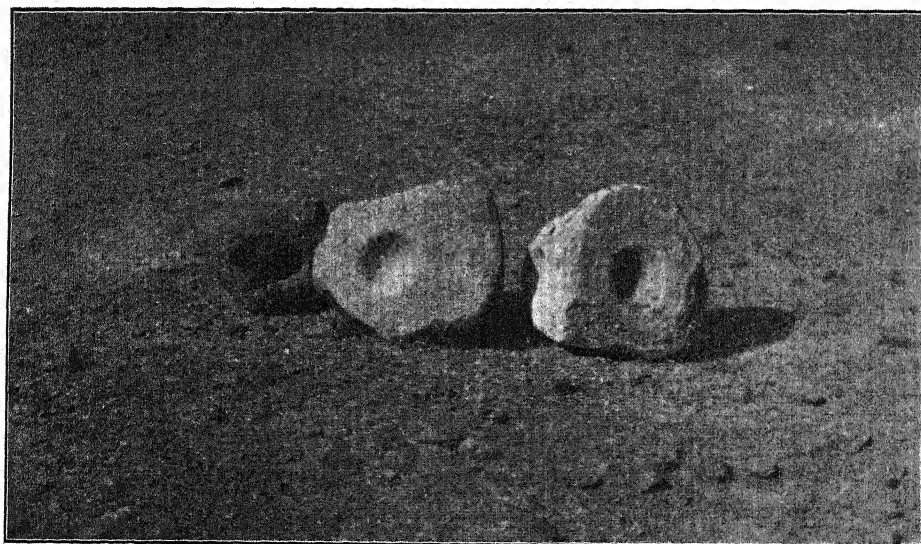
BIBI JAI

NATESAI

MOKHTA



1. SITE OF SOBHANPUR, LOOKING S.E.



2. CUP-MARKED STONES NEAR BUCHANAN'S DUKRIGHAT.

further west I discovered a waterway and at a distance of another furlong, remarkable remains of an old settlement.¹ It consists of regular lines of stones showing the foundations and walls of buildings, all lying in clearly-marked rows, of rooms large and small, outer walls as well as inner passages. The size and arrangement of rooms and passages as well as the type of undressed stones used, are strongly reminiscent of the ruins of the pre-historic town of old Rājgir² inside the valley. This discovery roused the curiosity of Mr. Jackson and we both returned to Rājgir in December, 1926, prepared for a longer stay and visited the spot again. Mr. Jackson took some photographs of the cup-marked stones *in situ*, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plates. We measured and sketched the settlement—the outer walls lengthwise 220 feet, 209 feet wide : five large rooms at either end arranged lengthwise and six smaller ones in the middle : a parallel row of rooms east to west and a passage running the whole distance about 12 feet broad.³ It is on an elevated piece of hard ground, surrounded on three sides, west, south and north, by adjoining paddy fields. To the north, it is connected with the acre bearing the cup-marked stones, the intervening space being of a rocky soil, through which passes a waterway to-day evidently fed by rain water down the sides of the hills. Further north it touches the nearest spur and higher on, the ridge. Thus the whole space from the ridge to the settlement covering about five acres

¹ These stones, unlike the cup-marked stones, were evidently procured locally from the neighbouring ridge.

² Jackson, *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Rep.* 1913-14, pp. 265-71.

³ For the arrangement of rooms passages, etc., and the general nature of the settlement ruins inside the valley, cf. the excellent plan prepared by Jackson, *A.S.R., Ibid.*, p. 267. The earlier strata are clearly distinguishable from the later ones, themselves fairly ancient, by following old roads, cutting across older foundations. It should be remembered that nothing but surface explorations has yet been attempted at Rājgir. The undressed stones may not be of the earliest epoch; cf. Ferry, *The children of the Sun*, p. 93: "When the archaic civilisation broke up, not only were irrigation, stone-working and image-carving given up, but metal-working and mining were abandoned, and the land often given over to people who cared for none of these things."

is one continuation. Its rambling nature may be accounted for partly by the removal of cup-marked stones, once spread more symmetrically. In a village named Sherpur, just to the southwest of the settlement we inspected a big well which had used up at least 500 of these stones and we were informed that neighbouring villages had also utilised them in the same way and some contractors had carted away thousands of them.¹ We got into the waterway and unearthed some potteries which clearly showed previous habitations at a depth of 5 feet and possibly lower down. We searched the whole locality for any other piece of dressed or artificial stone and discovered a solitary broken pestle, rather small about five inches in length and 2 inches in width. We spent another day² in examining the neighbouring ridge for any vein of gold or remains or proof of gold-working at any time, for reasons given below. We found no such sign.

Later, with the help of the local landlord, we had three specimens of the cup-marked stones³ carted direct to Patna. Two of them are now exhibited in the Patna Museum and the third is in the compound of the Principal of the Patna College.

What were these stones used for and who brought them there? We had a long discussion on the spot and later on in our tent far into the night.

Mr. Jackson was a scientist and suspicious of theories. Yet he admitted that a collection of facts was no more a science than a heap of stones could be called a house, and that a house was infinitely more useful and more agreeable than a heap of stones. As Bacon said, science is possible only on generalities. In a quest after the unknown, it is better to have an imperfect plan than no plan at all. In science, a hypothesis has always, even when false, the advantage of suggesting

¹ More damage to ancient Indian ruins has been done by these contractors and house-builders in ceaselessly removing and disposing of apparently unclaimed materials than by temporary vandalism of invaders and fanatics.

² The search was seriously hampered by a dense jungle which we could not penetrate at places. We however noticed a distinctive reddish tinge in the gravel.

³ They weigh between three to four maunds each. The more regular ones were naturally taken away for use in wells and structures.

researches and experiments, even though subsequently destroyed by these very researches and experiments, according to the inverse realization of the legend of Ugolin. Every good theory is a *coagulum* of logical thought and certain number of known facts. We then proceeded to think out the facts concerning the cup-marked stones.

(a) None in the neighbouring villages of Kamalpur, Natesar and Mokhtargarh had any idea about the origin of the stones, except that they lay there from time immemorial. Two of the oldest inhabitants of Natesar were slightly more definite about the deserted stone settlement. It was equally ancient, but associated with the name of king Rohtas, and formerly known as *Suvan-pur*. Suvanpur means a city of, or connected with, gold. It would suggest a settlement once occupied in gold-working.

(b) The neighbouring ridge joins the Sona-giri. Sona-giri means the rock containing gold. There is no shrine on this hill and yet important roads connected it on one side with the cup-marked stones area leading on to Jethiān and on the other to the Son-Bhāṇḍār cave.¹ The south wall is the highest. It often rises 30—40 feet above the level of the valley inside. Through three well-marked gaps run three ancient roads. The pilgrims road from Sona-giri to the Son-Bhāṇḍār cave now passes through one² probably representing a south-west gate leading towards Jethiān. Near the middle is another gap representing the principal gate of the city on the south. The third road can be traced from the Bangaṅgā opening in the hills, turning to the west round a spur of Sona-giri, cutting through it for some distance and then turning sharply to enter the old city. The west wall, as far as the Son-Bhāṇḍār cave, has disappeared owing to the branch of the Sarasvatī stream which runs from the south.

(c) Thus the Son-Bhāṇḍār cave had the peculiarity of being connected with the cup-marked stones area by easy roads

¹ Marshall, *A.S.R.*, 1905-06, pp. 86-106.

² Jackson, *A.S.R.*, 1913-14, pp. 268-9.

and of having a stream close by—necessary for both gold-digging and gold-washing. Son-Bhāṇḍār means the store of gold. Many unsavoury stories are still current as regards the evil effects of this persistent tradition.¹ Some latter-day gold-seeker is said to have used dynamite and blown up the cave and thus made the left-hand side window-like aperture.² More significant still is the dark passage to the right-hand top (higher up) of the passage³ which is claimed to reach the outer side, right through the interior of the solid rock. Even Beglar's cave with seven chambers⁴ (Sattapanni), later discredited as imaginary,⁵ begins to acquire a new meaning. The Rājpiṇḍ cave in Jethiān is credited with another such interior passage running right across the whole southern wall, vouchsafed by Hiuen-Tsiang himself.⁶ These passages remind one of Kunz's⁷ description of gold-working in North American mountains specially several caves in the mountain of the Pueblo region recently unearthed. "The wonder caves are about 25 ft. from the surface and run 100 ft. from the apex of the mountain, being about 30 by 25 ft. in width, and from 6 to 8 ft. in height about the debris...Here were found numerous veins of turquoise from $\frac{1}{8}$ in. to 2 in. in thickness and strips of gold-bearing quartz cover the walls of the central cave. It is presumed that further explorations would bring to light openings through these walls, showing that the entire mountain was honeycombed by the ancients..."⁷ Quartz veins were worked for gold in the

¹ Mr. Russell discovered, in 1913, another cave contiguous to the Son-Bhāṇḍār and to its north. It is of the same design, and only part of the top arch of the inner wall is visible. The rest has fallen down and lies buried under rubbish and shrubs. It is said to have been damaged by some gold-seeker.

² Buchanan mistakenly thought it to be a part of the original plan, Jackson's Buchanan, *ibid.*, p. 137. An examination of the line from the top of the door to the top of this window and the hacked patches do not support this view.

³ The passage can be negotiated on all fours for about 15 yards.

⁴ Beglar, *A.S.R.* (Cunningham).

⁵ Marshall, *A.S.R.*, 1905-06, pp. 86-106.

⁶ Beal, *Records of the Western World*, vol. II, p. 149.

⁷ Kunz, *Gems and Precious Stones of North America*, i, 65-6.

same district. Lock¹ attests the same phenomenon in the gold-bearing mountains known as Los Cerillos.

(d) The distribution of gold-bearing areas in India is relevant and suggestive. Geologists have so far devoted more attention to river-gold than to rock-gold. Almost every province in India possesses these gold streams.² Ball³ refers to Walker's testimony that washing had been carried on comparatively recently in the streams which feed the Godavari from the South. He himself learnt that all the rivers of the Punjab, the Ravi alone excepted, contained cuneiferous sands.....the rivers and streams as a general rule contained gold.⁴ Watt⁵ notices the most striking feature of the gold deposits of the Assam valley as the universal distribution of the metal in extremely small percentages throughout the gravel of the river beds. Bloxam⁶ describes the process of extraction. The high specific gravity of gold being 19.3, it is left behind while the sand with a sp. gr. 2.6 is carried away by water. Wooden or metal bowls wherein sand is shaken up with water by hand, pouring off the light portions, leaving the grains of gold at the bottom of the vessel are the ordinary implements of this alluvial-washing or placer-digging.⁷

In his interesting sketch of the search for gold and pearls of a highly civilised archaic people and its relics among their degraded descendants, Perry⁸ notices the selected and prospected gold-producing tracts in India. His map⁹ recording gold in Chota Nagpur (Singhbhum, Dhalbhum, Manbhum) up to Hazaribagh is not exhaustive, so far as rock-gold is concerned. It is partly due to present-day indifference to any

¹ Lock, *Gold*, 179.

² Roscoe, *Chemistry*, vol. II, p. 388.

³ Ball, *Geology of India*, III, p. 188.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁵ Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 566.

⁶ Bloxam, *Inorganic Chemistry*, p. 404.

⁷ Contrast the method applied in the Tvi valley in Pahang: *Man*, 1904, 34.

⁸ Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, pp. 86-93.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

method except that of washing. Says Ball¹ —“ Gold-washing as practised in India, affords an example, I believe, of human degradation. The colonies of washers who are found plying their trade in most of the areas where, geologically speaking, the occurrence of gold is possible, must be regarded as the remnants of a people possessing special knowledge ; for although the former may have some acquaintance with the appearance of the rocks in the neighbourhood of which gold occurs, so far as I could ascertain from a close examination of the operations of two gold-washers who were in my service for about three months, such acquaintance, if possessed, is rarely availed of. Indeed, I doubt if they ever look upon the rock as being really the source from whence the gold has been derived But it cannot always have been so, for their earliest progenitors must have ascertained the existence of the gold by the application of experimental research in localities where, from theoretical considerations, they believed it to exist.”² The occurrence of gold in the sands and alluvial soil obvious to the eye ensures the retention of old river-names like Suvan-rekhā or “ Streak of gold ” whereas the names of gold-bearing rocks like Suvarṇa-giri (now Maski, cf. Aśoka inser.) in the Nizam's Dominions in the South or Ratnagiri Mudgagiri (present Monghyr) have changed or become obscure. Son-giri and adjoining Suvan-pur seem to have suffered a similar fate.

¹ Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

² It would be pure speculation at this stage, to guess who were the exponents of this archaic civilisation. Yet it is more than mere coincidence that the Asuras are generally closely associated with gold in ancient literature, cf. the golden city of Lankā of Rāvaṇa, cf. also the almost invariable Asura nomenclature with *hiraṇya* (gold) in the Mahābhārata : Hiraṇyakāśipu, Mbh. Ā. 66. 17 : Hiraṇyadhānu, Mbh. Ā. 142. 40 : Hiraṇyabāhu, Mbh. Ā. 57. 6 : Hiraṇyabasta, Mbh. Sā. 240. 35 : Hiraṇyākṣa, Mbh. Sā. 208. 10 : Hiraṇyapura, Mbh. k. 100. 1. The Pre-Vedic Indus civilisation at Mahenjodaro has revealed the use of gold *in extenso* (Marshall, *Illustr. Times of India*, 1928, March). The Vedic Āryans found gold already in varied use, more so than silver (*O.H.I.*, I. 101). Pre-Vedic India = cum Asura = cum gold is at least a possible hypothesis.

(e) Mr. Jackson once met an Australian gold expert staying at the Rajgīr Inspection Bungalow. He had prospected for an Australian company, but the terms of the zamindar were unacceptable and he left.

(f) The traditional mortar and pestle industry of Pātharkāti reported by Buchanan¹ and remembered to-day, once evidently supplied the needs of the Suvan-pur establishment. Even in Buchanan's time, the Pātharkāti works had no apparent *raison d'être*. It is intelligible only as a link in the Son-giri—Suvanpur—Son-Bhāṇḍār chain of goldworks. We searched in vain for any stray pestle lying about. Its absence is easily explicable: (i) some might be lying underground and concealed from view, (ii) due to their small and handy size, neighbouring villagers might be picking them up and removing them all these years. It has been stated above, that even the big cup-marked stones are no longer safe and may disappear after another 10 years—a lesson to those who fondly procrastinate over the fancied changelessness of eastern, specially Indian, landmarks.

(g) But all the above association of place-names and past industries must be based on the real nature of these stones with the cup-like hollows. Their use in gold working is the only plausible hypothesis from a comparison with similar finds elsewhere where the remains of old metallurgical appliances are still available for verification. The following quotation from the paper of Major Munn,² Inspector of Mines to the Nizam of Hyderabad (1918) is highly suggestive, specially in view of the fact that in Hyderabad the very memory of these ancient mines and all extraction of gold, is entirely lost, even in folklore. "It was, in fact, not until 1888 that these old gold mines were rediscovered, and the early efforts of the explorer were watched with intense ridicule by the local Brahmin—who never had had clear proof

¹ *Supra*.

² Munn, *Ancient Mines and Megaliths in Hyderabad*, Mem. Proc. Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc. 54, 1921, 5-7.

of the Sahib's madness. The difficulty which attended this prospecting was accentuated by the fact that all the workings had been completely filled up and practically obliterated by the so-called black cotton soil, an alluvial resulting from the decomposition of the Deccan Trap. So that the surface indications were most deluding, and consisted of typical auriferous blue quartz, and the remains of old metallurgical appliances on the adjacent hard trappoid rock. Everywhere *cup-like hollows*, undoubtedly nothing but small mortars found in the rock¹ where the gold quartz was pounded with stone pestles, and occasionally small crucibles have been found which, on crushing, gave an assay for gold.²...The development of the mine at Hutti must have taken a considerable period and employed a great number of people, not only in the actual mining, but in the crushing of the resulting ore."³

1 Here separate blocks of stones had been fashioned to serve the purpose of the gold-crushers, due partly to the comparatively softer texture of the possible gold-bearing ridge, partly to more extensive operations as attested by the large settlement of gold-workers at Savanpur.

2 Munn, *op. cit.*, 5.

3 *Ibid.*, 6-7.

VI.—Historical data in the Garga-Samhita and the Brahmin Empire.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

MATERIALS.

1. In the course of my studies on the *Brahmin Empire* I took up the historical chapter of the Garga-Samhita, entitled the *Tuga-purāṇa* or "the History of the Yugas." I made a search for a better manuscript than the one which was before Dr. Kern, to whom we owe the first notice of the historical chapter and some valuable facts therein.¹ My results based on a manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal were published in 1914 as a part of the "Notes on the Brahmin Empire."² Since then I recovered another manuscript, but a third one could not be traced in spite of attempts extending over fifteen years. The book has become extremely rare.

2. The present study and the text published below depend on the following materials. In the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal there are two manuscripts with the name of the work. But only one of them is the treatise on Jyotiṣa with which we are concerned, the other one having nothing to do with the subject. MS. 20 D. I. bearing the seal of the College of Fort William with the English date 1525 is superior to the manuscript in the possession of Dr. Kern in being complete, while Kern's copy was fragmentary. The Asiatic Society's manuscript has one hundred and sixty folios. The title-page bears the title Garga-Samhitā, while the colophons to the chapters describe the book as Gārgiṃ Jyotiṣa. In some places Vṛddha is added before Garga, e.g., at folio 90. Up to folio 176 the marginal title is गर्गसं., and thenceforward (whence another copyist starts) the abbreviation गर्गो. सं. is used. The text is not much better than that of Kern's manuscript, but it is helpful in many instances as will be seen presently.

¹ Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāha-Mihira, Bibliotheca Indica, 1864-65, Introduction, pp. 32-40.

² *Express* Patna, 1914.

3. Two copies of the work are in the Government Sanskrit College at Benares. One of them (no. 123) is fragmentary containing only 45 folios ; it does not reach the Yuga-purāṇa section. But the other (no. 122) is complete except for folios 67 and 68. The MS. is on paper and the Yuga-purāṇa chapter begins at folio 93, the general discussion about past and present history being at folio 92. The MS. generally gives better readings than the other two materials, yet it is not correct. The book is described *Vṛddha-Garga-virachita-Jyotiṣa-Samhitā*, with marginal title गार्गी^१

Characteristics of the text.

4. The text bears unmistakable traces of Prakritisms, and it seems that the original was either in pure Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is due to this linguistic feature that we have such an unsatisfactory text. Prakritisms in the text have been noted below. It seems that a text thoroughly correct, from the Sanskrit point of view, is not to be expected.

5. The author had before him some faithful historical chronicle, a matter-of-fact narrative, on which he drew. It was a record of the Imperial Magadha, coming down to the break-up of the Śunga Empire by the advent of the Śakas, and the preceding weakness brought about by the Indo-Greeks. It is noteworthy that this is the only Hindu record which preserves an account of the invasion and retirement of the Indo-Greeks on and from Magadha. Further, this is the only record, except the coins, of several Indo-Greek rulers. It is also noteworthy that the rule of the Śakas on the river Śiprā is specially noticed in the accounts. The chronicler found the Śakas ruling, for he closes with a gloomy outlook and does not know the revivalist dynasties of Hindu independence who contended against the Śakas or who wiped them out.

6. Its traditions are distinctly independent of the Purāṇas and details are unique and of the highest importance.

¹ The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has one MS. (no. 542 of 1895-1902) dated Samvat 1881. But unfortunately it contains only the beginning of the chapter (fols. 193-194) ; five leaves (195-199) which covered our text are missing.

Date of the work.

7. The work has been quoted by Varāhamihira about 500 A.C. as an established authority.¹ Its giving prominence to the Śakas and its knowledge of them as the last rulers, with realistic details, and its ignorance of the Andhras (generally), the Ābhiras, the Guptas etc., place it earlier than all the known Purāṇas as we have them. These features, on the line of the argument now accepted for determining the date of the Purāṇas, would indicate the latter half of the first century before the Christian era as the probable date of the original chronicle, which was versified in anuṣṭups in this astronomical treatise.²

8. After a brief description of the three former *yugas*, enumerating a number of chief herces of the Mahābhārata to be born in the closing period of the third *yuga* (*yugakṣaye*), the Kali is introduced on the death of Queen Kṛṣṇā (A. S. B. MS. folio 108, Benares MS. folio 93). I give below the text dealing with the Kali age.³

¹ See Kern, Brs., Intro., pp. 33-34.

² The criticism of Dr. Fleet (J. R. A. S., 1912, 791-792) on the antiquity of the book is hardly warrantable. The fact that a work contains unreasonable figures (and the figures of the Yuga-purāṇa are not, as we shall see below, so unreasonable as they have been taken to be) does not necessarily prove a late origin.

³ The Yuga-Purāṇa is in the form of an answer from Śaṅkara to Skanda.

[§ 1. Beginnings of the Kali Age.]

[The text of this section is based on the manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (to be referred to as A.) and on the MS. of the Benares Sanskrit College (to be referred to as B.). Dr. Kern has not quoted the passage.]

1. द्रुपदस्य सुता कृष्ण देहान्तरगता मही ॥
2. ततो नरक्षये वृत्त इव(?) शाते नृपमंडले ।
3. भविष्यति कलिर्नाम चतुर्थं पश्चिमं युगं ॥
4. ततः कलियुगस्यातो (० दौ) परीक्षिज्ज [न] मेजयः ।
5. पृथिव्यां प्रथिः श्रीमानुत्पत्स्यति न संशयः ॥
6. सोपि राजा द्विजैः (:) सार्द्धं विरोधमुपधास्यति ।
7. दारविप्रकृतामर्षः कालस्य वशमागतः ॥

[§ 2. Foundation of Pāṭaliputra.]

[Dr. Kern has quoted all the lines given by me in §§ 2-5 except line 26. Kern's text is referred to as K.]

8. ततः कलियुगे राजा शिशुनागात्मजो बली ।
9. उदधी (० यो) नाम धर्मात्मा पृथिव्यां प्रथितो गुणैः ॥

N. B.—Figures in f. n. refer to the lines above. (Round brackets) indicate proposed emendations. [Square brackets] enclose apparent corrections. Pkt = Prakritism.

² शांति (B) for शाते (A).

³ This line is omitted in A.

⁴ कलियुगस्यातो (A), ० स्यांते (B), ० जन्मेजय (A), and (B.)

⁵ A. spells the last word throughout as श्रं ०

⁷ A. omits the *visarga*.

⁸ शिशुनागात्मजो (B.) and (K.)

⁹ उदधीर्नाम (K.)

10. गङ्गातीरे स राजर्षिर्हृद्विणे स महावरे ।
11. स्थापयेन्नगरं रम्यं पुष्पारामजनाकुलं ॥
12. तेथ Pkt. (तत्र) पुष्पपुरं रम्यं नगरं पाटलीसुतम् ।
[§ 3 Longevity of Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra).]
13. पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि स्थास्यते नात्र संशयः ॥
14. वर्षाणां च शताः पञ्च पञ्चसंवत्सरास्तथा । Pkt.
15. मासपञ्चमहोरात्रं मुहूर्त्ताः पञ्च एव च ॥ Pkt.

[§ 4. King Śālisūka at Puṣpapura and the "so-called Conquest of Dharma".]

16. तस्मिन् पुष्पपुरे रम्ये जनराजा Pkt. शताकुले ।
17. ऋतुच्चा कर्मसुतः शालिशूको भविष्यति ॥
18. स राजा कर्मसूतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः ।
19. खराद्गमर्दते घोरं धर्मवादी अधार्मिकः ॥
20. स ज्यैष्ठभ्रातरं साधुं केतिति (केतति?) प्रथितं गुणैः ।

¹⁰ दक्षिणे समानाना चरो (K.) and (A.)

¹¹ नगरे (A.), नगरे रम्ये पुष्पो राम जन संयुतं (B.)

¹² तेथ (A and B) points to Prakritism. It seems to have been तथ = तथ ।

K. reads तेऽथ पुष्पपुरे रम्ये नगरे पाटलीसुते, evidently on account of तेऽथ, putting the verb in the next line in plural.

¹³ स्थास्यन्ते (A. and K.) The B. reading is correct. तेथ in the preceding line has led the copyist to put the verb in plural; ते has nothing to qualify.

¹⁴ Prakritism is evident in this line and in the next one. वर्षाणां वंशताः (B.)

संवत्सर० (B.)

¹⁵ ०रात्रा (B.)

¹⁶ रम्य जनश्रजः (K. and A.). रम्ये जनराजा (B.)

¹⁷ ऋतुच्चा—(K.), ऋतुच्चः (B.).

कर्मसूतो unanimously in all.

¹⁹ मर्दने (B.). घोरो (A.) is replaced by चैव in (B.).

²⁰ केतिति is to be found unanimously in all the mss., cf. Pall *kitteti* Sanskrit *ketati*, 'commemorating'.

21. स्थापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम् ॥
 [§ 5. The Greek Invasion and the Battle of Puspapura.]
 22. ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान्मथुरां तथा ।
 23. यवना दुष्टविक्रान्ता (:) प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजं ॥
 24. ततः पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कर्दमे प्रथिते हिते ।
 25. आकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥
 26. श(स्त्र)दु (द्रु)म-महायुद्धं तद् (तदा) भविष्यति पश्चिमं ।
 [§ 6. Condition of the People at the end of the Kali Age.]
 27. अनार्याश्चार्यधर्माश्च भविष्यन्ति नराधमाः ।
 28. ब्राह्मणा (:) क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैवं युगक्षये ।
 29. समवेष्टा (:) समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
 30. पाषण्डैश्च समायुक्ता नरास्तस्मिन् युगक्षये ।
 31. स्त्रीनिमित्तं च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
 32. चीरवल्कलसंवौता जटावल्कलधारिणः ।
 33. मिथुका वृषला लोके भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
 34. चेतान्निवृषला लोके होष्यन्ति लघुविक्रियाः ।
 35. ऊंकारप्रथितैर्मन्त्रै (:) युगान्ते समुपस्थिते ।

22 पञ्चाला माथुरा (A.) and (B.). K's reading is adopted here. The other reading will indicate that the Yavanas (line 28) were from Pañchāla and Mathurā. But see lines 40—44.

23 यवना (B.). • ववजा (A.).

26 Kern has left out lines 26-41. He casually gives one extract from lines 32-33 :—"The next following is a complaint against the heretics (*pāśhaṇḍās* described as चीर-वल्कलसंवौता जटावल्कलधारिणः : । मिथुका वृषला लोके भविष्यन्ति" (Kern, Br. S. Intro., p. 28).

27 अनार्याश्चार्यधर्माश्च (A.).

28 चैव (B.).

29 समवेष्टा समाचारा (A.).

32 चौरौ • संवाता (A.).

33 वृषका (A.).

34 होष्यन्ति (B.).

36. अग्निकार्ये च जप्ये च अग्निके च दृढव्रताः ।
 37. शूद्राः कलियुगस्यान्ते भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
 38. भोवादिनस्तथा शूद्रा [ः] ब्राह्मणाश्च(ः)र्यवादिनः ।
 39. स[म]वेशा (ः) समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

[§7 Exactions by Dharma-mīta and the Greek retirement from Madhyadesa.]

[K. gives lines 42-46.]

40. धर्ममौत-तमा वृद्धा जनं भोक्ष(क्ष्य)न्ति निर्भयाः ।
 41. यवना ज्ञापयिष्य()ति [नश्येरन्] च पार्थिवाः ।
 42. मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवना युद्धदुर्मदा ।
 43. तेषामन्योन्य-संभाव () भविष्यति न संशयः ।
 44. आत्मघक्रोद्धितं घोरं युद्धं परमदारुणं ।

[§8. The Kings of Saketa and the condition of Magadha.]

45. ततो युगवशात्तेषां यवनानां परिक्षये ।
 46. स(ः)केते सप्तराजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ।
 47. लोहिता[द्रे]स्तथा योधैर्योधा युद्धपरिचिताः ।

³⁶ अग्निकार्ये च जप्ये च (A).

³⁸⁻³⁹. Found in (B), not in (A). MS. read समावेशा

⁴¹ नश्येरन् (A) and (B).

⁴² मध्ये (A), मध्यं (B) and (K).

⁴³ संभाव (B), संभावा (A) and (K), भविष्यति (A) and (B).

भविष्यन्ति (K).

⁴⁴ दारुणां (A).

⁴⁵ परिक्षये (B) and (K), परिक्षयं (A).

⁴⁶ संकेते (A) and (K), सकेते (B).

⁴⁷ K. does not cite lines 47-52, but mentions Agnivaiśya Kings (page 38).

लोहिताद्री (A), ०द्रै (B) योधैर् is left out in (A). युद्धपरिचिताः (B).

48. करिष्यन्ति पृथिवीं शून्यां रक्तघोरां सुदारुणां ।
 49. ततस्ते मगधा : कृत्स्ना गङ्गासीना (:) सुदारुणा : ।
 50. रक्तपातं तथा युद्धं भविष्यति तु पश्चिमं ।
 51. अ[रि]शिवैश्चास्तु ते सर्वे राजानी (०नः) कृतविग्रहा : ।
 52. क्षयं यास्यान्त युद्धेन यथैषामाश्रिता जनाः ।

[§9. Advent of the Śakas.]

[K. cites lines 53-58.]

53. शकानां च ततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः ।
 54. दुष्टभावश्च पापश्च विनाशे समुपस्थिते ।
 55. कलिङ्ग-शत-राजार्थे विनाशं वै गमिष्यति ।
 56. केचद्रकण्डैः (P) शबलैर्विलुपन्तो (sic) गमिष्यति ।
 57. कनिष्ठास्तु हता (:) सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

[§ 10 End of the (first) Śaka king, and anarchy.]

58. विनष्टे शकराजे च शून्या पृथिवी भविष्यति ।
 59. पुष्पनाम तदा शून्य (') [वौ] भत्स (') भवति [वत] ।

⁴⁸ पृथिवी शून्या (A).

⁴⁹ मगधा : (A)., कृत्स्नां (A).

⁵⁰ A. reads सुध' for युद्ध' (B). K. also evidently had युद्ध' before him, as he says 'After some wars, it is said that the Agniśāyana kings will fall in battle' (page 38).

⁵² ०मश्रिता (A).

⁵³ ह्यर्थयुद्धा महाबला : (A).

⁵⁵ कलिङ्ग० (B)., ०गा ० (A) and (K)., ०राजार्थ' (B) and (K).
 राजार्थ (A).

⁵⁶ केचद्रकण्डै (A) and (K)., कोवेडुकण्डैः (B) विलुपन्तो (B).

⁵⁸ शकराजे (K)., ०राज्ये (A) and (B). K. stops with this lines but mentions certain data from § § 11-12. (Br. S., Intro., p. 39.)

⁵⁹ पुष्पनामान तदा शून्य विभत्स भवति च त (A), भवति वतं (B). read भविता वत ।

60 भविष्यति नृपः कश्चिन्न वा कश्चिद् भविष्यति ।

[§ 11 Certain Mlechchha kings.]

- 61 ततो(ऽ)रणो धनुमूलो भविष्यति महाबलः ।
 62 अम्लाटो लोहिताक्षोति पुष्यनामं[ग]मिष्यति ।
 63 सर्वे ते नगरं गत्वा शून्यमासाद्य [स]र्वतः ।
 64 अर्थलुब्धाश्च ते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ।
 65 ततः स म्लेच्छाः प्राप्ताटो रक्ताक्षो रक्तावलम्बतु ।
 66 जनमादाय विवशं परमुत्सादयिष्यति ।
 67 ततो वर्षास्तु चतुरः स नृपो नाशयिष्यति ।
 68 वर्षाधःवस्थितान् सर्वान् कृत्वा पूर्वव्यवस्थि[तान्] ।
 69 आम्लाटो लोहिताक्षश्च विपत्स्यति सवान्धवः ।
 70 ततो भविष्यते राजा गोपालोभाम-नामतः ।
 71 गोपा[लः]तु ततो राज्यं भुङ्क्ता संवत्सरं नृपः ।
 72 पुष्यके चाभिसंयुक्तं ततो निधनमेष्यति ।

61 °रणौ धनु, ° (B), cf. अनरणौ in line 75.

62 आम्ला(म्ला?)ये (B), K. reads *Abhrāṭa* or *Amrāṭa* Lohitākshī (p. 39.)
 गमिष्यति both in (A) and (B).

63 The last word is 'पर्वतः' in ms.

64 अर्थलुब्धा ° (A)

65 अम्लाटो (A), °स्तूक्षौ (A).

66 °त्स्यादये ° (A).

68 वर्षाध° (A), कृत्वा सर्वे पूर्वा व्यवस्थिते (A); the same in B.
 except in place of पूर्वा it reads पूरुर्मा. Probably व्यवस्थिते is
 a reminiscence of a Prakrit ending.

69 आप्राप लोहिताक्षश्च विपत्सवोवधः । (A), आम्लाटोऽक्ष
 ° ताक्षश्च विपत्स्यति सवान्धवः । (B).

70 °भामनमतः (A); °नाम नामतः (B).

71 गोपालं तु (A) 'Gopāla' (K)

72 पुष्यके (A), (B); "Pushyaka" (K).

73. ततो धर्मपरो राजा पुष्यको नाम नामतः ।
 74. सोपि संवत्सरं राज्यं भु[क्त्वा] निधनमे(ष्य)ति ।
 75. ततः सविलो राजा अनरणो महाबलः ।
 76. सोपि वर्षत्रयं भुक्त्वा पश्चान्निधनमेष्यति ।
 77. ततो विकुयशाः कश्चिदब्राह्मणो लोकविश्रुतः ।
 78. तस्यापि त्रीणि वर्षाणि राज्यं दुष्टं भविष्यति ।

[§12. Puṣpapura and King Agnimitra.]

79. ततः पुष्पपुर (°) स्या[त्] तथैव जनसंकुलं ।
 80. भविष्यति वीरं (र-) सिद्धार्थं (र्थ-) प्रसवोत्सवसंकुलं ।
 81. पुरस्य दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वाहनं तस्य दृश्यते ।
 82. हयानां द्वे सहस्रे तु गजवाहस्तु (क)ल्पतः ।
 83. तदा भद्रपाके देशे अग्निमित्रस्तत्र कौलके ।
 84. तस्मिन्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या तु महारूपशालिनौ ।
 85. तस्या (अ)र्थे स नृपो घोरं विक्रमं ब्राह्मणैः सह ।
 86. तत्र विष्णु वशाद्देहं विमो [क्ष्य]ति न संशयः ।
 87. तस्मिन्नुद्धे महाघोरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदारणे ।
 88. अ[ग्नि]मित्रे श्यस्तदा राजा भविष्यति महाप्रभुः ।

73 नाम-नान्तः (A).

74 भुक्त्वा in mss. (Pkt.).

75 सविलो (A), "Savila" (K.), स विपुलो (B). अनरण्यो (B).

77-78 These lines are only in B.

79 पुष्पपुरस्यात (A), ° स्या (B).

80 भविष्यति वीरं सिद्धार्थं (A). भवेद्वीरं सिद्धार्थं (B).

82 कालपतः in mss.

83 K. also "Bhadrakāka". "Agnimitra" (K), आपेमित्र (A).

आपेमित्र (B).

85 घोरं विक्रमं (B).

86 तत्र वि—वसादेहं (A), विमोक्षति (A) and (B).

89. तस्यापि विंशद्वर्षाणि राज्यं स्फीतं भविष्यति ।
 90. [आ]ग्निवैश्यस्तदा राजा प्राप्य राज्यं महोद्ववत् ।
 91. भीमैः शरर (शवर?)-संघातैर्विग्रहं समुपेयति ।
 92. ततः शरर (शवर?)-संघोरे प्रवृत्ते स महाबले ।
 93. वृषकोटे(टि)ना स नृपो मृत्युः समुपयास्यति ।
 [§18. End of the Āgnivaisya (°maitrya?) Kings,
 and the condition of the People.]
 94. ततस्तस्मिन् गतेकाले महायुद्धं [सु]दारुणे ।
 95. शून्या वसुमतो घोरा स्त्रीप्रधाना भविष्यति ।
 96. कृषिं नार्यः करिष्यन्ति लाङ्ग[लक]र्णपाणयः ।
 97. दुर्लभत्वांमनुष्याणां क्षेत्रेषु धनुयोधनाः ।
 98. [विंश]द्वार्या दशो या (वा) भविष्यन्ति नरास्तदा ।
 99. प्रलीणाः पुरु[पा] लोके दिक्षु सर्वासु पर्वसु ।
 100. ततः संघातशो नाय्यो भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
 101. आश्चर्यमिति पश्यन्तो [दृष्ट्वा] धो (°धः) पुरुषाः स्त्रियः ।

89 स्फीतं (A).

90 आग्नेवेश्य °(A); महोद्ववत् (A).

91 भीमौ शररसंघतै (A).

92 ततः शरे रस कोरे प्रवृत्ते समुदावले । (A). The last word
 महाबले of (B) might be a mistake for महाहवे ।

93 वृषपातेन (B). मृत्युः (A).

94 ततस्मिन् (A); सदारुणे in mss.

96 कृषीकार्य°लान्तो वण पाणयः (A); लाङ्गलोवर्ण-पाणयः (B).

97 मनुष्यानां °धनुयोधोना (A).

98 विसद् भार्या दशो या भवि °(A); विसद् °(B). दशाया

a corrupt form, originally denoting 'having ten wives.'

99 पुरुषं (A) and (B).

100 नतः सवातशो नायो (A).

101 दृष्ट्वा in mss. (Pkt).

102. स्त्रियो व्यवहरिष्यन्ति ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ।
 103. नराः स्वस्था भविष्यन्ति गृहस्था रत्नवाससः ।
 [§ 14. Rule of the Sātu King.]
 104. ततः सातुवरो राजा द्व(ह)त्वा दण्डेन मेदिनी(म) ।
 105. व्यतीते दशमे वर्षे मृत्युं समुपयास्यति ।
 [§ 15 Depredations by the Sakas on the Sīprā.]
 106. ततः प्रनष्टचारित्राः स्वकर्मापहृताः प्रजाः ।
 107. करिष्यन्ति चका(=शका) घो[रा] बहुलाश्च इति श्रुतिः ।
 108. चतुर्भागं तु [श]स्त्रेण नाशयिष्यन्ति प्राणिनां ।
 109. हरिष्यन्ति शकाः षोशं (कोशं? तेषां ?) चतुर्भागं स्वकं पुरं
 110. ततः प्रजायां शेषायां तस्य राज्यस्य परिक्षयात् ।
 [§ 16 Long Famine and Plague.]
 111. देवो द्वादशवर्षाणि अनावृष्टिं करिष्यति ।
 112. प्रजानाशं गमिष्यन्ते दुर्भिक्षभयपीडिताः ।
 113. ततः पापक्षते लोके दुर्भिक्षे रोमहर्षणे ।
 114. भविष्यति युगस्यान्तं सर्वप्राणिविनाशनं ।
 115. जनमारस्ततो घोरो भविष्यति न संशयः ।

103 नराः स्वस्था ° गृहस्था (A).

104 सतु° (A.); सात्तु (B.).

105 व्यतन्ते (A.).

107 वका (B.); घोरो (A.) and (B.); इतिश्रुतः (A.).

108 शास्त्रेण (A.). शास्त्रेण (B.). नाशयिष्यति (B.).

109 षोशं (A.) and (B.).

110 शेषायां (B.). राज्यां (B.).

111 देवोद्वारै दशवर्षाणि (A.).

113 पापक्षये (A.). दुर्भिक्षे (A.).

114 विनाशनानां (A.).

115 जनमार° (A.).

Translation.

[Section 1—Beginnings of the Kali Age.]

The great¹ K ṛ ṣ ṇ ā, daughter of Drupada, died. Thereafter while there is a loss of human population and the circle of kings is thinned for future, there will be the fourth and the last age called K a l i.

Then, in the beginning of the Kali age, there will be born J a n a m e j a y a, son of Parikṣhit, who will be famous on the earth and full of majesty : there is no doubt about it. And that king will have hostility with the Brāhmaṇas (which will happen) on account of the king coming into the hand of Time, having incurred indignation of the Brāhmaṇas for his wife.²

[Section 2—Foundation of Pāṭaliputra.]

Thereafter, in the Kali age, (there will be) a king, descended from Śiśunāga, (he will be) powerful, U d a d h i (Udayi) by name, virtuous and famous on the earth on account of his qualities. That royal sage on the southern bank of the Ganges, within a large enclosure founds a charming (chief) city full of flower gardens and population—that, [or, thereon] capital P u ṣ p a p u r a, the son of P ā ṭ a l i, the charming.

[Section 3—Longivity of Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra)].

It will last, and there is no doubt about it, for five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days, as well as five muhūrtas (4 hours).

¹ *Mahī*, 'great' (Vedio).

² The story of this quarrel is to be found in the Purāṇas, e.g., Matsya (c. 50, 56-65) ; the dispute was in connection with sacrifice. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 22-180) mentions the historical fact of the horse-sacrifice by this king and even quotes the *yajña-gāthā* about it, giving details :—

यासन्दीवति धान्यादं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अद्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥ इति

Janamejaya's historical position is undoubted. The quarrel is hinted at in the Ait. Br. and is historical. Cf. also Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 86.

[Section 4—King Śālīsūka at Puṣpapura and the “so-called Conquest of Dharma.”]

In that charming Puṣpapura, full of hundreds (of men), the king of the nation will be *Śālīsūka*, son of Rtu(=Rbhu) *kṣā-karma* (Ribhuksha-Varma ?)¹

That king produced by deeds, of wicked soul, fond of quarrels, talking of Dharma (religion) (but really) devoid of Dharma (religion), causes terrible oppression to his own realm. He, the fool, commemorating (following) his elder brother the good and famous on account of his virtues, will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma (religion).

[Section 5.—The Greek Invasion and the Battle of Puṣpapura.]

After this, having invaded Śāketa, the Pāṇchālas and Mathurā, the viciously valiant Yavanas (Greeks) will reach Kusumadhvaja (‘the town of the flower standard’). Then the thick mud-fortification (embankment) at Pāṭaliputra being reached, all the provinces will be in disorder, without doubt. Ultimately a great battle will follow with tree(-like) engines.²

[Section 6. Condition of the People at the end of the Kali Age.]

In the end of the Yuga there will be non-Aryans following the religious practices of the Āryas. The Brahmanas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas as well as the Śūdras will be low men. They undoubtedly will dress themselves all alike, and will have conduct all alike. In that end of the Yuga men will be united with heretical sects; they will strike friendships for the sake of women. This is without doubt. Without doubt there will be in this world Bhikṣukas (religious mendicants) of the Śūdra caste, wearing *chīra* (Buddhist religious cloth) and bark, wearing matted hair and bark. At the approach of the end of the Yuga in this world, the Śūdras will offer oblations to fire with hymns

¹ Ribhukshā = Indra. It probably represents the father of Indra-pālita of the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa where he is placed just above the position occupied by Śālīsūka in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata. Cf. Devavarmā, the next king.

² This was probably Sataghnī [which is described to be tall like a palmyra tree]. The Arthashastra mentions that on the city-walls there should be engines of war : “मुसुण्डमुसुरा दण्डचक्रयन्त्रयतमयः” (ch. 24).

proclaimed with *omkāra*, and (will be) keepers of the three fires with little hesitation. Without doubt in the end of the Kali age, there will be Śūdras with fixed vows for fire sacrifices, praying and in matters of fire rituals.

Without doubt there will be Śūdras who will address with "Bho!", and Brāhmaṇas who will address (others) with "Ārya!" They will be alike in dress and conduct.

[Section 7.—Exactions by Dharma-mīta, and Greek retirement from Madhyadeśa.]

The *Tamā*-elders¹ of Dharma-mīta will fearlessly devour the people. The Yavanas (Greeks) will command, the Kings will disappear. (But ultimately) the Yavanas, intoxicated with fighting, will not stay in *Madhyadeśa* (the Middle country): there will be undoubtedly a civil war amongst them, arising in their own country, there will be a very terrible and ferocious war.

[Section 8.—The Kings of Śaketa and condition of Magadha.]

Then on the destruction of the Yavanas (Greeks) owing to the influence of the Age, at *Śaketa* there will be seven powerful kings. The soldiers wounded in battles by the soldiers of the Lohitādri (the Red Mountain) will make the land empty, terrible with blood, and fearful.

Then the whole of the Magadha people inhabiting by the Ganges (will become) ferocious : ultimately there will be bloodshed and war. They, all the Āgnivaiśya (Āgnimaitryas' ?) Kings in (mutual) discord will perish by war, and so will do the peoples dependent on them.

[Section 9.—Advent of the Śakas.]

Then the king of the Śakas, greedy, very powerful, wicked and sinful at the approach of (his) end will attain destruction (in his) aim against the Śata King of Kalinga.

He will go, being effaced by the *Savaras* armed with arrow (of ' *Kechadra* ' or ' *Kovedu* ' ?). The smaller (Śaka chiefs) will be all killed without doubt.

¹ See J. B. O. R. S., XIV, 128, for ' *tamā* elders.'

[Section 10.—End of the (first) Śaka King, and anarchy.]

On the destruction of the Śaka king the land will become desolate. [The town] called Puṣpa will then become desolate, and, alas, repulsive. There may be a king, or there may not be a king.

[Section 11.—Certain Mlechchha (Greek) Kings.]

Then Āmlāta (or Amnāta), called 'the red-eyed,' the invincible,

Amlata arising from *dhanu* (or dhatru) ? who will
or
Amyntas. be very powerful, will assume the name

Pushya. They all going to the (or, a) city, will occupy the empty town fully. They all will be greedy for wealth and powerful. Then the foreigner (Mlechchha) Āmlāta, the red-eyed, wearing red clothes, finding the people extremely helpless, will overturn them. Then that king will destroy the four castes, by making all the old-established (castes) lowplaced.

Āmlāta, the red-eyed, will also fall in distress along with his **Gopalobhama** family. Then there will be a king,
or
Appolophanes. Gopālobhāma by name. But King Gopāla, then having ruled for one year the kingdom along with Pushyaka, will attain his end. Then there will be the

Pusyaka just king, called Puṣyaka by name ; he
or
Peukelaos. also having ruled the kingdom for one year, will attain his end. Then (there will be) King *Savila*, the

Savila invincible, the powerful ; he also after
or
Ziolo. having ruled for three years, will attain his end.

Then (there will be) Vikuyaśas, some non-Brāhmaṇa, famous among the people. His reign will be wicked, also for three years.

Vikuyasas.

[Section 12.—Agnimitra at Puṣpapura.]

Then (besides), Puṣpapura will be similarly populous. It will be full of festivities celebrating the birth of hero *Śiddhārtha*. In the southern quarter of the city his conveyance is seen—two thousand horses and an elephant-car, (*kalptak*, coming down from ages ?). At that time in Bhadrakā, the country having a pillar, there (will be) *Agnimitra*. There will be born

a very beautiful girl in that country. For her that king will have a terrible battle with the Brāhmaṇas. There on account of the (decree) of Viṣṇu, he will leave his body (die), without doubt. After the close of that very terrible battle a son of Agnimitra (misspelt Āgnivaiśya) will be king and a great lord. And his reign will be a successful one, for 20 years. Then King Āgni[maitrya], having obtained the kingdom like Mahendra will have a war with a combination of the Śavaras (?); then the king while engaged in the terrible and big war,¹ will attain death through the (weapon?) bull-horn?

[Section 13.—End of the Āgnivaiśya (Āgnimaitraya) kings, and condition of the People.]

Then at the time after the end of the terrible war, the earth will be desolate and terrible, and will be predominated by women. Women will do the work of cultivation handling ploughs; on account of the scarcity of men, women will act as bow-soldiers on (battle) fields. At that time men will have 20 wives or 10 wives. In the society, in every direction, on festivals, the (number of) men will be few and women will be by crowds, without doubt. Seeing women in a position superior to men, they see a strange sight. Women will do every business in villages and towns. Men will be contented, and householders will wear red (ascetic) robes.

[Section 14.—Rule of the Sātu king.]

Then the excellent king of the Satus, having conquered the land through his army on completing the 10th year, will attain death.

[Section 15.—Depredations by the Śakas : on the Śiprā.]

Then the terrible and the numerous Śakas will make the population lose their conduct and degraded in their own acts. This is the report (oral). One-fourth of the population the Śakas will destroy by weapon, and they will take away to their own capital one-fourth of their (? wealth or ? number).

Then in the population on the Śepṛā on the destruction of that régime :

¹ Reading महाद्वे for महाबले ?

[Section 16.—Long Famine and Plague.]

God [Indra] will cause a drought for 12 years. The population will be dwindled, oppressed by famine and perils. Then in the world decayed by sins, after a famine causing extreme terror, there will be the end of the Yuga, destroyer of every life. There will be a terrible plague without doubt.

* * * * *

[The pessimistic description is continued. The waters of several rivers, the Ganges, the Indus, the Irāvati, the Visākha, the Vetravatī, the Suvarṇā, the Kauśikī and the Sarasvatī, would be dried up on account of the drought. There would be atheists and men of unbrahmanical behaviour. In the twelve states (*maṇḍalas*) the orthodox man would be exhausted from hunger and thirst. Those who would live on the Ajātagiri in the two states (*maṇḍalas*) would have a better time and so would they who would reside in the third state. Those who would have patience would survive the famine and the epidemic as also those living on the sea-coast and at Mahāvata, to the south-east of the frontiers. The Kāverī would water for three hundred *yojanas*, and the people would live there on fish and on boars. In another *maṇḍala* near Bhojakaṭa¹ the population at Devīkūṭa and Strīkūṭa would subsist on fish and moths. The distress would be most terrible in the Kuvinda country and on the Trikūṭa and the Pāriyātra mountains. All this is to happen at the end of the (Kali) *yuga*. Each *kalpa* is of thousand *yugas*.² Thus ends हृद्गगौये ज्योतिषे युगपुराणं नाम³ ।

General discussion.

1. It is noteworthy that the Kali age, according to this authority, began with the death of Kṛṣṇa Draupadī, while the Purāṇas date the event with the day of the death of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. This datum like so many other details which follow, indicates a source different from what the Purāṇas are based on.

¹ In A., Nokāṭa.

² See J. B. O. R. S. I., 257—58, on extensions of the Kali duration.

³ A. S. B. Ms. fol. 105.

2. Janamejaya is a historical person as already pointed out in the foot-notes to the translation. His quarrel with the Brahmins is known from other sources, but the detail about his wife is new.

3. Udadhī which is a misspelling of Udayī is described as a descendant of Śisunāga, that is, the **Foundation of Pataliputra.** dynasty in which he flourished started with Śisunāga just as in the Purāṇas. It is remarkable that the second event of the age after Janamejaya is the foundation of Pāṭaliputra. That the founder was a popular and virtuous king is a new piece of information; and so is the description that the City was founded within a big enclosure and as a garden-city.

4. It seems that there was some sort of prophecy or astrological calculation connected with the foundation of Pāṭaliputra which was **Longevity of Pataliputra.** current at the time when the Yuga-Purāṇa was composed. A similar prophecy was long current about Delhi, another imperial town. In respect of the first beginnings of Pāṭaliputra in the life-time of the Buddha we know the prophecy attributed to the Great Teacher. The Arthasāstra mentions the anniversary Nakṣatra of the country just like the anniversary Nakṣatra of the king.¹ Evidently the Nakṣatra of the country was taken to be the foundation-day of the capital or some similar event.

5. The history of India, in the eye of the author of the Yuga-Purāṇa, centres round Pāṭaliputra since its foundation and up to the time of the Indo-Greeks and the Śakas. This is **Pataliputra and Indian history.** marvellously correct. The author notices the successors of the Mauryas ruling both at Pāṭaliputra and Śāketa. The latter fact is borne out by the recent inscription of Ayodhyā. The most important fact however is that the centre of attention of this ancient historian suddenly changes from the Hindu rulers of Pāṭaliputra and Śāketa to the Indo-Greeks of the North-Western frontier, and the Śakas of Western India.

¹ Bhandarakar, *Aśoka*, pp. 10-11.

6. In the Purāṇas Śāliśūka comes after Samprati in the list of the Mauryas. One copy of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa¹ has preserved the reading describing Śāliśūka as the son of Suyāśas which is an alternative name of Kunāla.² As Daśaratha and Samprati were sons³ of Kunāla and grand-sons of

King Śāliśū
Pataliputra
the "so-called
conquest of
Dharma."

Aśoka, it seems that Śāliśūka was probably a third son of Kunāla. The Gargasamhitā seems to state that he emulated his elder brother who had been famous for his virtuousness, and in doing this Śāliśūka foolishly established the so-called conquest of Dharma. This and the express statement "irreligious, though talking about religion" imply that the king imposed some heretical religion on the people and was regarded as a religious tyrant. The 'Conquest by Dharma' reminds us of the same term in Aśoka's inscription. On this evidence it seems that Aśoka's descendants did try to carry out the direction of their ancestor to establish Dharma-vijaya. The brother referred to in the Yaga-Purāṇa was probably the famous Samprati who was to Jainism what Aśoka had been to Buddhism.

7. The Greek invasion covering Śāketa, Pañchāla, Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra is described in a way which shows that it made a deep impression on the national mind and that it was not a very old history at the time when the original chronicler recorded it. All the provinces were highly perturbed when the Greeks reached Pāṭaliputra. In other words, at that time Pāṭaliputra was the imperial capital. The event must be dated about the time when Patañjali writing at Pāṭaliputra gives the illustration "अरुणदावनः साकेतम्" (M. 3.2.2). That it was a past though recent event when Patañjali was writing book III of his Commentary, and at that time Puṣyamitra was performing a long

¹ Pargiter, P. T., p. 29, F. N. 37.

² J.B.O.E.S., Vol. I, pp. 93-94.

³ J.B.O.E.S., Vol. I, p. 94.

sacrifice which Patañjali mentions four pages after : “ पुष्यमित्रं याज्यामः ” (Ibid.). A battle took place in which from the mud fortifications engines of war, tall like trees, did good service. The last year's excavations of Pāṭaliputra at Bulandibāgh brought to light a huge mud wall about 14 feet thick flanked with wooden palisades of the Maurya times. This discovery led me to the interpretation of कदमे (read कादमे) हिते. The expression ‘hita’ is taken to stand for “embankment” or “dike,” after the expression *hitābhāṅga* occurring in Manu (IX. 274), the breaking of which was penal according to that law book.¹ We learn from the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya that śataghni's and similar engines were placed on the ramparts. The defence was evidently successful. The event is alluded to by Khāravela. According to the Hathigumpha inscription while Khāravela was at the Barābara hills and Rājagṛha, the Yavana King retreated (evidently from Pāṭaliputra) towards Mathurā.

8. The condition of the people described shows foreigners

The condition of the people. following Hindu religious practices and the prevalence of heretical Bhikṣukas. This refers to the Greeks and others taking to Bhāgavata and similar cults, and the increase of the Buddhist and Jain monks.

9. It is noteworthy that this condition is placed at the end of the Kali Age. This is in accordance with an early theory also found in the Purāṇas that Kali ended in the second century B.C., that is, about the time of the rise of Puṣyamitra of the Brahmin revival. (J.B.O.R.S. 1917, pp. 255-57.)

10. The description of the retirement of the Greeks from

Retirement of the Greeks from Madhyadeśa (Hindustan). Madhyadeśa and the important detail that the retirement was caused by a civil war in the country of the Greeks point unmistakably to the identification

¹ ग्रामघाते हिताभङ्गे पथि मोषाभिदर्शने ।

शक्तितो नाभिधावन्तो निर्वास्याः सपरिच्छदाः ॥म० ८।२७४॥

See commentators on it : हिता नदीमध्यसेतुरितिसर्वन्नारायणः ।

हिताभङ्गे जलसेतुभङ्गे इतिकुल्लूकभट्टः ।

of the Greek invader with Demetrius. So does the expression Dharmamita.

11. The revenue exactions of the Greeks have been particularly noted. In the area which they overran, Hindu sovereigns disappeared.

12. After mentioning the retirement of the Greeks, the

The kings of Sāketa and the condition of Magadha. historian notices the kings at Sāketa and simultaneously the condition of the people at Magadha. There followed seven powerful kings at Sāketa who were evidently the Agnimitras. Agnivaiśya is an evident misspelling of Agnimaitrya. This is borne out by the portion marked by me as section 12 where Agnimitra is clearly mentioned but subsequently Agnivaiśya reading occurs. We know from the Ayodhyā inscription that the Śuṅgas had a provincial capital at Sāketa. It seems that after the Greek invasion Sāketa became the real capital and that it was found necessary to strengthen it which was open to attack more easily from Mathurā. Mathurā became a foreign capital in the time of the later Śuṅgas. The Mahābhārata in its last revision knows her such. It became necessary to make Sāketa a strong centre. The similarity of the description of Sāketa to that of Pāṭaliputra suggests that Sāketa came to be fortified after the fashion of Pāṭaliputra.

13. The warriors of *Lohitādri* who cause troubles during the mutual discord of the Agnimitras I cannot identify. The *Lohitādri* is known by name only, its location being wholly uncertain.

14. There was a discord amongst the descendants of Agnimitra, and a greedy and powerful king of the Śakas attempted to build up an imperial throne. This synchronism places the first Śaka invasion about 100 B.C. It seems to me that these Śakas were no other than the early Satraps of Mathurā. They were thus contemporaries with the later Śuṅgas. Lines 55 and 56 indicate that the Śaka king came

in conflict with the king of Kalinga and fell along with his chiefs. The Kalinga king here is called Sata which might stand for the Satavahana. The failure of the Śaka attempts and the destruction were well-nigh complete on the battlefield.

15. While the Agnimitras at Śaketa were decaying and Puspapura had become almost desolate (l. 59) and while the Śaka king had been crushed by the Sata king of Kalinga, there arose or had been already ruling as tyrants a line of foreign kings in an unspecified part of India. Some of these kings seem to have borne some title which in Prakrit is rendered by Anarapa, probably meaning 'the invincible.' Their names and titles suggest to me an identification with the Indo-Greek kings, as I have indicated by giving the equations above. The Hindu historian complains that they made the low caste people high—a complaint which will often result under the rule of new comers not admitting the validity of the fourfold caste system and taking political advantage of the weakness of that system which tends to keep down a large portion of body politic.

16. After mentioning these outlandish kings, the chronicler reverts to Puspapura. He says that **Puspapura and King Agnimitra.** the capital was populous as before, that the people performed the birth anniversary of Siddhartha (the Buddha). He says that for his procession certain paraphernalia could be seen to the South of the Capital. This I take to have been at what is at present called Pahāri, to the South of the Patna City, which is believed to be the site of Asoka's monastery. All this evidently the historian describes from personal knowledge.

17. About Agnimitra he says that the king had a quarrel with the Brahmanas in the country Bhadrakā. This place again I am unable to identify. The son of Agnimitra became a great master who ruled for 20 years (at Pāṭaliputra). After him is marked the end of the dynasty.

18. With the end of the Āgñimaitrya at Pāṭaliputra there rises the excellent Sātu king. This is the [Āgñimaitrya] no other than one of the Sātavāhana kings, and the Sata King.

19. The historian acutely notices that at this point of time the population of Magadha or the Magadhan dominions had so much decreased that the main business was carried on by women, so much so that women had trained themselves even for military service. This is a true description of post-war times, marking a prolonged previous war. The historian also brings on record another feature, namely, that men were only prominent in monk's robes.

20. After the rise of the Sātu king the second Saka period begins. And this is the period of the Āśakas again in Western India, and the time of the historian. The historian himself. He says that the terrible and the numerous Āśakas made the people demoralised. That they were at this moment in Western India and that the historian is describing the condition of Western India are implied by his mention of the locality as the valley of the Śiprā. One-fourth of the population was destroyed by the Āśakas by their sword and probably one-fourth of the population or their wealth was carried away by the Āśakas to their own capital. This was an invasion of Mālwa which was, in effect, of a temporary nature. The historian says 'this is the report', that is, he has heard of the events on the Śiprā. This means that he is here recording contemporary facts.

21. A long drought and famine following on the invasion of the Śiprā is the last fact which the historian gives. He surveys the whole of India. The distress was very great particularly in Northern India.

* * * * *

22. It seems that the Śiprā invasion of the Āśakas is of a period following 58 B.C. The Hindu population had been weakened by a continuous war and certain amount of internal disruption, which was inevitable in consequence of defeat, and the presence of the foreign enemies.

The causes of political decay in early centuries.

Another source of weakness was Buddhism which encouraged men to run away from duties of citizen and householder. Men sought refuge from iron truth, hard duty and the invader, in soft robes and monastery. By the easy ceremony of shaving off the head they cast off the responsibilities of men—the men of the Gr̥hyasūtras, the men of the Arthasāstras and the men of the Dharmasūtras. They cast off their descent from the heroes of Vedic struggles and strife and took up the easy ancestry from Śākya-muni. But the cause which was still more powerful for completing the unprecedented demoralisations was the famine which reduced almost the whole of India to a condition of imbecility lasting for more than one generation. The Śakas and the Kushans who followed the Śakas found a thoroughly lifeless India. It was therefore a very easy task for Kanishka and his predecessors who established an empire and for their descendants to hold it on for 300 years undisputed. It took the country three centuries to recover and gather strength enough to shake off the Kushans. I think, we get here in the last datum supplied by the Hindu historian the explanation of the following gloomy career of Indian history of the first three centuries of the Christian era. The greatest destroyers of the Brahmin Empire were thus prolonged wars and a long famine, the latter being more powerful than the former.

VII.—The Dog-bride in Santali and Lepcha Folklore.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The Santāls are a large Dravidian tribe which is classed as Kolarian on linguistic grounds and which inhabits Western Bengal, Northern Orissa, Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas. They have an extensive and interesting mass of folk-lore.

A most curious and interesting item of their folk-lore is that about the Dog-bride who is really a human girl wearing the skin of a dog. The following folktale is narrated among them about this Dog-bride :—

A herd boy married a dog-bride who was really a girl wearing the skin of a dog. Every night she used to doff her dog-skin guise and leave the house. Her husband discovered this. One night, while she was about to go out of the house, he caught hold of her and burnt her dog-skin guise. Thereafter she remained a girl possessed of more than human beauty.¹

Curiously enough, the Dog-bride also occurs in the folk-lore of an altogether alien people, namely the Lepchas who are a Mongoloid tribe living in Sikkim, Western Bhutan, Eastern Nepal and the Darjeeling district.

The following folktale about the Dog-bride is narrated by the aforementioned Lepchas :—

Once upon a time, there was an orphan boy who had nothing to eat except the fish he used to catch. One day, he managed to catch a very big fish ; and as he was dividing it up in his mind into equal portions, the fish in entreating terms said “ Don’t kill me, come with me to my parents.” To this, the orphan boy replied : “ But how can I go with you into the water ? ” The fish told him that he would have to hold on to its tail very lightly and jump with it into the river and swim until they would come to its father and mother, who

¹ For a fuller version of this folktale, vide *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, By C. H. Bompas, London : David Nutt, 1909, pp. 254-256.

were sitting on golden and silver thrones. The orphan boy exactly did as he was told to do ; and soon arrived at the parental home of the fish. After their arrival there, the fish informed its parents of the fact that it had been caught by the orphan boy , but that its captor—the orphan boy—had mercifully spared its life. On hearing this the parents expressed their feeling of gratitude to the orphan boy and offered to reward the latter by giving him anything that he would like to have.

Noticing a wee puppy that was lying in a corner of the hearth, the orphan boy asked for it. The parents of the fish very gladly presented it to him ; and bringing it home, he tied it up in a corner of his hut.

As usual, the orphan boy went out every day and, on returning home in the evening, found that somebody had tidied up his room and cooked food for him during his absence. One day, he hid himself in a corner of his room to see who it was that tidied up his room and cooked his food. He found that it was the dog, who leaving off her dog-skin guise, had assumed the shape of a beautiful girl and was doing his household work. She was made of gold from her head down to her waist, and was made of silver from her waist down to her feet.

As she was about to begin the household work, he caught hold of her, and tearing off her dog-skin guise into pieces, scattered the same everywhere. Gold and silver flowers sprang up from wherever the pieces of the skin had fallen.

Thereafter, the orphan boy and the dog-bride lived happily in that cottage. ¹

On comparing the Santâl and the Lepcha folktales, we find :—

- (1) That in the Santâl version, the dog-bride is only a human girl wearing the skin of a dog ; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she is a fairy wearing a dog-skin guise.

¹ *Vide* the folktale entitled “ *A fairy disguised as a puppy* ” in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (New Series), Vol. XXI (1925) no. 4, pp. 380-382.

- (2) That, in the Santali version, she leaves off her dog-skin guise during the night and assumes the shape of a human girl ; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she doffs her dog-skin guise during the day time and, assuming the shape of a beautiful girl, does the household work.
- (3) In the Santali version, the dog-bride is only a human girl made of flesh and blood ; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she is a fairy made of gold from head down to her waist, and made of silver from her waist down to her feet.
- (4) That, in the Santali variant, the dog-bride's husband burns the dog-skin guise which is reduced to ashes ; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, the orphan boy tears off the fairy's dog-skin guise to pieces and scatters the same everywhere ; and gold and silver flowers spring up from these fragments of the skin.

These two folktales illustrate the cardinal doctrine of the philosophy of the Lower Culture, which is to the effect that there is no difference between man and beasts and that a man, at his sweet will and pleasure, can assume the shape of a beast and *vice versa*. This belief in the interchangeability of human and animal forms also prevailed in Europe during the Middle ages, when the people believed in the existence of *werwolves* or of human beings who were men by day and wolves by night. The same sort of belief prevails in India and the Malay Peninsula where the people believe in the existence of *wer-tigers* or of men who are human beings by day and tigers on other occasions. Similarly, the natives of South Africa believe in men-hyenas, and the Baluchis of Baluchistan believe in the existence of men-bears.¹

The Tibetans also believe that certain privileged persons can, at their sweet will and pleasure, transform themselves into beasts. There is in Tibet a lady named Dor-je Pa-mo,

¹ For a fuller exposition of this point, vide *the Handbook of Folklore*, By C. S. Burne, London : Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, pp. 40-41.

"the thunderbolt sow" of Sam-ding, who is believed by the Tibetans to be capable of metamorphosing herself into a sow.¹

From what I have stated above, it would appear that the Santals are a Dravidian people, and that the Lepchas are members of the Mongoloid race; that they live at a great distance from each other and that there is no record or document extant to show that there was ever any intercommunication between these two tribes. Notwithstanding this, there is a great deal of similarity between the aforementioned two folktales. Therefore the question arises: How has this similarity come about?

We should answer this question by saying that this similarity between the two aforementioned folktales can only be explained by Dr. Franz Boas's theory of the "Parallelism of Culture-Development." It postulates that "different groups of mankind started, at a very early time, from a general condition of lack of culture; and, owing to the unity of the human mind and the consequent similar response to outer and inner stimuli, they have developed everywhere approximately along the same lines, making similar inventions and developing similar customs and beliefs"²

¹ Vide "*Tibet Past and Present*," by Sir Charles Bell, Oxford. Printed at the Clarendon Press, 1924, p. 138.

² *The mind of Primitive Man*, By Franz Boas, New York; Macmillan Company, 1922. p. 181.

VIII.—The Caterpillar-Boy and the Caterpillar-Husband in Santali and Lhota Naga Folk-lore.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The Santāls of the Santāl Parganas believe in the existence of men who are capable of changing themselves into caterpillars by wearing caterpillar skins. This belief of theirs is illustrated by the following interesting folk-tale which is current among them :—The Caterpillar-boy, who was a young man wearing the skin of a caterpillar, married a Rājā's daughter. Every night, after leaving the caterpillar-skin at home he went out to dance. The princess's maid-servant saw this and informed her mistress of it. One night, the princess and her maid-servant burnt the caterpillar-skin in a fire and her husband remained a handsome young man ever after that.¹

Curiously enough, a similar belief is also current among the Lhota Nagas who are a Mongoloid tribe living in the Naga hills of the North-eastern frontier of India. These Lhota Nagas, numbering some twenty thousand souls, occupy a piece of territory that may be roughly described as the drainage area of the Middle and Lower Doyang and its tributaries, down to the point where it emerges into the plains.

This Lhota Naga belief is illustrated by the following interesting folk-tale which is current among this people :—Once upon a time there lived a man and his wife. But the man was not really a human being but a caterpillar during the daytime and a real man by night. His wife was not aware of her husband's shape-shifting. One night, before retiring to sleep she said : "To-morrow I shall go out to collect some herbs for my food." These words were heard by her husband. So, very early in the next morning he left the

¹For a fuller version of this folk-tale, vide *Folk-lore of the Santāl Parganas* by C. H. Bompas, London : David Nutt, 1906, pp. 227-232.

house first and, transforming himself into a caterpillar nipped off the leaves of the herbs mentioned by his wife. Thereafter his wife arrived on the spot and, seeing the leafless condition of the herbs, exclaimed: "How strange is this; a caterpillar must have eaten the leaves of my herbs. However, I shall gather them though leafless they are, and take them home for my food". So saying she plucked them up and took the same home. But that night after she and her husband had retired to bed, she said to the latter: "How strange it was that a caterpillar had eaten up the leaves of the herbs that I went to gather". To this he replied by saying: "It was I that did this." This behaviour of her husband greatly enraged her, so, when he was fast asleep, she gently pushed and pushed him so that he fell into the fire and was burnt.

Thereafter, the woman had to devour caterpillar hairs with the food she ate, and consequently coughed and coughed till she died.

Therefore now-a-days if anyone cough much the Lhota Naga people say, "you should not burn a caterpillar."¹

On comparing the Santáli and the Lhota Naga folk-tales, I find that:—(a) In the Santáli version the hero transformed himself into a caterpillar by wearing a caterpillar-skin which he used to doff at night: Whereas in Lhota Naga variant, the hero was, a real caterpillar by daytime and metamorphosed himself into a real man during the night.

(b) In the Santáli story when the heroine discovered her husband's secret she burnt his caterpillar skin in the fire, and thereafter her husband remained a handsome young man for ever: Whereas in the Lhota Naga folk-tale when the heroine discovered the secret of her husband's shape-shifting she burnt her husband to death.

(c) The sequel of the Santáli story is a happy one; whereas that of the Lhota Naga variant is a tragic one.

¹See the folk-tale entitled, "*The woman with a caterpillar for a husband*" in *The Lhota Nagas*, by J. P. Mills. London: Macmillan and Co. 1922, pp. 195-196.

These two folk-tales illustrate the cardinal doctrine of the philosophy of the Lower Culture which is to the effect that there is no difference between men and beasts, and that a man, at his sweet will and pleasure, can assume the shape of a beast, and *vice versa*.

There is no evidence to show that the Lhota Nagas borrowed the story from the Santâls or that the latter derived it from the former. Therefore the question arises: how has this similarity come about? The answer to this query is that this coincidence of folk-tales which are current among widely separated peoples like the Santâls and the Lhota Naga, is due to a "Psychic Unity" which compelled primitive man to conceive the same explanations of natural phenomena and express them in similar language.

IX.—The Frog in North-Indian Rain-Compelling Rites.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The frog plays an important part in the rain-compelling rites performed by many races of people all over the world. Sir J. G. Frazer accounts for this by formulating the theory that, as frogs and toads are intimately associated with water they are popularly believed to be the custodians of rain and that, for this reason, frogs are so much in evidence in rain-compelling rites.* With due deference to such a high authority as Sir J. G. Frazer, I take the liberty to state that his theory does not apply to the rain-making rites performed by the Hindus of Northern India.

They believe that Indra is the god of rain and that, as frogs in large numbers appear on the commencement of the rainy season they must be the rain-god's myrmidons and that it is for this reason that the frogs are so much used in rain-compelling rites. This is evidenced by the rain-compelling rite which is performed in villages in the district of Darbhanga in North Bihar. In this rite the setting in of the rains with their concomitants—the appearance of the frogs is simulated by the travesty of throwing of pitchers of water containing frogs into neighbour's court-yards. Sometimes instead of throwing actual frogs the village boys blacken their faces and leap and hop on all fours after the manner of frogs. In this case the appearance of the frogs is symbolised by the leaping up of village boys acting the part of frogs.

These two rites are instances of Homœopathic magic the underlying principle of which is that "Like produces like", that is to say, if the appearance of frogs—the favourite myrmidons of the rain-god Indra—is brought about by some artificial or magical means, the rain-god will be so far pleased

* "The Golden Bough" by Sir J. G. Frazer. Abridged edition, London; Macmillan & Co., 1923, p. 73.

with the performance of the rite that he will cause profuse rain to fall.*

Sometimes, for the purpose of removing drought, the rain-god's favourite frogs are tortured.† What is the motive lying at the root of this rite? It is not far to seek, for the root idea lying at the basis of this rite is that if the rain-god's favourite myrmidon—the frog—is tortured the rain-god's heart will be filled with pity for his favourite's sufferings and will so far relent that he will send down rain for the relief of humanity, suffering from the consequences of a drought. Curiously enough, an analogous rite is performed by the Indians of the Orinoco (South America) who believe that the toad or frog is the lord of waters, and that under the influence of this belief they will not kill any one of them. The Tibetans also believe that the frog is the God of waters and that, by immuring him underneath the ground, rain and, for the matter of that, floods, may be stopped. The members of the first Mount Everest expedition of 1921, came across an instance of this Tibetan folk belief as will appear from the following extract from their official report:—
 “This (the temple of the Gandenchöfel Monastery) was a curious building, square in shape, and surmounted by a cupola. It was very solidly built of stone and was, they told us, about 500 years old. It was founded by a saint called Jetsun—Nga—Wang—Chhöfel who, after a great flood which swept down the valley, destroying all the houses in it, had taken a large frog (*which animal is believed to represent Water God*) and buried it under the centre pillar of the temple. With great reverence they showed us the spot under which this unfortunate frog had been immured in the centre of the shrine. This immolation of the frog had apparently not been completely efficacious in preventing the floods as two other floods had

*See my article “Further Notes on rain-compelling and rain-stopping Charms,” in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. VII, pp. 192-94.

†Vide Haddon's “*Custom of the World*,” London, Hutchinson and Co. Vol. I., p. 533.

subsequently occurred, and two small chortens had been erected to make quite certain that the frog could not get out again and cause more floods*. Sometimes these Indians keep frogs under a pot and whenever there is a drought they beat these batrachian with ros. Here the root idea is that by torturing the lord of water himself he will be compelled to send down rain.†

Recently, the existence of a curious rain compelling rite, which is performed in Assam and which goes by the name of "the Marriage of the Frogs" has been brought to the notice of anthropologist. It is stated that this rite had its origin in some legend connected with Indra, the God of rain and is performed in Assam, whenever there is a drought, for causing rain to fall.‡

Now what is the root idea lying at the basis of this custom? The object is no other than that of pleasing the rain-god Indra by bringing about the marriages of his favourite myrmidons—the frogs, so that they may increase and multiply. The rain-god becomes pleased at this and, as a token of his favour, causes copious showers of rain to fall.

*Mount Everest, the Reconnaissance, 1921, by Lt. Col. G. K. Howard Bury, London, Edward Arnold and Co., 1922, p. 109.

†Frazer's "The Golden Bough" Abridged edition of 1923, p. 73.

‡Vide the paper entitled "The frog marriage in Assam" read by T. C. Saikia before the "Section of Anthropology" of the Fourteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in January 1927. This paper has been published in full in *Man in India* (Ranchi), Vol. VII, pp. 210-11.

X.—Note on Dog-Worship in the Hazaribagh District in Chota Nagpur.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In India, the worship of animals assumes two forms. In some cases the animals are regarded as permanent deities or members of the Hindu Pantheon. "These may be grouped as *animal gods*." In other cases godlings or goddesslings are supposed to take temporary possession of animals which, for the nonce, become objects of adoration. After some time the deities leave their temporary dwelling places and the animals, of whom they had taken possession, become ordinary animals and receive no reverence whatever from the people. These temporary *animal gods* find no place in the Hindu Pantheon and may be classed under the heading of "*gods temporarily incarnated in animal forms*."

Let us take the subject of the worship of dogs which is prevalent in several parts of India. For instance, in Western India, many Hindus worship the dog as being the vehicle of the god Kāla Bhairava though it is usually regarded as an unclean animal. Then again, no Maratha will lift his hand against a dog. In Nepal there is a festival which goes by the name of *Khicha Puja*. On this occasion wreathes of flowers are placed round the neck of every dog in the country.

On this subject Dr. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, M. D. says: "On the first day (of the Dewali) all dogs are worshipped and feasted, garlands of flowers are put round their necks, and for that day at least the pariahs in the valley and cities of Nipal live in clover, for none are beaten nor in any way maltreated."*

In these instances of dog-worship, the dog takes the place of a permanent "Animal god." But the most curious form of dog-worship takes place in the district of Hazaribagh in

*Vide *Sketches from Nipal, Historical and Descriptive*, by the late Henry Ambrose Oldfield, M.D. in two volumes. London: W. H. Allen and Company, 1880, Vol. II, P. 352.

Chota Nagpur. There is a powerful goddessling named Lugu, who is much revered by the aboriginal peoples living in the tract of country between the Gola, Peter-bar, Gumia and Mandu thanas jurisdictions. Situated in this tract of country is a hill named the Lugu hill. On this hill the goddessling Lugu resides with her army of *Birs* or warriors, of whom the leader is *Tulsi Bir*.

In June 1920, an ordinary red-hued dog appeared from the direction of Karanpura, i.e., the west. People said that the aforementioned *Tulsi Bir* had entered this animal and in this form was out on a hunting expedition. Vermilion marks were made on its forehead; garlands of flowers or coloured thread were placed round its neck; and its tail was besmeared with *ghee* or clarified butter. It was fed with milk and *arwa* rice. It was allowed to kill goats and pigs and was fed with a portion of the meat of the animals it had killed. It was provided with a bedding to sit upon. A drummer accompanied it; and two men fanned it with branches of the *nim* tree. It was accompanied by a retinue of men including the village *Naiyā*. It was taken to the Lugu hill and when it arrived there it was believed that *Tulsi Bir* had left it. Thereafter it was allowed to wander about freely.

During the period commencing from about 1900, up to 1920, seven other cases are reported to have taken place in the district of Hazaribagh, in all of which cases it was popularly believed that the aforementioned *Tulsi Bir* or, in one case Bhairava, had taken possession of the dog and thereby causing it to be worshipped by the aboriginal people of the neighbourhood.

The gentlemen who has reported these cases, says that one noteworthy feature thereof is that nowhere else except in the aforementioned tract in the Hazaribagh district do these cases of worship of the dog as *temporary Animal-god* take place. He is of opinion that the aforementioned tract being inhabited by

Vide "Cases of supposed Dog possession in Hazaribagh, by H. D. Christian, in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, for December, 1920, pp. 562—567.

the Santals, their fondness for hunting has something to do with the origin of the belief that the dog becomes temporarily possessed by a godling or goddessling.

It is curious to know that *Tulsi Bir* who is the tribal god of the Bhuiyāns, and who is popularly believed by these aboriginal peoples of Hazaribagh to take temporary possession of Dogs, has been degraded by them to be a subordinate follower of the goddessling Lugu, who is adored and prayed to only by the Kolarian tribes which include the Mundās, the Santāls, the Kharwārs and the Birhors.

On a careful study of the foregoing instances of dog worship, I am of opinion that it is nothing but a form of animistic worship. The names of the goddessling Lugu and of her favourite follower *Tulsi Bir* are not to be found either in the Vedās, the Purānas and other sacred writings of the Hindus. They are not installed as members of the Hindu Pantheon. The aforementioned Kolarian peoples are animists and believe that the whole of Nature is peopled by a host of benevolent and malevolent spirits who are invisible and incorporeal. I am inclined to think that both *Lugu* and *Tulsi Bir* are materialised forms of some one of the aforesaid spirits. This being so, the instances of dog worship which are reported to take place in the district of Hazaribagh alone after intervals of one year or there about, have their origin in the animistic beliefs of the aforementioned aboriginal peoples.

XI.—Note on a Recent Instance of the Human Sacrifice for discovering hidden treasures.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B.L.

There is a widespread belief among the people of many countries all over the world that snakes act as guardians of treasures hidden underneath the earth. The origin of this belief is stated to be that covetous and miserly persons, who have accumulated great hordes of wealth,—cannot take away their thoughts from these treasures even after their deaths. Folklore states that these persons, the be-all and end-all of whose existence in this world was the accumulation of wealth, assume the shape of some monstrous snakes and come down to earth and act as the guardians of these treasures. After sometime the snake guardian gets tired of this sort of life and, either assuming the shape of a human being or appearing in a vision asks a covetous person living in the neighbourhood of the hidden wealth to take possession of the wealth after giving one of his dearest relatives in return for it, so that the former may pass away into some other kind of existence. If some covetous person agrees to the snake guardian's request, and gets possession of the hidden wealth after giving the serpent one of his dearest kinsmen, that is to say, by sacrificing to the said snake one of his dearest relatives, the snake enters into some other state of existence.

An instance of this gruesome belief has recently cropped up in the Nizam's dominion, where a woman is stated to have kidnapped a child and killed it by way of sacrifice to propitiate the guardian deity of a hidden treasure as will appear from the following official account published elsewhere :—“ The story of a remarkably gruesome crime, alleged to have been committed by a rich woman about three years ago in order to appease evil spirits supposed to be the guardians of a treasure-trove is contained in the Hyderabad State Police report for 1333 *Hasli*.

One Radhama, Patwarni of Yelamner, in the Nalgonda district, asked a Kunbi woman to procure for her a first born infant girl for the purpose of unearthing a treasure-trove buried in her house and promised the Kunbi a reward for her services. The Kunbi woman waited for an opportunity and, seeing the eighteen months old daughter of a local goldsmith playing in the street, kidnapped the child and took it to Radhama; who hid it in the upper storey of her house, giving it a strong dose of opium to keep it quiet. At nightfall Radhama went to the spot where the treasure-trove was supposed to have been buried, accompanied by four men. Then, while one of the men chanted incantations, the other men excavated the ground.

The report goes on to say that when the treasure-trove had been found the baby girl was fetched from the place where it was concealed and brutally sacrificed to the guardian spirits and buried in the pit from which the treasure was removed. The woman and her accomplices obtained bail but on revision the sessions court annulled the bail order. The woman then moved the High Court and secured an order for her release on bail. The Full Bench, however, ordered the woman to be kept under special surveillance and the police investigation to be continued. Subsequently His Exalted Highness the Nizam appointed a commission to inquire into the case. The findings of this commission are not yet known."*

It does not appear from the foregoing story whether or not the spirit who guarded the hidden treasure and to propitiate whom the woman Radhama sacrificed the child was believed to be a serpent.

In some cases, a human being is not actually sacrificed to propitiate the guardian spirit of the hidden treasure. Instead of the human sacrifice a drop of blood from the little finger of the first-born son is offered for the purpose of appeasing the said spirit.

*Vide the article entitled "*Alleged Human Sacrifice, Hyderabad Story*" in the Calcutta daily "*Statesman*" of the 2nd December, 1926.

It is believed in northern India that snake charmers are endowed with the power of recognising particular snakes to be guardians of such hidden treasures. If one of them comes across such a snake guardian, he stealthily goes to its hole and cajoles the latter into pointing out to him the place where the treasure-trove is concealed. It is further popularly believed that the snake guardian agrees to do this on condition of the snake charmer's offering him a drop of blood from the little finger of a first-born son.*

The custom of substituting the actual sacrifice of a human being by the offering of a drop of blood from the little finger of a first born son has its analogue in a practice which prevailed in ancient times in the Bombay Presidency, where, whenever a well was dug or a fort was built a human sacrifice used to be offered in order that water might come out of the well and that the foundations of the fort might be stable. But, at the present day, no such human sacrifice is offered. But, in lieu of it, the blood from the fourth finger of a person is taken and sprinkled over the well or the foundations of the fort.†

In the Santal Parganas, the practice of offering human sacrifices for obtaining great wealth appears to have been prevalent till recent years. A writer in the Calcutta daily *Statesman* says: "Sir Herbert Risley said that instances had been mentioned to him of people having been kidnapped and sacrificed within quite recent times by influential headmen, or communities or villagers, who hoped in this way to *gain great riches* or win some specially coveted private revenge."‡

* *Vide* W. Crooke's, "An introduction to the popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India," Allahabad Edition of 1894, pages 270-71.

† *Vide* the "Folklore of Bombay," By R. E. Enthoven, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924, page 341.

‡ *Vide* the article entitled "Human Sacrifices in India" in the Calcutta daily *Statesman* of the 3rd July 1927.

XII.—A Brief Report of Anthropological Work for the year 1927-28.

By Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year 1927-28, besides some tours in Chōṭā-Nāgpur for a study of the ethnology of some of the aboriginal tribes such as the Khārīās and the Orāons, I made some investigations into the ethnology of the *Jūāngs* and the *Hill-Bhūiyās* of the Keonjhar State in Orissā, and the *Khonds*, the *Porojas* and the *Gadavas* of the Agency tracts in the Madras Presidency.

In the course of my investigations into the religious beliefs and customs of the Orāons, I discovered that a large number of Orāons, numbering approximately about a thousand, in the western and south-western parts of the Rānchi district have adopted the *Kabirpanthi* religion and that the introduction of this religion among the Orāons began nearly a century ago. Neither any of the Census Reports nor any previous writer on the ethnology of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, such as Dalton or Risley, appears to have noticed or, at any rate, mentioned this interesting fact.

My inquiries show that the *Kabirpanthi* religion came to the Orāon country from the Rāipur and Bilāspur districts of the Central Provinces by way of the Sambalpur district and the Feudatory State of Gāngpur on the south-western borders of the Rānchi district, in the second quarter of the last century. There are *Kabirpanthi* converts in the Sambalpur district as well as in the Gāngpur State. And it is interesting to note that two or three Orāons of the Gāngpur State have become *Kabirpanthi gūrūs* or religious teachers, one of whom has many disciples in the Rānchi district and only recently initiated an Orāon of village Mahārājgunj in the Basīā *thānā* of the Rānchi district. In the Rānchi district itself some *Kabirpanthi gūrūs*, of Hindu lineage, have established themselves permanently. Such are Sohāg Dās

at village Oskeā, Mūtrū Dās at Phūlwārtōli, and Lālū Dās at Bānāgūtū, in the Basia *thānā*. These *Gūrūs* hold *pānjās* or letters of authority and jurisdiction from the late Dayaram Saheb and Ugranām Saheb, the Head *Mahants* at *Dhāmākherā* in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces. Almost all the Orāon converts to *Kabirpanthism* in the Rānchi district belong to the Sindegā and Gūmlā subdivisions which comprise the south-western and western parts of the district.

From enquiries among the principal *Kabirpanthi* Orāon families, it appears that the earliest converts to the faith were made among the Orāons shortly after the 'Kōl Insurrection' of 1832-1833. And I have found a confirmation of this in the earliest annals of the first Christian Mission to Rānchi. From the reports of the earliest German Christian Missionaries to Chōṭā-Nāgpur it appears that when in 1845 they began to preach the Christian gospel to the Orāons, they found a man of the name of *Ichchhā Gūrū*, a Teli by caste, actively spreading the doctrines of the *Kabirpanthi* religion among the Orāons. Active propagation of the religion has now ceased in the Rānchi district. At rare intervals some animistic Orāon family with which a *Kabirpanthi* family may have entered into marriage relations may feel attracted to the purer faith and cleaner habits of their *Kabirpanthi* relatives and agree to be initiated by the latter's *gūrū*.

The Orāon *Kabirpanthis* have preserved so much of the old tribal customs as do not directly militate against the fundamental tenets of the *Kabirpanthi* faith. And so a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon is permitted to marry his son or daughter in Orāon families still clinging to their old animistic faith. And such marriages do often take place.

As a matter of fact, a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon always seeks matrimonial alliances not only within his own tribe but also observes the strict tribal rule of totemistic exogamy. When, however, a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon marries his daughter to a spirit-worshipping Orāon, the girl will no longer be allowed to cook or serve rice and pulses for her parents and their people

or to eat with them. Similarly a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon who has taken a wife from a spirit-worshipping Orāon family will convert her into his own faith and neither she nor her husband will take cooked food at the hands of the girl's people. As I have said, a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon may observe such of the tribal customs at birth, death and marriage as are not incompatible with the cardinal doctrines of his adopted faith, but he must in addition arrange for the characteristic *Kabirpanthi* religious service known as the *Chowkā*. This has also to be arranged for at the initiation of a new convert.

An essential part of this ceremony is that the *Mahant* or *Gūrū* breaks a cocoanut and distributes it to all *Kabirpanthis* present along with consecrated betel-leaves. The flesh of this cocoanut is believed to represent the head and the betel-leaf the body of *Kabir*, and the eating of these would appear to serve the purpose of a sacramental meal and spiritual communion with the founder of the religion.

With the exception of the *Chowkā* service and the communal meal that follows, there does not appear to be much in the *Kabirpanthi* religion, as the Orāon understands it, to appeal to the Orāon's religious imagination and satisfy his craving for institutional religion.

Kabir or *Sat Sāheb*, whose name he has to reverently utter every day and to whom many *bhajans* or hymns are addressed, is to the Orāon convert more or less of an abstract name which does not appear to evoke the same intensity of religious emotion that the name of *Mahādeo* or *Bhagawān* does in the minds of the Hinduised Orāon *Bhagats*. And it is curious to find that some *Kabirpanthi* Orāons, like Hinduised Orāon *Bhagats*, have begun to employ Brāhman priests to officiate at marriage ceremonies. The Orāon *Kabirpanthi* believes in the power of the *bhūts* or malignant spirits as much as his animistic tribe-fellow does; but whereas the former resorts to sacrifices and certain magical practices to appease or expel them, the latter sings special *bhajans* or hymns for the purpose. One of my *Kabirpanthi* Orāon friends informs me that his father had

actually brought from the Head *Mahant* at Dhāmākherā a book of special *bhājans* to drive away *bhūts*.

As I said, the *Kabirpanthi* religion is no longer making headway among the Orāons; and the *Kabirpanthi* Orāon is now hardly distinguishable from the average Hinduised *Bhagat* except by his omission of certain old tribal observances.

In the Jeypore State in the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency and in the Vizagapatam district, I made some study of the Khonds, the Gadavas and the Porojas. The first are a Dravidian speaking tribe akin to the Orāons of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the second a Mūṇḍā-speaking tribe akin to the Mūṇḍās, Khārīās and other Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, whereas the third appear to be a tribe of mixed origin.

It is interesting to note that as in the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateaux the Mūṇḍā-speaking Khārīās and Mūṇḍās live side by side with the Dravidian-speaking Orāons, in the Santal Parganas we find the Mūṇḍā-speaking Santals side by side with the Dravidian speaking Malers or Sāūrīās, pāhārīās; and in the Central Provinces we see the Mūṇḍā-speaking Kōrkūs living side by side with the Dravidian Gōnds, so in the northern parts of the Madras Presidency we meet with the Dravidian-speaking Khonds side by side with the Mūṇḍā-speaking Gadavas and Sāvarās. This interesting juxtaposition of the two groups offer the field-anthropologist welcome opportunities and special facilities for a first-hand study *in situ* of the differences due to heredity and racial history, on the one hand, and the resemblances due to culture-contact and also perhaps to racial mixture in the past.

The similarities of the social organisation and customs and religious system and observances of the Khonds of Orīṣā and the Madras Agency tracts and the Orāons of Chōṭā-Nāgpur are as striking and significant as their differences are interesting and instructive. As each Orāon village has its secular headman styled the *Māhō* and its sacerdotal headman called the *Pāhān* or *Nāigās*, so each Khond village has its secular headman called the *Sāmōntō* (Orīyā, *Nākhō*) and its sacerdotal headman or priest called *Jāni*. But among the Khonds who

are in some respects more primitive than the Orāons, the two offices are sometimes combined in one and the same person, as I found, for instance, in village Konḍū-gūḍā about three miles from Jeypore. Again, whereas among the Khonds the posts of secular headman and of village priest are hereditary, among the Orāons these have in many places come to be elective.

Just as a group of from seven to twenty-one Orāon villages constitute a *Pārkhā* federation under a secular headman called the *Pārkhā Rājā* and a semi-sacerdotal headman called the *Kartākhā*, so the Khonds have a similar organization in which a group of confederated villages is called by the number of villages of which it is composed such as *das-khāṇḍa* (*lit.*, ten parts), *bāṣ-khāṇḍa* (*lit.*, twelve parts), and so forth. The secular and sacerdotal headmen of such a group is also known respectively as the *Sāmōntō* or the *Jāni* of the group. Corresponding respectively to the *Sōkhās* or diviners and the *Mātis* or sorcerers and spirit-doctors of the Orāons, the Khonds have their *Disāris* or diviners and primitive astrologers and their *Bejjus* or sorcerers and spirit-doctors. The Khonds like the Orāons have separate dormitories, one for the unmarried boys and other for the unmarried girls of a village. But the organisation of the Khond dormitory is not so elaborate as that of the Orāons. As among the Orāons so also among the Khonds, the girls' dormitory is now very rarely found to have a separate building of its own, but the unmarried girls of a village usually sleep at night in the house of some lone widow.

The resemblances in their religious systems are equally close. Like the Orāons, the Khonds recognise at the head of their pantheon a fanient Supreme Deity known by a variant of the same name. The Orāons call him *Dharmē*, or *Dharmes*, the Khonds call Him *Dharma*. Similarly the principal village Deity of the two tribes is identical, being known as *Jhākrā Bārhiā* or *Chālā Pāchchō* among the Orāons, and *Jhankar* or *Jhakar Pennu* among the Khonds. As among the Orāons so among the Khonds, a sacred grove is dedicated to this Deity. As among the Orāons, so also among the Khonds, before a new

village is established, the site of this sacred grove, called *jhākrā* or *Surnā* by the Orāons and *Jhākar* or *jhānkar* by the Khonds, has to be selected and the Deity installed and worshipped in this sacred grove. The Khond Jāni or priest, on an auspicious day in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), carries a stone to the selected grove or clump of trees, buries it under ground, and then offers a fowl, a pig and in some places also a hen's egg, and calls upon the Supreme Deity or *Dharma* to bless the new settlement about to be founded. As among the Orāons so too among the Khonds, no woman may attend the *pūjā* at this grove nor touch the stone nor even enter the grove.

Before thus consecrating the sacred *jhākar* grove, the site for the village is selected by the following method. Seventeen grains of rice are taken and divided into three portions (*pūnjis* lit., collections), two of seven grains each and one of three grains. The first two portions are placed side by side and the third is placed in front of them. They are then covered over with a leaf, and a stone is placed upon the leaf; after a time, the leaf is removed and the rice-grains are counted. If no grain is found missing, the site is considered auspicious. If one or more grains out of the seventeen are found missing, the site is given up as inauspicious. The Porojas also select the site for a new village in the same way.

After selecting the village site and installing the *Jhākar Pennu* in the sacred grove dedicated to her, the dwelling-houses of the new Khond settlement are constructed in two rows facing each other. A wide open space is left between the two lines of houses. Towards the middle of this open space a few slabs of stone are laid flat on the ground. These are collectively known as *Valli* in Khondi or Kui language and *Bātpur* in Oriya. On these stones the elders of the village sit down to discuss matters of public interest to the village or tribe. In some villages one or more trees, generally of the *ficus Indica* or some other variety of fig, are planted by the side of these stones. Here Khond young men and women hold their dances. This corresponds to the *Akhṛā* of an Orāon village. Whereas the Orāons appear to

identify the *Jhākṛā Būṛhiā* with the Earth-goddess or *Dharti-māi* and ceremonially celebrate the marriage of this deity with the Sun-god every year at the Sarhūl festival, a Khond priest (Butiā Disāri of village Pūtrā Gūrā) informed me that *Jhāṅkar Pennū's* husband is *Dharni-deotā* or the Earth-god and sacrifices offered at the sacred grove are meant for both.

Besides the Supreme Spirit and village-spirits, the Khonds like the Orāons have their ancestor-spirits, familiar spirits of individuals, and tutelary deities of families.

Side by side with the Khonds, and in some villages interspersed among the Khonds, may be found the tribe known as the *Pōrōjās*, *Pōrjās* or *Pārjās*.

As the Khonds have their *Jhāṅkar* or *Jhākar Pennu*, so the Pōrōjās have their *Nisāni Mūṇḍā* or *Nisāni Deotā* who is the guardian spirit of each village. After houses have been built in a new settlement, the *Disāri* or village-astrologer brings a block of stone or a piece of wood and buries it in the ground near the entrance (*mūṇḍā* or head) of a Porojā village, and piles stones on the ground over it. The *jāni* or village-priest sacrifices a pig, a goat and a fowl to the *Nisāni Mūṇḍā* spirit. And since then every year sacrifices are offered to this spirit in the month of *Chait* before seeds are sown in the fields. A few seeds of all varieties are first offered to this spirit, and then alone can the fields be sown. In some villages the population consists of both Khonds and Pōrōjās; but generally the two tribes occupy two different quarters (*ṭolās*) of the village. It is interesting to note that generally in such a village (as, e.g., in *Putra gurā*) there are seats allotted for both *Nisāni Mūṇḍā* or *Nisān deotā* and *Jhāṅkar Pennu*, but the same man acts as *Jāni* or priest for both the Khonds and the Pōrōjās. They have also the same astrologer or *Disāri* and the same secular headman or *Nāikō*.

As among the Orāons, so too among the Khonds, each family has its own household deity called *Illu Pennu* by the Khonds and *Khūṇṭ Bhat* by the Orāons.

In purely *Pōrōjā* villages in the Jeypore Agency I met with a custom which might appear to point to the affinity of the *Pōrōjās* or some sections of them with the *Mūṇḍā*-speaking tribes of *Chōṭā-Nāgpur*. It is curious that I do not find this custom noticed either by Thurston (article on ' *Pōrōjā* ' in the *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*) or by Russel (article on ' *Pārjā* ' in the *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*). This is the custom of setting up stone memorials to the dead such as we find in vogue among the *Mūṇḍās*, the *Hōs* and the *Bhumijes* of *Chōṭā-Nāgpur*. It is interesting to note that their neighbours the Dravidian-speaking *Khonds* do not set up such memorial stones just as the Dravidian-speaking *Orāon* neighbours of the *Mūṇḍās* too do not practice such commemoration of their dead relatives.

The *Pōrōjās* erect these stone memorials, which they call *khāmbā*, in memory of important personages particularly old persons of a village. In the *Pōrōjā* village of *Kūṇḍari gurā*, I found as many as thirteen such stones standing in a line just by the eastern side of the settlement. In front of each upright stone slab is laid another slab of stone, flat on the ground, resting on small stones at its four corners. The procedure followed in setting up these memorial stones is as follows: After the funeral rites of the deceased have been performed (ten or twelve days after cremation) the memorial stone-slab is set up, wound round with a cloth or rather a rag secured by a string. As with the *Mūṇḍā bid-diris* or upright memorial stones, these stones must face the east, that is to say the direction of their breadth must be from north to south so that the broad sides may look towards the east and the west. Behind the upright slab, that is to say adjoining it on the west, a *nūr warhālū* (*Oṛiyā, soṛṭṭṇkā*) tree is planted. An old bullock or an old cow is tethered to the *khāmbā* or upright stone-slab and the person (generally the son of the deceased) who has planted the *khāmbā* cuts off the head of the animal with an axe. A little of the blood of the sacrificed animal is taken in a leaf-cup and dropped over the *khāmbā*.

A feast of boiled rice and of meat of the sacrificial animal follows. Before the feast, a little of the cooked meat is offered to the spirit of the deceased by placing it on the flat-stone in front of the *khāmbā* or upright stone. A little fermented liquor or rather jelly-like substance prepared with *rāgi* flower or *māruā* flower, is also offered to the spirit.

The *Pōrjās* as I learnt, have several sections among them, such as *Sorā Biya Pōrjās* or *Bar Pōrjās* found mostly in the Jeypore area, the *Jariā Pōrjās* or *Sān Pōrjās* found mostly in the Korāput tract, the *Barang Jhariā* or *Pengō Pōrjās* found in the Kathar-gārā country, the *Dhur Pōrjās* or *Dīdai Pōrjās* found in the Bagdari country, the *Khankra Pōrjās* and the *Mandrā Pōrjās* found in the Lachimpur area, and the *Kōṭā Pōrjās* found in the Singpur area. Besides these are the *Baṇḍā Pōrjās* and *Perengi Pōrjās* found mostly in the Bagdari country, who are believed to have been originally a section of the Gadavas, and *Khondi Pōrjās* believed to have been originally derived from the Khonds and the *Tagara Pōrjās* whose origin is by some attributed to the Koyas.

This would appear to support the inference that the *Pōrjās* are not a homogeneous tribe, but were originally made up of recruits from more than one tribe.

More primitive than the Khonds and the *Pōrjās* are the *Mūṇḍā*-speaking tribe of the Gadavas. Elopement marriage and a simulation of marriage by capture are in vogue among this people. In a regular marriage, mango leaves are tied round the neck and hands of the couple and pounded turmeric is anointed on their limbs. They have adopted some of the deities of their neighbours the Khonds and the Savaras or rather assimilated their pantheon with their own. Their principal deities now are Dharam, Thakurani or Gangā Devi, and Bhūi-deotā or Nisāni Deotā. The Gadavas burn their dead, and like the *Mūṇḍās*, use stone slabs either to mark the mortal remains of their dead or to perpetuate their memory. Their children are buried and not burnt and stones mark their grave. Stone slabs are ordinarily laid down flat on the ground

supported at the corners by small stones, in memory of dead adults; but in some places upright memorial stones are also found, as for example, in village *Nighāman gūrā*.

It is interesting to note that, like the Porōjās, the Gadavas offer sacrifice to the *Nisāni Deotā* or *Bhūi Deotā* (earth-spirit) symbolised by some stones under a tree (generally, *Siāri* tree). But the *Jhānkar Deoty*, though found in some Gadava villages (e.g., in *Jāti gūrā*) is not found in others (e.g., in *Kārā Gūdā*). The worship of *Thākūrāni* or *Gangā Devi* appears to have been borrowed by the Gadavas as well as the Khonds and the Pōrōjās from their Oriyā-speaking Hindu neighbours and landlords. But how fluid and vague their ideas regarding these deities are may be judged from the fact that I found some Gadavas identifying *Dharam Deotā* with *Gangā* whom they call *Gangā Deotā*. It is interesting to note that the worship of this Hindu Deity has been adopted even by aboriginal tribes in other Oriyā-speaking countries, e.g. by the Hill-Bhuiyās in the Bonāi and Keonjhar States and even by the more primitive Juangs of the Keonjhar State.

The Gadavas are the most primitive and interesting tribe I met with in the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency. Their women still wear home-spun cloth made up of strips of different colours manufactured by themselves from the fibre of a plant called *ban-kereng* (*Ca'totropis gigantea*) at least for the warp. Some of the women wear a rope-netting called *gusra* or *irre*. As one goes along the roads through the jungles and hills of the country, one not infrequently meets with the delightful sight of be vies of Gadava women attired in their gay coloured home-spun cloths with immense earrings made of brass wires wound round in several coils and hanging from holes in their ear-lobes and reaching down to the shoulders, going to or returning from some shandy or market or perhaps going on a visit or to work as labourers on the public roads or elsewhere. A Gadava girl is not considered eligible for marriage unless she can weave. Although, now-a-days,

cotton thread is permitted to be used for the woof, the cloth worn by a Gadava woman at her marriage should be preferably made of pure fibre, as mixed cloth is not considered so auspicious. In this tribe men may use cotton-cloth but women may not do so.

The Gadavas whom I met in the hills of Korāpūt are divided into three sections, namely *Bara-Gadava*, *Sān-Gadava* or *Parenga-Gadava* and *Olārō-Gadava*. Whereas the *Bara-Gadava* women are distinguished from other *Gadava* women by their huge ear-rings reaching down to the shoulders, women among the *Sān-Gadavas* wear smaller ear-rings and their waist-cloths have narrower coloured stripes. The *Olārō-Gadavas* are the lowest in social rank. In the Plains, I was told, there were other sections of the Gadavas known respectively as the *Kaṭh-ṭhīri* or *Kaṭh-ṭhara* Gadavas and *Kāpu-Gadavas*.

Among the *Bara-Gadavas*, I met with four exogamous totemistic clans, namely, the *Unjiria* or Baboon clan, the *Olle-biria* fish clan, the *Mūṇḍā-gūriā* fish clan, the *Tukumia* or Tiger clan. Of these the two fish clans (*Mūṇḍā-gūriā* and *Olle-biria*) are said to be the descendants of two brothers, and inter-marriage between them is consequently prohibited. With this exception the *Gadava* clans are exogamous.

The religious festivals of all these tribes are connected with the eating of the first fruits of each season. Thus the Khonds celebrate with feasts, the *Kāṇḍūl-nūā-khāi* or eating the first red gram in the month of *Māgh* (January), the *Amba-nūā-khāi* or ceremonial eating the first (unripe) mango-fruit of the season in *Chait* (March), and *Dhān-nūā-khāi* or ceremonial eating the first (upland) rice and *Baitārū-nūā-khāi* or ceremonial eating of the first pumpkin-gourd, both together in the month of *Bhādo* (August). The *Pōrōjās* have also similar *nūā-khāi* festivals. The *Gadavas* celebrate the *amba-nūā-khāi* and the *dhān-nūā-khāi*. The Khonds who are comparatively more advanced than their neighbours (the *Pōrōjās* and the *Gadavas*) observe somewhat more elaborate ceremonies at these festivals and dignify them with the name of *Jātrās* or religious processions, such as *Mahāl*

Jātrā and *Chaul Dhuba Jātrā*. The *Pūjās* or periodical sacrifices to their deities are also similarly known as *Jātrās*, such as *Jhānkur Jātrā*, *Thākūrāni Jātrā* and *Būrḥā-Rāj-Jātrā*. It is interesting and instructive to compare the far more elaborate *Jātrā* festivals and processions of the still more advanced Chōṭā-Nāgpur tribe of the Orāons.

More primitive even than the Gadavas are the Juāngs of the Keonjhar State in Orissā with whom I made a short acquaintance which I intend to follow up with a more intensive study. One thing which even the casual observer cannot fail noticing is the general similarity amid variety in details in the customs, beliefs and ideas of all these primitive tribes in the hills and jungles of India.

REVIEWS AND NOTES OF BOOKS

I.—DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU POLITY AND POLITICAL THEORIES.—

By Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A.—Part I.—From the earliest times to the growth of the Imperialistic Movement, 9½ × 7, pp. viii + 327, Calcutta, R. Cambay & Co., 1927.

It is a good *réchauffé* of the works of Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and B. K. Sarkar. Gifted as an able compiler, the author only emphasises the historian's instinct of his proto-types.

In his assumed evolution "from the earliest times to the growth of the Imperialistic Movement", as well as his "best and most reasonable view that the germs of the non-monarchical form of Government lay in the institutions of the past and as time went on these not only survived but were strengthened in certain localities while in the central region, sacerdotalism strengthened the basis of the monistic political discipline" (p. 238), he records apparent facts belonging to widely different points of time and collates materials without reference to their respective positions in their individual lines of growth. He admits the theory of evolution and yet implies that it is possible for a particular stage in cultural evolution to continue indefinitely. He believes that from the Vedic days to the Guptas and possibly later, it is the self-same entity of political evolution, and suggests that particular units in this unending line stand indefinitely at a particular point. He then collects data from more or less dated literary sources and assigns a monarchy or a republic to a particular locality in a particular period but in the self-same line of progress. Thus the margin between the task of an exegetical interpreter analysing literary (e.g., grammatical, cf. pp. 244-46) texts almost disappears.

This view of reading political development extending over two thousand years—involving continuity and standstill,

forcing the initial, medial or final stages of approach of distinct lines of advance into one movement would be challenged. Petrie, for instance in his *Revelations of Civilisation* (1911) denies continuity and points out that civilisation (including political life) is essentially an intermittent phenomenon. "It should be examined like any other action of nature; its recurrences should be studied, and all the principles which underlie its variations should be defined." There is no standstill either. In spite of all irregular fluctuations of the political weather, every political idea must sprout, flourish, decay and die. Every such political institution inevitably holds within itself a toxic principle. The more rapidly it progresses, the sooner it dies for another to arise in its place. Spengler in his "*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*" (1918) outlines this adolescence, maturity and decay. An interesting parallel may be drawn between the Graeco-Roman world and Europe on the one hand and Hindu polity on the other. By the 2nd century B.C. the classical culture, and Europe in the 9th century A.C., had left the rude empires that saw their birth—of Agamemnon and of Charlemagne in which the power of the king was weakened: this attenuated kingship is represented by the Vedic king and the Vedic and Brāhmanic coronation ceremonies (cf. J.'s *Hindu Polity*, part II., pp. 3-59). His place is taken by an aristocracy—in England, that of the barons, in Athens, that of the great families who held the offices: in Vedic and Brāhmanic India, that of the Ratnins (cf. *Śat. Br.* 3.1, *Tait. Br.* 1.7.3, etc.), with whom the king plays a symbolical game of dice with a cow as the bet (*Śat. Br.* v. 4.2.8), they were the king-makers existing quasi-independently of the king. Oligarchy supersedes this aristocracy—a series of rulers arise who represent the interest of this third state—a rôle fulfilled in the Graeco-Roman world by the tyrants, in the west by men of the mould of Richelieu, Cromwell, and Wallenstein: in epic India the Paura and Jānapada led by men like Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, who lay down—"we desire" (*Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyāk*, Ch. II, pp. 20-22) *icchāhāmāḥ*. A climax in the political development is

reached in the perfection of ordered form in the state—in the administration of the democracy in fifth century Athens, in the absolutism of Louis Quatorze in Europe : in the efficient Samgha and Gana administration in 6th. century India (cf. its adoption in religious matters, *Vinaya S.B.E.* XX, 408). This climax is the fulfilment. A gradual slackening sets in. Disorder as in fourth century Greece and in the period that culminated in the French Revolution, prepares the way for an Alexander, and a Napoleon : in India it produced a Chandragupta, an Aśoka, a Puṣyamitra. Greece renounced the true form of the city state : India established her empires. Both ages were periods of great activity in literature and scientific thought. Hero, Euclid and Ptolemy and the literature of Alexandria had their counterpart in Kauṭilya, Manu and a host of others. Follows a fresh cycle with an attenuated kingship of the Andhras and Andhrabhṛtyas, unfolding the same story to its end which with inner necessity is reached again and again.

In studying the development of Hindu Polity, one should not lose sight of three factors : (a) the *Weltgeschichte*, the background of the varying conditions and epochs of India as a whole ; (b) the *zeitgeist*, where each epoch has its political institution as a discrete entity subject to the stages of youth, prime and decay and circumscribed by a fixed limit of time and space : (c) a new *Lebensfühlung* which starts a fresh political idea on its predestined phases as soon as the preceding political life is metaphysically exhausted. One should not confuse these different epochs each with its separate periods of youth, prime and senility and existing in different parts of India, as stages in the fictitious line of single progress. A misunderstanding of this three-fold gulf of time, territory and spirit, has led some (mostly Europeans) to dispute the existence of republics in India, because monarchy was still flourishing either in the same place at a different point of time or in the same time elsewhere in India, literary evidence mostly post-edited being their sole guide ; it has led others (mostly Indians) to adopt an apologetic tone when describing Indian monarchy (compare our author's

"explaining away the right of gift by the King," etc. page 105). The aforesaid inevitability of fulfilment makes such apology superfluous. Then again, in the absence of Niceforo's co-variation, or simultaneous and sympathetic changes in various factors of political evolution, even an intellectual sympathy for either monarchy or republic becomes partly meaningless. A political institution is never an exclusive mass of benefits, it is a mass of values positive and negative : it may even be said that most often the conquest of a benefit in one domain of a polity brings into another domain of that polity inevitable evils. In describing political theories it is better to follow Montesquieu and leave the question of the value of those theories open.

This question of political values has coloured much of the uninformed and uninforming criticism against the pioneer work of Jayaswal. While a real jurist like Kohler welcomed these Hindu contributions to the development of political institutions in India in a spirit of appreciation in his *Archiv Für Rechts und Wirtschafts-philosophie*, mere Sanskritists like Barnett and Keith were looking up their lexicons. When Thomas in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1925, pp. 520—21 followed up the undoubted political significance of Pura and Janapada discussed in *Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, pp. 60-78 and missed by the book under notice (*Development of Hindu Polity, etc.*, p. 63), Barnett (*J. R. A. S.*, 1926, pp. 774-76) took exception to the idea of a limited monarchy and questioned the interpretation of the coronation oath in the *M. Bh.*, *Sānti P.*, lix. 106-7. Barnett's objection is intelligible and excusable : it is due to a genuine difficulty for foreigners to correctly construe certain Sanskrit expressions, however simple and commonplace these might appear to the Hindu mind. Keith proceeds on a different line. In *The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, Third series—Vol. VII, Pt. IV, pp. 274-6, he objects to the interpretation of *Vairāja* (*Ait. Br.* i. 92), Vedic kingship as a human institution (*Śat. Br.* v. 4. 4. 7.), Pura and Janapada as political institutions, the antiquity of the Jātakas, and finally the contemporaneity of the *Arthasāstra* and the Mauryas. And he substantiates these

statements by *ex cathedra* expressions and dogmatic assertions—'The *Arthasāstra* is not a contemporary treatise describing the constitution of the India of the Mauryas (Ibid., p. 276.)' Of discussion, not a trace. Some of these topics come within the purview of the *Development of Hindu Polity, etc.* (1927), cf. pp. 60, 265, 327. The reader would expect further elucidation. His expectations are yet to be fulfilled. The author affirms controversial issues dogmatically and without discussion, cf. Note, p. 327; that is hardly an improvement.

The author's manner of exposition is on the whole readable. But some cheap expressions of second-hand wisdom, e.g., "the dawn of true history in India with the advent of Alexander the Great", p. 12-9, "In regard to *political theories*—if we are permitted to use that word with reference to *Indian speculations*" p. vii,—disfigure an otherwise sane account, and should be eschewed in all serious studies. The various data and references are generally reliable and useful.

A. B.Ś.

II.—“*THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGAL*”; A TRANSLATION OF DE LAET’S “*DESCRIPTION OF INDIA AND FRAGMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY*,”—By *J. S. Hoyland, Critical Notes and Introduction by S. N. Bannerjee*; price, Rs. 5-8-0; *D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Kitab Mahal, Bombay, 1928*; pp. i-iv, 1-252.

This handy little book recently issued by Messrs. Taraporevala Sons and Co., supplies a long-felt want. The editors have been helped by capable scholars like Professors Jadu Nath Sarkar of Calcutta and S. H. Hodiwala of Junagadh and they have discharged their duties on the whole in a satisfactory manner. De Laet’s method of writing Indian and the specially Musalman names is very curious and the difficulty of rendering them into their original forms is by no means light. This can be illustrated by a few examples. *Chandbibi* is written as *Tziand Biebie*, *Khan-i-Khanan* is written as *Chan Channa*, *Raja Basu* as *Radzia Patso*, *Mahārāja Karan Singh* as *Kharen*, etc.

In spite of the general excellence of the book a certain number of defects have crept in, which I think the editors could have remedied if they had consulted someone well versed in Indian topography. I shall cite a few examples only :—

1. “At a distance of one cos from this town flows the river Cepra, on whose bank is situated Calleada (Kaliyadaha), once the capital of the kings of Mando.”—page 9. It is difficult to recognise Cepra as the modern Sipra. The learned translator or his commentator should have noted that Kaliyadaha is the name of a pool in the river Sipra in which there is an island on which Mahmūd I Khaljī of Mālwa built a pleasure resort. This palace lay in ruins and was repaired in recent times by the late Mahārāja Mādhav Rao Śinde of Gwalior. It was never a city or even a suburb of Ujain.

2. “Not far from this town (Ahmedabad) begin the mountains of Maroa (Mewar)”—p. 21. I do not see how the

mountains of Mewar can be said to begin from the outskirts of Ahmedabad. These mountains are several hundred miles distant from the city of Ahmedabad. In fact the mountains near Sac-hore in the Luni district of Southern Jodhpur are nearer than those of Dungarpur or Banswara. In my opinion *Maroa* should never have been corrected into Mewar.

3. "Note on Sarkhej"—p. 22. "Note 35—Sarkhaej became famous on account of the burial at that place of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu Ganjbakhsh." The learned commentator should have known that the early Musalman architecture of Gujarat is a direct descendant of the Gujarat Chālukyan and Sarkhej buildings are no exceptions to this general rule. Besides the tomb of the saint and of the king and his queen there is a large Masjid in the Gujarat style built of pillars and lintels, a large tank on the right bank of which are the pleasure pavilions also in Gujarat style, which for a long time was the pleasure resort of the Mughal Viceroy of Gujarat.

4. If the editors had consulted some Gujarati scholar about proper names then they could have added many illuminating notes for the guidance of the unwary. Brodera is really the correct form. The Gujarati speaks of Baḍodarā instead of Baroda. The Baroda gate is called the Baḍodārī gate locally (p. 24). Very few people will be able to recognise Nadiad in "Niriaud"—p. 28, a flourishing place and an important railway junction on the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway.

5. The mistake about the identification of place names in Khandesh is more serious. "From Linul to Sindkerry is ten cos"—p. 29. Very few people will be able to recognise the modern town of Sindkheda, a *taluka* headquarters in the West Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency in the Sindkerry.

6. The crowning mistake of the editors is their confusion of Chāttagrām or Chātgaon with Saptagrām or Sātgaon. The heading of the section is "The route from Agra to Chatigan, the port of Bengal"—p. 77. The text of the section proves that De Laet means Saptagram near modern Hooghly. "Tanda is one leuca distant from the bank of the Ganges, for the river

here often overflows its banks and floods the neighbouring fields, finally one reaches Chatigan a fine town 23° north of the equator and one leuca distant from Ugeli (or Porto Pequeno as it is called by the Portuguese). Not far distant from this port is another called Angeli in the province of Orixa, whose capital (also called Orixa) is six days' journey distant from Chatigan"—p. 78. So Chatigan is to be regarded as being about 5 miles distant from Ugeli where the learned editors failed to distinguish modern Hooghly and the port Porto Pequeno, the Portuguese name of Saptagrama, also failed to help them. Chātgaon is always known in Portuguese as Porto Grande in contradistinction with Saptagrāma, called Porto Pequeno. Later on De Laet mentions that not far distant from Chatigan is another port called Angeli which Prof. Bannerji correctly identified with Hijli, yet he had not the courage of conviction to state that De Laet is describing Saptagrāma and not Chāttagrāma. This is pardonable in a Hoyland but not in a Bannerji.

7. I shall cite only another instance of gross carelessness. In this case also the places are well known to people who have travelled in Western and Southern India. "The coast-district which extends from Angediva to Cifardam (a distance of 60 leagues) was given to Adelhan (called by Europeans Idalcam). The district from Cifardam to Negatona (a distance of 20 leagues) was given to Nizamalue." There is no note on Cifardam or Negatona. Cifardam is certainly Śrīvardhan near the Bankot creek, famous in Marāṭha history as the original habitation of Bālāji Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa, the first Peshwa of the Bhaṭṭa family¹. Negatona is evidently Nāgoṭhnā, a place on the Revḍandā or the creek of Chaul near Bombay. If the learned editors had consulted Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar of Calcutta or Professor S. H. Hodiwala of Junagadh they would have identified these places immediately.

R. D. BANERJI.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 5th August 1928.

PRESENT.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

„ J. S. Armour.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Pandit Ramavatara Sarma.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. In the absence of the Vice-President, Mr. D. N. Sen occupied the chair.

2. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 13th April 1928.

3. Elected the following new members :—

Life Member—

Mr. Ajit Prasad, M.A., LL. B., Ajitasram, Lucknow.

Ordinary Members—

Mr. Nageswar Prasad, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Patna.

„ Paul Roland Carr, 3923 Packard Street, Long Island City, N. Y., U. S. A.

„ V. Srinivasa Rao Pantulu Garu, M.A., L.T., Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.

„ P. Acharya, B. Sc., State Archæological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.

„ M. Yusuf, B.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

„ Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

4. Read a letter, dated the 23rd July 1928, from the Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, tendering his resignation of the office of Vice-President.

Resolved that his resignation be accepted and that the Council place on record their high appreciation of the loyal and ungrudging service rendered to the Society by the retiring Vice-President during his two terms of office.

Resolved further that, with the concurrence of His Excellency the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Courtney Terrell, Chief Justice, be elected Vice-President of the Society.

5. Read a letter, dated the 9th July 1928, from Professor R. D. Banerji, with reference to the payment of his travelling expenses (*vide* item 4 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 11th March 1928).

Resolved that Professor R. D. Banerji's travelling expenses, as sanctioned by the Council, having already been paid, no further action is called for.

6. Read a letter, dated the 10th May 1928, from the Chief Librarian, Royal University Library, Upsala, proposing an exchange of publications.

Resolved that current issues of the Society's Journal be exchanged for current issues of "Le Monde Oriental"; and that the Chief Librarian be informed that a complete set of the Society's Journal (13 volumes) can be supplied, if desired, in exchange for a complete set of the Upsala Journal.

7. Read a letter, dated the 15th March 1928, from the Librarian, India Office Library, addressed to the Director of Public Instruction, a copy of which was forwarded by the latter with his letter no. 7342, dated the 15th May 1928.

Resolved that the Librarian be informed that if he desires that the India Office Library should be supplied with a copy of current issues of the Society's Journal, free of cost, he should address the Secretary on the subject, who will place the matter before the Council.

8. Read a letter, dated the 29th May 1928, from Dr. Harichand Sastri, addressed to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, proposing that the Society should undertake a certain publication.

Resolved that the proposal cannot be accepted.

9. Read a post-card, dated the 14th July 1928, from Mr. N. K. Prasad, with reference to the death in 1926 of

Khan Bahadur Kazi Farzandi Ahmad, formerly a member of the Society.

Resolved that the dues, accruing for the supply of the Journal since the death of the deceased, be written off.

10. Considered the question of accepting advertisements for publication in the Society's Journal.

Resolved that the Council adhere to their former decision to accept no advertisements for publication.

11. Read a post-card, dated the 2nd May 1928, from Dr. R. S. Behari Lal, a member of the Society, with reference to the payment of his subscription.

Resolved that the concession for which he asks cannot be granted.

12. Considered the payment of an honorarium to Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri for his work in compiling the index to Buchanan's Purnea Report (*vide* item 5 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 8th March 1926).

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri having intimated his unwillingness to accept any honorarium, the matter was dropped.

13. Considered designs of furniture for the Society's Library and Council Room in the new Museum building, submitted by the Executive Engineer, Patna Division, with his letter No. 8439, dated the 7th July 1928.

Resolved that a copy of the estimate for bookcases for the Society's Library furnished by Messrs. Mansfield and Sons, Calcutta, and approved by the Council (*vide* item 9 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 11th March 1928), be forwarded to the Executive Engineer; and that he be informed that the Council have already considered and rejected the proposal to have sectional bookcases with doors on hinges. As regards the furniture of superior design required for the Library and Council Room, he should be asked to obtain suitable designs, either from Messrs. Mansfield or from some other firm specialising in such work and to submit them for the approval of the Council.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held at the Society's Office on
the 30th September 1928:**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Courtney Terrell, Vice-President (in the chair).

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Pandit Ramavatara Sarma.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

„ E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 5th August 1928.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Life Member—

Mr. Mahendra Prasad Sinha, Sub-Deputy Collector, Orissa Settlement, Cuttack.

Ordinary Members—

Mr. Gopi Kant Chaudhry, Ballipur Estate, Ballipur, Darbhanga.

Mr. Phanindranath Bose, M.A., Lecturer in History, Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.

3. Considered the Revised Estimate of the Society's income and expenditure for 1928-29 and the Budget Estimate for 1929-30.

Resolved that these be adopted as amended.

Resolved further (with the concurrence of the Vice-President) that the sum of Rs. 5,000 be replaced on fixed deposit for a year.

4. Read a letter, dated the 24th August 1928, from the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS., British Museum.

Resolved that the Superintendent, Government Printing, be requested to send to the British Museum, for copyright purposes, a copy of each issue of the Society's Journal, as published.

5. Considered the desirability of an exchange of publications with "The Vaitarani", an Utkal Research Journal, and "The Harmonist".

Resolved that such an exchange is not desirable.

6. Read a letter, dated the 7th August 1928, from Mr. L. K. Sahu, member of the Servants' of India Society, Cuttack.

Resolved that Mr. L. K. Sahu be informed that the Society distributes no free copies of the Journal.

7. Read a demi-official letter, dated the 25th August 1928, from Mr. R. E. Russell, Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, with regard to the arrangement proposed for carrying out further excavation at Buzar.

Resolved that Mr. Russell be informed that, in the opinion of the Council, Dr. Banarji-Sastri should be entitled (i) to make suggestions as regards the site and plan of the excavation, (ii) to be shown and to examine the finds, and (iii) to submit his own observation for incorporation under his name in the report or reports.

It is understood that the work will be carried out by the Curator of the Patna Museum under the supervision and control of the Superintendent of Archæology, Central Circle.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
लृ	l	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l
च	ch	* (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	* (Anunāsika)	m̐
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	×	(Jihvāmūliya) ḥ
ञ	ñ	) ( (Upadhmanīya) ḥ	
ट	t	5 (Avagraha)	,
ठ	th	Udatta	—
ड	d	Svarita	^
ढ	dh	Anudātā	˘
ण	ṇ		



VOL. XIV.

PART IV.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

December



1928.

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

Price

Rs. 5.

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of the
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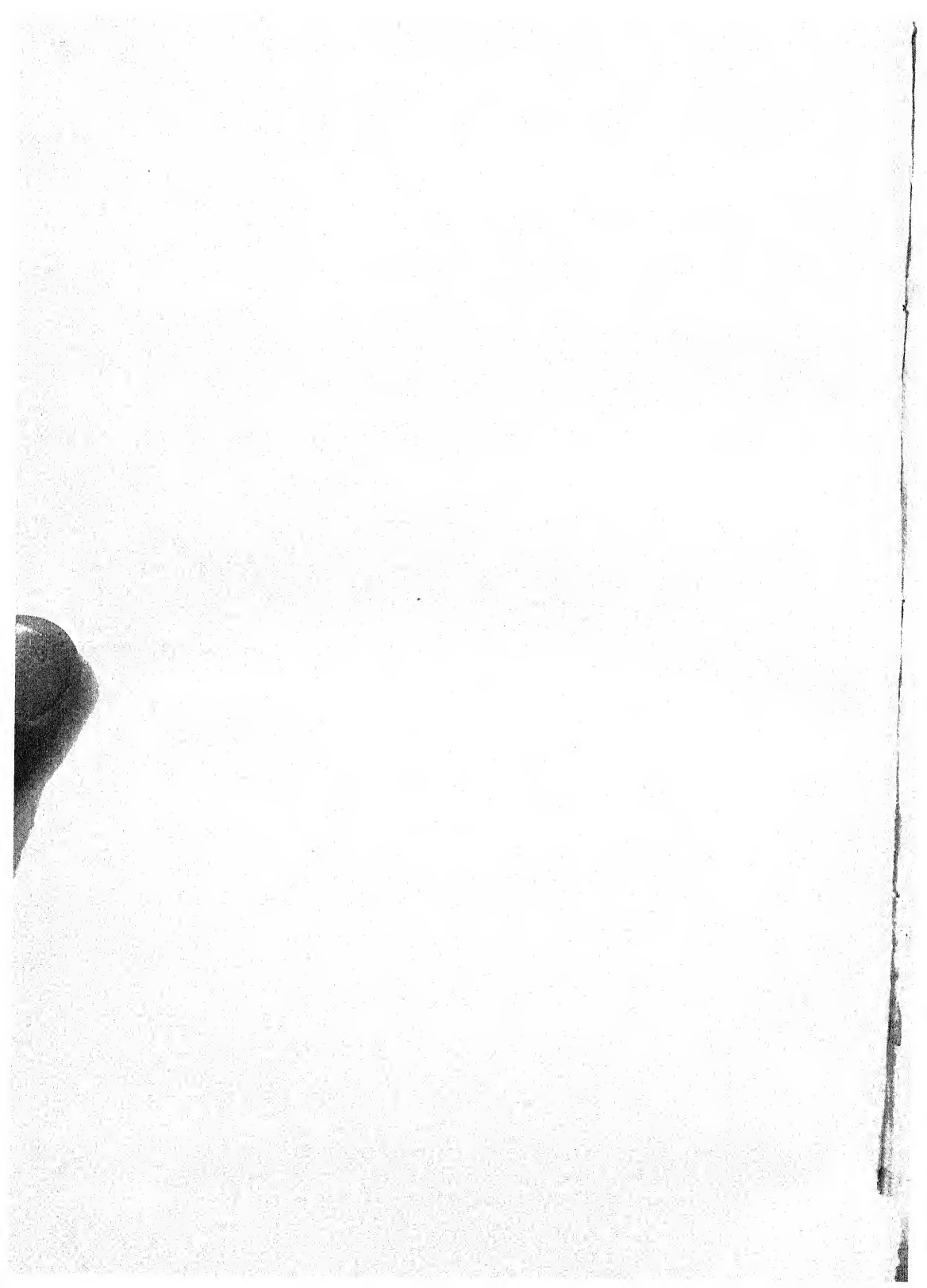
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[PART IV.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—Patna Museum Third Plate of Pravarasena II.

By Prof. A. S. Altekar, M. A., LL. B., Benares Hindu University.

The accompanying copper plate which is being edited here for the first time belongs to the Patna Museum. It was shewn to Prof. R. D. Banerji of the Hindu University by Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A., the curator, Patna Museum, who was kind enough to inform him that the plate was found somewhere in the Central Provinces but that nothing more definite was known about its find-spot. Subsequently Prof. Banerji obtained a loan of the plate through the kindness of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and kindly handed it over to me for decipherment and editing. I am accordingly editing it here.

The plate measures about 7.25" by 4.2" at its ends; the length is however 7.5" at the middle. The thickness is .1". It is quite smooth and nicely preserved; hardly a single letter has been damaged. Its edges have been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Letters are distinct but not very deep; so that they do not shew through on the reverse. The engraving is good; in a few places, however, the interiors of letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tools. Mistakes of and *Sandhi* grammar are, however, very numerous.

Towards the proper right of the plate, about an inch from the centre, there is a hole about .35" in diameter. It was obviously intended for the ring to pass through, which must have for a long time connected this plate with the remaining ones of the set. The weight of the plate is 30 tolas.

The present copperplate records a grant of King Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Unfortunately not all the plates of the set have been found. To judge from the Chammak and Siwani copperplates of the present donor the earlier genealogy of his house must have required about fifteen or sixteen lines of the present size. If we assume—as is very probable—that the first plate was inscribed on one side only, our plate would be the third in the set; two more plates must have followed, the last being again inscribed on one side only. For, we find that about fifteen or sixteen lines of the present dimension are necessary for the exhortative and imprecatory verses. The present plate is inscribed on both the sides each side having five lines. The average number of letters in each line is twenty-two; the height of the characters varies from .4" to .6".

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are exactly similar to those of the Siwani plates of the present donor. (Fleet; *Gupta inscriptions* plate no. XXXV). They give us a perfect and flawless illustration of the "box-headed" variety of Central India of the 5th century A. D. The "box-heads" are not scooped out hollow as in the case of the Chammak plates, but they are always represented by small neat squares as we find in the Siwani¹ and Dudia² copper plates of the present donor and in the Rihapur copper plates³ of Bhavattavarman. In the case of conjunct consonants in a few cases the boxes are repeated with each letter; Cf. :—'hya' and 'rvv' in line 3; 'rya' in lines 4 and 10. Only in the case of 'la', 'ja', 'ba', 'ē', 'ñ', 'ñ'; the boxes have been dropped out probably because it was inconvenient to introduce them at their heads.

¹ Fleet : *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 243.

² *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 258.

³ *Ep. Ind.* XIX, p. 100.

As will be presently shewn, though the donor of this grant is Pravarasena II, his widowed mother Prabhāvatiguptā was still living at the time of its issue. The difference in time, therefore, between the issue of this grant and that of Prabhāvatiguptā, recorded in the Poona plates, could hardly have been more than ten to twenty years. Though the Poona plates were found with a family coming from Ahamadnagar still the internal evidence shews that their donee was a resident of either the Berar or Nagpur division of the Central Provinces. The Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā and the present plate therefore belong not only to the same decade but also to the same locality. And yet the palæographical differences between the two plates are very striking.

In the present plate, as is the case with the remaining Vākāṭaka inscriptions, all the test letters belong to the Central Indian variety of the Southern script. But in the Poona plates all these letters belong to the Eastern Variety of the Gupta Alphabet. But this is not the only instance of the Eastern Variety emerging in localities where we least expect it.

(1) In the Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II म is of the eastern variety though other test letters are in the western variety. [Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* no. 4.]

(2) The same is the case with the Indor plate of Skandagupta although it hails from one of the western most districts of the United Provinces. [*Ibid.*, no. 16.]

(3) In the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II all the test letters म, घ, ञ, ल and ह are of the Eastern Variety throughout. [*Ibid.*, no. 6.]

(4) In the Meharauli posthumous pillar inscription of king Candra all the test letters, with the exception of ञ, are of the Eastern Variety. [*Ibid.*, no 32.]

But it is not only in the contemporary times that we find Eastern Variety letters suddenly emerging in far off southern and western provinces. Professor R. D. Banerji of the Hindu University has drawn my attention to the occurrence of the Eastern Variety forms in the following earlier inscriptions,

(5) In the Junagad rock inscription of Rudradāman although all the test letters are of the western variety as a rule, still at its end a few क्ष appear in the Eastern Variety [*Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 36.]

(6) In the Mathurā pedestral inscription of Kaniṣka of the year 14, म, ह, ल and व are all of the Eastern Variety, only ष is of the western type. [*Ep. Ind.* XIX, p. 97.]

(7) In the Jasdan inscription of the time of the Mahā-Kṣatrapa Rudrasena of the year 127, 3 out of 10 म* are in the Eastern Variety although all other test letters are in the Eastern Variety. [*Ep. Ind.* XVI, p. 233.]

How then are we to expect the sudden emergence of the Eastern Variety in localities and periods when we least expect it? The data at present available are insufficient to solve this riddle but still an attempt may be made with the hope that it may be of some use in its solution at a later date when more data may become available.

Among the cases above enumerated, in some at any rate the occurrence of the Eastern Variety is in my opinion due to purely adventitious causes. In the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II [no. 3 above] the occurrence of the Eastern Variety does not prove that it obtained at that time in Eastern Malava, for two other contemporary inscriptions in the same cave (Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II, Fleet, *Gupta inscriptions* no. 3 and the Udayagiri cave inscription of the year 106; *Ibid* no. 62) are all in the western variety with the exception of म in the latter inscription. The contemporary inscriptions at Sanchi which is within a distance of seven miles from Udayagiri are all in the western variety throughout. (See Sanchi Inspection of Candragupta II of the year 93, Fleet, *Gupta inscriptions* no. 5, and Sanchi inscription of the year 131 *Ibid* 62.) Nay, the western variety was then current much further westwards; for the Eran inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, no. 2) which hails from Sagar district is in the western variety throughout. The occurrence of the Eastern Variety in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II (Fleet no. 6) is therefore due not to the fact that

it was current at that time in that locality but to the fact that the minister Śāba who had excavated the cave was a resident of Pāṭaliputra and had come to Malwa with the expeditionary force of his master Candragupta II.

The Eastern Gupta variety forms in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā are also due to adventitious circumstances. All other Vākāṭaka inscriptions are in the Central Indian variety; even the Chammak, Siwani and present plates which hail from the same division and could not be separated from each other by more than 25 years are throughout written in the Central Indian characters of the 5th century; not even once does any of the test letter occur in the Eastern Variety. In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā the Eastern Variety is due to the Gupta influence in her court during her regency. Prabhāvatiguptā was a daughter of Candragupta II, and when her husband died she was very probably a comparatively young and therefore inexperienced widow; for she had apparently only two very young children when her husband died. She must therefore naturally have looked forward for help and advice to her famous father Candragupta II during the difficult days of regency when she had to carry on the administration on behalf of her infant son Divākarasena. Partly out of natural affection, partly perhaps influenced by imperialistic motives, Candragupta must have acceded to her request. On hearing of the death of his son-in-law, he may have gone to the Vākāṭaka capital to see his daughter, and may have at her request subsequently deputed some experts from Pāṭaliputra to help her. That Pāṭaliputra influence was rampant during regency is also proved by the fact that the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, instead of giving the Vākāṭaka genealogy as is the case with the other copper plates of this dynasty give the genealogy of the Imperial Gupta House in which the regent was born. Probably the secretariat officer entrusted with the work of writing out the grant was a Gupta officer from Pāṭaliputra, and he thought—naturally enough—that the grant was to begin with the Gupta genealogy, rather than with that of the Vākāṭakas. And the draft that he had written must

have naturally been in the Eastern Gupta variety with which he was familiar. This in my opinion is the real reason of the sudden and unexpected appearance of the Eastern Gupta variety in the Poona plates of Prabhāvalīguptā.

In the remaining cases enumerated above it is impossible to suspect any adventitious circumstances which might explain the appearance of Eastern forms of the Gupta alphabet. I would first draw attention to the occurrence of the eastern variety form of ऋ in the Mathura Inscription of Candragupta II and the Indor copperplate of Skandagupta. Then in the Bilsad Inscription of Kumāragupta I which again hails from the eastern Etah district of the United Provinces, two letters are of the Eastern Variety. In the Mehrauli Pillar Inscription of King Candragupta and in the Kanishka 𑀘 Inscription of the year 14 from Mathura (nos. 4 and 6 above), almost all the test letters are of the Eastern Variety. This would necessitate the conclusion that the Eastern Variety of the Gupta alphabet is as old as the time of Kanishka and once existed side by side with the western variety throughout the United Provinces. The so-called Eastern forms failed to become popular in the western districts and began to die down gradually. Their occurrence in the above cases is an instance of the survival of the older forms rather than the introduction of the new ones.

Next we have to consider the Junagad Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I and the Jasdan Inscription of the year 127 (nos. 5 and 7 above). Here the test letters are of the usual western type but in the case of the former inscription suddenly towards its close a few ऋ occur in the Eastern Variety. In the case of Jasdan Inscription, 3 out of 10 ऋ are in the Eastern Variety. In the Mandisor inscriptions of Yaśodharman and the Inscriptions of the Paribrajaka and the Uccakalpa Dynasties, which hail from Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand, the ऋ are all of the Eastern Variety though all other test letters are of the western one. Can we then conclude that in Central and Western India also, some, if not all, the test letters of the Eastern Variety

existed side by side with the western forms from the middle of the second century A. D. ? If there had been no adventitious circumstances to account for the occurrence of the Eastern Variety in the Udayagiri Cave inscription of Candragupta II and the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā this conclusion would have been almost inevitable. As it is the evidence so far available seems merely to suggest that such may perhaps have been the case. This discussion will shew that from the second century A.D. eastern variety forms of the Gupta Alphabet existed side by side with the western variety forms certainly throughout the United Provinces (and not merely in its eastern parts) and perhaps in Central and Western India.

Our inscription is throughout in prose and the language is Sanskrit; but the case-endings of the proper names of the donees and villages show prakrit influence. There are besides a number of grammatical mistakes.

In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the use of Upadhamāniya in line 6 [माण्यपत्नीकाया—पूर्वप्रतिग्रह], (2) the doubling of 'g' in the conjuncts 'rga' and 'gga' in lines 6 and 3 respectively ; (3) the doubling of 'y' in the conjunct 'rya' in lines 8 and 9 ; (4) the adding of 'b' to the conjunct 'rbha' and of 'j' to 'jha' in line 4.

The inscription is of the Vakāṭaka King Pravarasena II, who is described as the son of Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of Emperor Candragupta II and Kuberaṇāgā. It was for the benefit of his mother that Pravarasena made this grant. The way in which the queen dowager is referred to shows that she was living at the time of the grant. This becomes absolutely certain when we remember that the merit to be secured for Prabhāvatiguptā by the grant was with reference to this world as well as the next. It would therefore appear that Prabhāvatiguptā survived her elder son Divākarsena during whose minority she had issued the Poona plates in the capacity of the regent. Unfortunately the concluding portion of the grant which may have contained the date is lost ; otherwise this would have given us a date fairly early in the career of Pravarasena since his mother was still living.

The inscription is non-sectarian ; the object of it is to record the grant of a village called Śrīparnikā to three Brāhmanas. Of the places mentioned Brahmapura is the same village which was gifted away by the present donor by his Siwani plates ; I would identify it with Brāhmanavāḍa near Elichpur in Berars. Madhukajhari seems to be the same as Madhunadi on whose bank the village Carmaṅka of the Chammak plates was situated. The fact that Chammak is only four miles to the south of Elichpur supports my identification. The other villages must have been in the vicinity of modern Elichpur.

I now give below the transliteration (in Devanagari) and translation of this plate.

Front side.

1. 1. प्रभावतीगुप्तायास् [म्] समुत्पन्नस्य शम्भो [ः*]
प्रसादधृति [त] शूल [ला] यु-
1. 2. धस्य वाकाटकानामहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना [त*]
सुन्धाति—
1. 3. मार्ग[र्ग]ब्रह्मपुरकस्य पूर्वत[ः*] मीलुकद्रथस्या-
परत[ः*]
1. 4. मधुकज्ज[ह]य्या[ः*] चोत्तरत[ः*] दूर्ध्व[र्ध्व]
वीरकस्या [स्य] दक्षिणत[ः*] श्रीपण्णका ।
1. 5. नाम्न[म्]ग्रामः तत्र कुटुम्बिनो ग्रामवासिनश्च
वक्तव्या[ः*]

Back side.

1. 6. यथास्माभि य[र्य]शपुरमार्गमाणपल्लीकाया ८ पूर्व-
परिग्र—
1. 7. हप्रतिवस्तु मातृभट्टारिकानां पुण्योपचये ऐहिका-
मुष्मि[के*]
1. 8. भारद्वाजसगोक्षवेदार्यपुत्रगङ्गार्यको[कौ]शिङ्गल[न्य]
सगो—
1. 9. ब्रवसुरार्थस्य को[कौ]शिङ्गल[न्य]तैत्तिरिकरुद्रार्थान
[णां] ससौमान्त —
1. 10. परिच्छेदेन सपञ्चाशको[त्को] ग्रामो दत्तः ।

TRANSLATION.

There is a village called *Śrīparnakā* to the east of Brahmapura situated on the road to Sundhati, to the west of Millukadratha, to the north of the Madhuka stream and to the south of Darbhaviraka; the householders and inhabitants there should be informed at the command of *Śrī* Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty who is born of Prabhāvatīguptā and who bears a trident (which he obtained) as a favour from God Śambhū :—

That for the purpose of promoting the merit and welfare of my revered mother both in this world and the world beyond, we have given this village as determined by its boundaries, along with fifty (?) to Gangārya, the son of Vedārya of Bhāradvāja gotra, Vasurārya of Kaundinya gotra and Rudrārya of Tittira Śākhā, in exchange of the previous gift of Mānapalli situated on the road leading to Yaśahpura.

NOTES.

(1) शम्भोः प्रसादधृतिश्रूलायुधस्य ll. 1 & 2.

In the Chammak copper plates of the present donor he is described as शम्भोः प्रसादधृतिश्रूलायुधस्य Fleet has translated this expression as "who through possessing the favour of (God) Śambhu is as virtuous as one belonging to the Kṛita age¹." It seems that both in this and in the Chammak plates धृति has to be taken as a mistake for धृत. We learn from the Chammak and the Siwani plates that the Bhārasīvas to whose fraternity Bhavanāga, the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I belonged used to wear like the modern Lingayats a Śivaliṅga over their shoulders. Cf. अंसतशिवलिङ्गोद्धहनशिवसुपरिनुष्ट०० (ll. 4 and 5 of the Chammak plates). It would seem that Pravarasena used to wear a trident which was given to him as a *prasāda* of Śambhu. Or perhaps it may be, as Prin. Dhruva of the Hindu University has suggested to me, that Pravarasena had branded on his forehead or some other part of his body the *trisūla* mark to show that he was a Śaivite. The branding of such sectarian marks is now common with many sects. The

(¹) Gupta inscriptions, p. 240.

Vaiṣṇavas of southern India for example brand over many parts of their body marks of their sect.

The sectarian inclinations of the Vākāṭaka kings are interesting to note. The founder Pravarasena believed in the Vedic Karmamārga and performed a number of sacrifices like Agniṣ-ṭoma, Aptoryāma and Aśvamedha. His son Rudrasena very probably, and his grandson Prithviṣena certainly, became Śaivaites under the influence of the Bhavanāgas to whose fraternity Rudrasena's maternal grandfather belonged. Prithvi-ṣena's son Rudrasena gave up Śaivism and became a Vaiṣṇavite very probably under the influence of his wife Prabhāvatīguptā who came from the Vaiṣṇavite household of her father Candragupta II. Pravarasena however reverted to Saivism.

(2) माणपल्लीकायाः पूर्वपरिग्रहप्रतिवस्तु. The text here is very enigmatical and perhaps not correct. From the concluding line where the expression ग्रामो दत्तः occurs it is clear that what was granted was a village or ग्राम and not a hamlet or पल्ली. Why then is Mānapalli introduced in this line? Not surely to indicate any of the boundaries, for all these are already given in full in 11.3 and 4. पूर्वपरिग्रह refers to some previous gifts and प्रतिवस्तु therefore should mean a gift in return or exchange. One of the wellknown senses of the word प्रति is 'in exchange or return for', Cf. तिलेभ्यः प्रति माषान् यच्छति V. S. Apte and Monier Williams give in their dictionaries as equivalents of प्रतिवस्तु n. "equivalent or counterpart, anything given in return". According to *Śahda-kalpādruma* प्रतिवस्तु n means प्रतिदानम्. माणपल्लीकायाः पूर्वपरिग्रहप्रतिवस्तु would therefore mean 'in exchange of the previous gift of Mānapalli'.

(3) ०० रुद्रार्याण (म्) 1. 9. This expression is very queer. The writer intended to have a compound but by mistake he has given a case ending to the second member. वसुरार्यं ०० रुद्रार्याण' is prakrit genitive plural and stands for the dative.

(4) सपंचाशत्को ग्रामः In the Siwani plates we have the expression सकोटः सपंचाशत्को ग्रामो दत्तः। Fleet hesitatingly suggests that सपञ्चाशत्कः may mean along with fifty hamlets. I am unable to accept this interpretation; usually two or three hamlets are attached to a village, but never fifty. The expression apparently indicates some fiscal privilege, but what it means I am unable to say.

II.—The Northern Conquests of Kṛṣṇa III.

By Prof. R. D. Banerji, M. A., Benares H. University.

During the monsoon months of 1921, while touring in the little state of Maihar in the Baghelkhand Agency of Central India, it was my good fortune to discover an unique and very important inscription at Jura. Jura is the name of a small hamlet about twelve miles due east of Maihar station on the Allahabad-Itarsi section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and four miles due south of the great Deccan road, better known in Northern India as the Calcutta-Bombay road. There is a small rest-house at Jura and built in its walls there is a stone slab about four feet in height and nine inches in breadth. The only other specimen of antiquity discovered at Jura was the upper part of the back-slab of a colossal Jaina image. The inscription on the slab in the state rest-house at Jura is written in South Indian characters and when submitted to the late Rao Bahadur Hoskote Krishna Sastri, at that time Government Epigraphist for India, proved to be a record in the Kanarese language which is not spoken within a radius of nearly six hundred miles of that village. The inscription was deciphered by Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, M.A., Fernhill, Ootacamund. Mr. Rao will publish this inscription soon in the *Epigraphia Indica*. According to him the Jura inscription contains the name and the different titles or *Birudas* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, *Akālavarṣa*, the son of Amoghavarṣa III alias Baddega.¹ An inscription in Kanarese containing the *Birudas* only of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Kṛṣṇa III can mean only one thing. After conquering the heart of the Chedi country or Dāhala Kṛṣṇa III set up a monument or pillar of victory on which he inscribed his names and titles in full.

The Jura inscription contains the following titles of Kṛṣṇa III:—*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-parameśvara-mahārājādhirāja*

¹ *Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India, No. 23; The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments, pp. 11 and 117.*

and his *Birudas* are *Śrī-Prthvī-vallabha*, *Nellara-marula*, *Nanni-vedeṅgaṁ*, *Chalake-Nallataṁ*, *Vairi-vilāsaṁ* *Madagajamallam*, *Parāṅganā-putraṁ*, *Gaṇḍa-Mārtanḍan*, *Akālavarisham*, *Nṛpatuṅgaṁ*, and *Kabbbhegaṁ*. The Prakrit form of his name or rather the Kanarese form, Kannaradeva is given. These *Birudas* are to be found in ll. 1-10. The remaining 27 lines also contain *Birudas* and are in verse. There are altogether four complete verses which contain nothing but the praise of Kṛṣṇa III. Some of my friends suspected that the inscription may purport to contain a dedication or a donation but Mr. Rao's translation enables me to state that no such information is contained in any of the verses. For example the 1st verse is contained in ll. 10-16 but unfortunately the first halves of ll. 11-13 is damaged. Even then sufficient sense can be made out to state that it gives to Kṛṣṇa III the *Biruda* of *Parāṅganā-putra*, which may mean "the son of the wives of his enemies." The second verse occupies ll. 16-22 and contains another *Biruda* of the king, *Ane-Vedaṅgaṁ*, "a marvel with elephants;" and it informs the reader that the king had unrooted the Chola and the Pāṇḍya. The third verse is a harmless poetical effusion on the king's *Biruda Parāṅganaputra* and occupies ll. 22-27. The fourth verse occupies ll. 28-33 and is another poetical effusion on the excellent moral character of this king according to the composer. ll. 34-87 inform us that Tuyyala Chandayya, younger brother of Ubbi Kamaiṣeṭṭi, caused this eulogy to be written and this was actually incised by one Chimmayya. I am indebted to Mr. L. Lakshminarayana Rao, Assistant to the Government Epigraphist for India, for all information connected with this inscription discovered by me at Jura. I am also indebted to Mr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist, for permission to use Mr. Rao's text and translation in my Memoir No. 23 quoted above. According to Mr. Rao's translation *Nellara-marula* means "a bewilderer of good men." *Nanni-vedeṅgaṁ* means "a marvel in truth." *Chalake nallatam* means "one who is beautiful on account of his firmness of character." *Gaṇḍa-Mārtanḍam* means "the sun among powerful warriors."

The meaning of this pillar or monument of victory can be better understood by a reference to the Deoli and Karhad plates of that king. Kṛṣṇa was descended on his mother's side from the Kaḷachuris or the Haihayas of Dhāhala. His great-grandfather Kṛṣṇa II had married a daughter of Kokalla I, founder of the dynasty, his grandfather Jagattuṅga had married Govindāmbā and Laksmī, two daughters of Śaṅkaragaṇa, one of the younger sons of Kokalla I. His father Amoghavarṣa III had married Kuṇḍakadevī, a daughter of the celebrated Kaḷachuri king Yuvarāja I, who was the grandson of Kokalla I. We do not know whether Kṛṣṇa III was the son of Kuṇḍakadevī or not. Finally we know from the Deoli and Karhad plates of that king that he himself married a Kaḷachuri or Haihaya princess because he is said to have defeated Sahasrārjuna, an elderly relative of his mother and wife :—

“(V. 25.) He conquered Sahasrārjuna, though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife.—(Sahasrārjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i.e., Paraśurāma) who maddened as he was, was in his turn (only verbally) put down by him (viz., Kṛṣṇarāja) by means of his two hands, he having held intoxicated young women (rāmā) with his two hands.”¹

The Deoli and Karhad inscriptions say in addition :—

“V. 30. On hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara.”²

Previous to my discovery of the Jura inscription of Kṛṣṇa III this was generally regarded as an empty boast. It is possible now to reconsider the entire situation, in view of the inscriptions discovered by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, C.I.E., in the Central Provinces and Messrs. K. N. Dikshit and D. B. Diskalkar in the Bombay Presidency. Recently the question has been discussed by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar in a paper read before

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. I V, pp. 284, 288.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 289.

the 3rd Oriental Conference, Madras¹ and another in the Gujarati Quarterly *Purātattva*.² It appears that three Paramāra copper-plate grants were discovered in recent years in the Ahmadabad district. Two of these are in the possession of a Brāhmaṇa in the village of Harasola in the Prantij taluka while the third was discovered in the possession of a person in Ahmadabad city. All three record grants of land by the Paramāra king Siyaka. The first two are complete and are dated V. S. 1005=949 A.D. The grantees were father and son named Lallopādhyāya and Ninnā Dikshita. The third inscription is incomplete and contains the sign-manual of Siyaka and the date V. S. 1026=970 A.D. The most important part of the first two inscriptions is the mention of two generations of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings in it. It is stated :

3. Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parame-svara-Śrīmad-Amoghavarṣadeva-pādā—

4. nudhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parame-svara-Śrīmad-Akālavarṣadeva-Prthivīvallabha-Śrībhallā.

5. *bha-narendra-pādānām*.³

All of these new copper-plate inscriptions are being edited for the *Epigraphia Indica* by Messrs K. N. Dikshit and D. B. Diskalkar⁴ but Mr. Diskalkar has done great service by publishing a summary of these plates as articles in the *Epigraphia Indica* take a very long time to appear. Mr. Diskalkar has also published the texts of the first two inscriptions dated V. S. 1005. We learn from this that after mentioning the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa, the text begins another line of kings who are evidently Paramāras of Mālava :

(1) Vappaiparāja, (2) Vairisiṅgha and (3) Siyaka. Now Paramāra genealogy contains two Vappairājas, two Vairisimbas

¹ *Proceedings and Transactions of the 3rd Oriental Conference, Madras. Dec. 22nd to 24th, 1924. Madras 1925, pp. 303-08.*

² *Vol. II, Part I, pp. 42-49.*

³ *Purātattva, Vol. II, Part I, p. 44.*

⁴ *Epi. Ind., Vol., XIX, pp. 178-9,*

and two Siyakas. In his article published in the Proceedings and Transactions of the third Oriental Conference, Madras, Mr. Diskalkar tries to prove that the two Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns mentioned in the Harasola plates are Amoghavarṣa I and Kṛṣṇa II. "The two sovereigns Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa mentioned in the Harasola grant are most probably the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of Mānyakheta whose grants are known from 851 to 911 A.D."¹ Mr. Diskalkar evidently forgets that there were three Kṛṣṇas and three Amoghavarṣas in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkheḍ and among them all three Kṛṣṇas bore the *Biruda* of *Akālavarṣa*. Out of these two sets of kings Kṛṣṇa II was the son of Amoghavarṣa I and Kṛṣṇa III of Amoghavarṣa III. The Harasola plates are worded in a peculiar fashion. The name of Akālavarṣa ends with the word *pādānām* and the next sentence begins with the words *Tasmin Kule*, "in that family." Mr. Diskalkar has evidently been misled by this peculiar wording. He thinks that Vappaiparāja was a subordinate of Kṛṣṇa II. But by comparing the *Birudas* of Kṛṣṇa III and comparing the position of his inscriptions discovered in the Maihar state and at Nilkanthi in the Chhindwara district we can now understand that the statements of the Karhad and Deoli inscriptions are not empty boasts. If Kṛṣṇa III had come as far as or was in possession of Nilkanthi, a village fourteen miles to the south of Chhindwara² town and Jura twelve miles to the east of Maihar railway station then he may very easily claim to have caused the Gurjaras to lose all hopes about Kālāñjara and Chitrakūṭa. There is no difficulty about the identification of Kālāñjara but two Chitrakūṭas are known to history and with the fresh information about the limits of the northern conquests of Kṛṣṇa III both are equally possible for him to have conquered. One Chitrakūṭa is Chitorgaḍh in the Mewad state and the other is in the Banda district and is a railway

¹ *Proceedings and Transactions of the 3rd Oriental Conference, Madras* p. 305.

² Hira Lal—*Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, pp. 81-82, no. 115.

station on the Manikpur-Jhansi section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The second Chitrakūṭa is near Kālāñjara and much nearer to Jura in the Maihar state and Nilkanthi in Chhindwara district than Chitorgaḍh. It is therefore more probable that verse 30 of the Karhad plates and verse 25 of Deoli plates refer to Chitrakūṭa in the Banda district. Both of these forts were in the southern part of the Gurjara dominions lying to the south of the Jumna and were for a long time the last out-posts of the Mughal *Subah* of Allahabad. With this information we can now proceed to consider the statement in verse 30 of the Karhad and 25 of the Deoli plates. Kṛṣṇa III had not only defeated the Kaḷachuris of Tripurī and annexed the Satpura plateau including the country now known as the Balaghat and Chhindwara districts, but he had attacked if not occupied two forts in the heart of Chandella country which were the frontier out-posts of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire. We can now proceed to dates. The northern campaign of Kṛṣṇa III must have come to an end before 940 A.D. The year of the death of his father Amoghavarṣa III or Badḍega is not known to us and therefore we do not know when Kṛṣṇa III ascended the throne. His father Amoghavarṣa III is known from two dates only ; Śaka 859=Thursday 7th September 937 and Śaka 861 *Pikārin*=3rd December 939.¹ Therefore the northern conquests of Kṛṣṇa III were for the most part effected in the first and second years of his reign. What was the condition of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire at this time ? The late Dr. V. A. Smith asserted that Mahīpāla I, the second son of Mahendrapāla I, was on the throne of Kanauj up to about 940 A.D. Very little is known about the successors of Mahendrapāla I. Devapāla, the son of Kshitipāla or Mahīpāla I, was on the throne in 948 A.D.² Mahendrapāla II, the son of Vināyakapāla, was ruling in 946,³ Mahīpāla II of unknown

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, pp. 29-30, nos. 46-77.

² *Ept. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 170, 172 and 177.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-188.

parentage in 955¹ and Vijayapāla, the successor of Kṣitipāla in 960.² The known dates of Kṛṣṇa III range from 940 to 981 A.D. and therefore the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors mentioned above were his contemporaries. It was therefore during the darkest days of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire that Kṛṣṇa III launched his campaign against the Rajput empire. The northern campaign of Indra III in the second decade of the 10th century, the sack of Ujjayinī and Kanauj and the flight of Mahipāla I towards Allahabad had destroyed the prestige of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty for ever. The great feudatories had become practically independent and among them the most powerful in Northern India were the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti. Yet the Karhad and Deoli plates of Kṛṣṇa III do not mention the Chandellas at all, but refer to the Gurjaras. In the Chandella dynasty Harṣa had assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* and was the contemporary of the emperor Kṣitipāla. His son Yaśovarman also assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* and was the contemporary of the emperor Devapāla of Kanauj who is known to have been living in 948 A.D. Yaśovarman's son and successor Dhaṅga was alive from 954 to 998 A.D. Therefore during the lifetime of Kṛṣṇa III the Chandella kings Yaśovarman and his son Dhaṅga were ruling in Jejākabhukti or Bundelkhand. The Khajuraho inscription of V. S. 1011=953-4 A.D. ascribes the conquest of the fort of Kālāñjara to Yaśovarman. The same inscription ascribes the defeat of the Gaudas, Kośalas, Kāśmīras, Mithilas, Mālavas, Chedi-, Kurus and the Gurjaras, to this king. Therefore sometime before 954 Kālāñjara had come into the possession of the Chandellas. Yaśovarman was no loyal vassal of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire at this date as he had already defeated his overlord. He had obtained the image of Vaikuṇṭhanātha from the Pratihāra emperor Herambapāla

¹ *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919, pp. 43-44.*

² *Epi. Ind., Vol. III, p. 263.*

and this Herambapāla was the father of the emperor Devapāla, who was living in 948 A.D. It is therefore clear that Herambapāla, who is generally taken to be the same as Mahipāla I, had lost Kalāñjara and Chitrakūṭa to Kṛṣṇa III before 940 A.D., and the Chandella Yaśovarman recovered them sometime before 954.

We must now return to Mālava and Gujarat. Mr. D. B. Diskalkar appears to be wrong in identifying Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa of the Harasola plates with Kṛṣṇa II and Amoghavarṣa I. There are two different ways of interpreting the text of the Harasola plates :—

I. Either *Akālavarṣa-Prthivīvalābha-Srīvallābha* was the reigning sovereign when Vappaiparāja began to rule as he is the first person of the Paramāra family to be named in these two inscriptions, or

II. *Akālavarṣa* was the reigning sovereign when the grant was issued by Siyaka II in V. S. 1005=948-9 A.D.

Mr. Diskalkar has taken the first alternative and proposed to identify the donor of the Harasola grant of V. S. 1005 with Siyaka I and the donor of the Ahmadabad grant of V. S. 1026 with Siyaka II.¹ But he has not taken into consideration the fact that it is impossible to pack four successive generations of princes within the short period of 21 years. Siyaka I is separated from his great-grandson Siyaka II by two generations, all of whom were regular, his son Vākpatirāja I and his grandson Vairisimha II. Both of these had left children and therefore could not have died in infancy like Kumāragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty or Gopāla III of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. Therefore the dates V. S. 1005 of the Harasola plates and V. S. 1026 of the incomplete Ahmadabad plate must all be assigned to Siyaka II. The date of the son of the latter, Vākpatirāja II or Muñja, V. S. 1031=974 A.D. precludes us from assigning any of the two Harasola grants and the incomplete Ahmadabad grant to anybody else but Siyaka II. The Harasola plates mention

¹ *Proceedings and Transactions of the 3rd Oriental Conference of Madras*, p. 304.

only three generations of Paramāra kings, e.g., Vappaiparāja, Vairisimha and Siyaka. Puzzled by the unusual form of the name Vappaiparāja Mr. Diskalkar has tried to correct it into Vappa-Uparāja and identify him with Upendrarāja, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava. In doing so he makes some very unwise suggestions. "We are therefore forced to conclude that the two Siyakas of the two grants are identical and that the names of the three rulers Siyaka, Vākpati and Vairisimha, are wrongly repeated in certain later records perhaps to give an ancient nature to the chronology. In fact the Nagpur *Prasasti* and even the poem *Navasāhasāmkacharita* of Parimala do not repeat these names in the genealogy given by them. The description, moreover, given of these rulers, e.g., in the Udayapur *prasasti*, is so formal as to create a strong suspicion about their existence." The name Vappairāja is the correct Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Vākpatirāja and the additional *pa* may be due to any family variation of the name. As there were two kings of the name of the Vākpatirāja we have no right to correct Vappaiparāja into Vappa-Uparāja simply because of the presence of an additional *pa*. The Nagpur stone inscription of the rulers of Mālava gives an account of the independent Paramāra kings from Vairisimha II to Lakṣmadeva, son of Udayāditya. It does mention Upendrarāja, the founder of the dynasty but begins the genealogy with Vairisimha. Will this prove that Upendrarāja did not exist or that there was only one Vairisimha, one Siyaka and one Vākpatirāja in the Paramāra dynasty? The Udepur or Udayapur *prasasti* of the kings of Mālava gives a complete enumeration of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava from Upendra to Udayāditya. This inscription mentions Vairisimha I, the son and successor of Upendra and his descendants Siyaka I, Vākpati I, Vairisimha II, Siyaka II, Vākpati II, Sindhurāja, Bhoja I and Udayāditya. This does not prove that there were no second Vairisimha, Siyaka and Vākpatirāja among the

¹ *Proceedings and Transactions of the 3rd Oriental Conference of Madras*, p. 305.

ancestors of Siyaka II. The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Parimala or Padmagupta mentions Upendra as the founder of the Paramāra dynasty and then mentions Vākpatirāja, the father of Vairīsimha II, as being born in the race of Upendra. Had this Vākpatirāja, the father of Vairīsimha and the grandfather of Siyaka, the donor of the Harasola plate, been the same as Upendrarāja, Padmagupta would have mentioned it. Instead of helping Mr. Diskalkar the evidence of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta goes directly against him and proves that Vākpati I, the grandfather of Siyaka II of the Harasola plates, is not the same as Upendra but a descendant only.¹ We have then to consider the evidence of the Udepur *prasasti* which is an official record and not the record of a private donation. Even the evidence of the Central India Agency plate of Vākpatirāja II of V. S. 1031 is not against the presence of two Vairīsimhas, two Siyakas and another Vākpatirāja among the descendants of Upendrarāja because the term *pādānudhyāta* does not mean direct succession. We have next to consider the evidence of the date of the Harasola plates of Siyaka II. In V. S. 1005=949 A.D. another Akālavarṣa, e.g., Kṛṣṇa III, was actually ruling over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions. We know from the Jura and Nilkanthi inscriptions that his dominions² included the whole of the Central Provinces and the greater portion of the Baghelkhand Agency. Would it be wrong to suppose that this *Akālavarṣa* or Kṛṣṇa III was the king mentioned in the Harasola plates as the reigning sovereign and the suzerain of the Paramāra chief Siyaka II? The Harasola plate refers to places in the Northern Gujarat. It was issued by Siyaka II from the banks of the river Māhī, it mentions the Khetaka *maṇḍala* or the Kaira district. We know that Khetaka was included in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions before the time of Kṛṣṇa III. It is mentioned as being reconquered by Kṛṣṇa II in the Cambay plates of Gobinda IV.³

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, 1907, p. 163.

² *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 233.

³ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 38, 43.

It is difficult to understand in the absence of materials how the Khetaka *maṇḍala* came to be in the possession of the Paramāras. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Khetaka mentioned in the Cambay plates of Gobinda IV is Mānyakheta, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital founded by Amoghavarṣa I, but in a footnote he admits the possibility of its being identified with Kaira. Professor Bhandarkar also indicates that Kṛṣṇa II was originally in possession of Khetaka but it had been occupied by his enemies who were forced to evacuate it.¹ Who were the Paramāras and in what relation they stood with regard to the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj? We know the Paramāras in Mālava only, where they ruled from the 2nd half of the 10th century to the beginning of the 14th. The Harasola plates introduce them to us as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta. What was their origin then? Did they begin as such or were they originally subordinates of the Gurjara-Pratihāras? Their mythical origin on the top of Arbudagiri or Mount Abu² proves that they claimed the same origin as other Rajputs and that their affinities lie more with the Pratihāras than with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. It is quite possible that after the northern conquests of Kṛṣṇa III they were compelled to transfer their allegiance from the Pratihāras to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is also possible that Mālava had never been reoccupied after the Northern campaign of Indra III and the Paramāras had continued in the allegiance from that time to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, so that in the next generation they had become a family of trusted officers and Kṛṣṇa III relied on them so far as to entrust to them the important outpost of Khetaka, the Northern march of his ancestral dominions.

An interesting question now arises about Mālava. Was Mālava included within the limits of the empire re-established by Bhoja I? Professor D. R. Bhandarkar³ is of opinion that Ujjain

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29, Note 3.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 224; Vol. II., pp. 181-83.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 239.

was the original seat of power or capital of the Pratihāras and his opinion has been echoed by Professor R. C. Majumdar¹ of the Dacca University. But so far no Pratihāra inscription has been discovered in Mālava proper. Of the six great and two minor Rajput dynasties which rose on the ruins of the vast empire of Bhoja I :—(1) Chandellas of Jejakabhukti, (2) Chedis of Tripurī, (3) Chāhamānas of Śākambharī, (4) Chālukyas of Anāhilapāṭaka, (5) Paramāras of Mālava, (6) Tomaras of Delhi, (7) Guhilas of Medapāṭa and (8) Kachchhapaghāṭas of Gopādri, we know really very little about the origin of the Paramāras of Mālava. In fact the two plates from Harasola are the earliest known inscriptions of the Paramāra dynasty. They prove that in 949 A.D., a year after the only known date of Devapāla, the son and successor of Mahipāla I, Gujarat had ceased to be a province of the urjara-Pratihāra empire. The Balera plates of Mūlarāja I of the Chālukya dynasty proves that before 995 A.D., Mūlarāja I was in occupation of Anāhilapāṭaka and the Chālukya dynasty was well established. Balera has been identified with Vāraṇaka of the grant.² If this is correct then the Paramāras had been ousted by the Chālukyas from that part of Northern Gujarat which lies to the west of Māhī. It seems probable therefore that between V. S. 1026=979. A.D., and 995 A.D., the Paramāras were ousted from Northern Gujarat. Immediately after the death of Kṛṣṇa III, Siyaka II seems to have rebelled against his suzerain and defeated Kṛṣṇa III's younger brother Khoṭṭiga.³ The same expedition seems to be referred to in Dhanapāla's *Pāiyalacchī*. He says that when he composed his work in V. S. 1029 Mānyakheta had been plundered by a King of Mālava. Khoṭṭiga died sometime before 25th September 972 A.D., when he was succeeded by his brother Kakkaraja II or Amoghavarṣa IV. The death of Khoṭṭiga may have taken place during this war. The

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

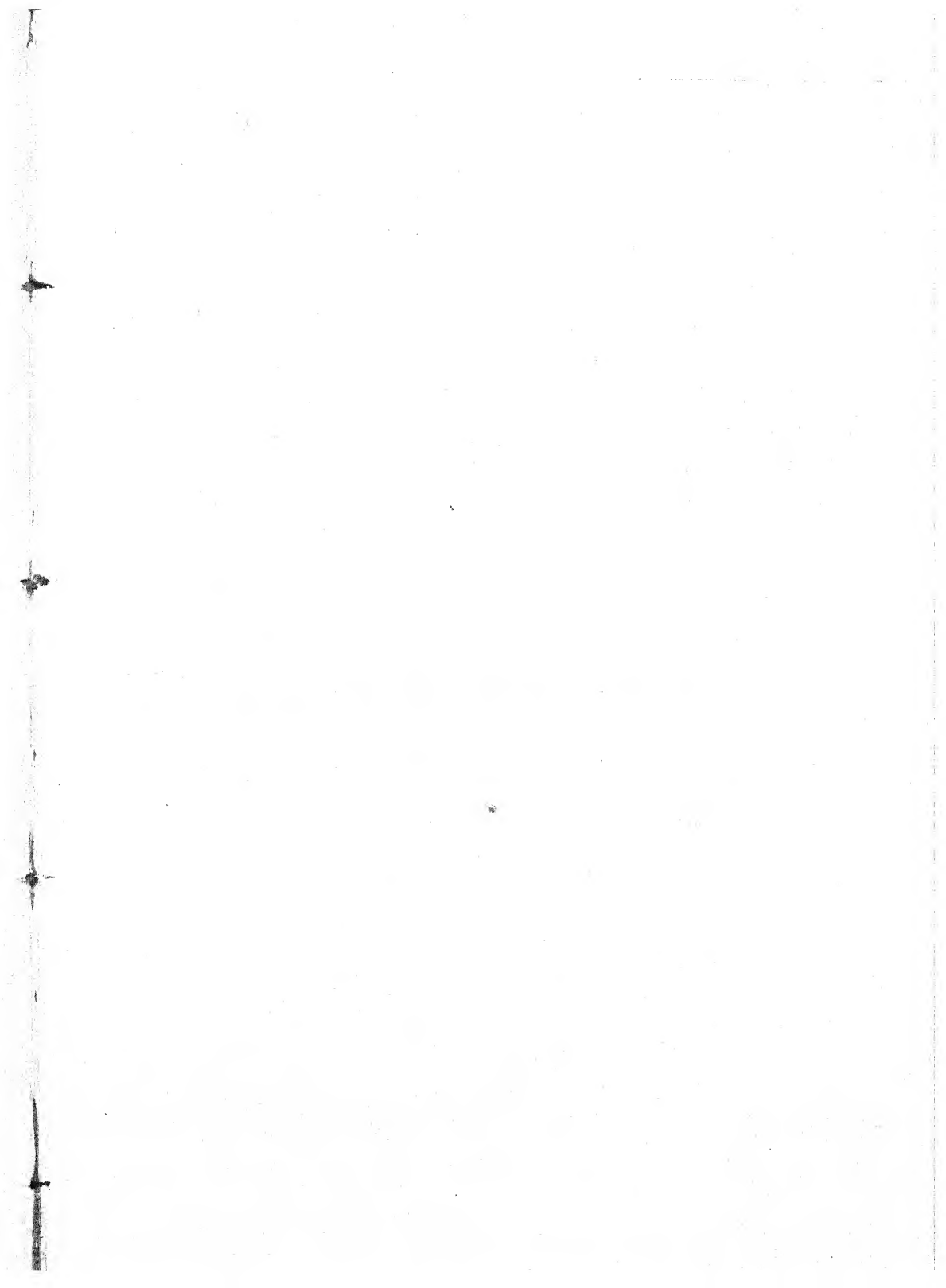
² *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 76-79.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Pāṭiyalacchī seems to contain the earliest reference to the Paramāras as Lords of Mālava because the earliest inscription of the Paramāras discovered in Mālava proper is that on the Central India Agency plate¹ of Vākpatirāja II, the son and successor of Siyaka II.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, year 1877, pp. 48-53.



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
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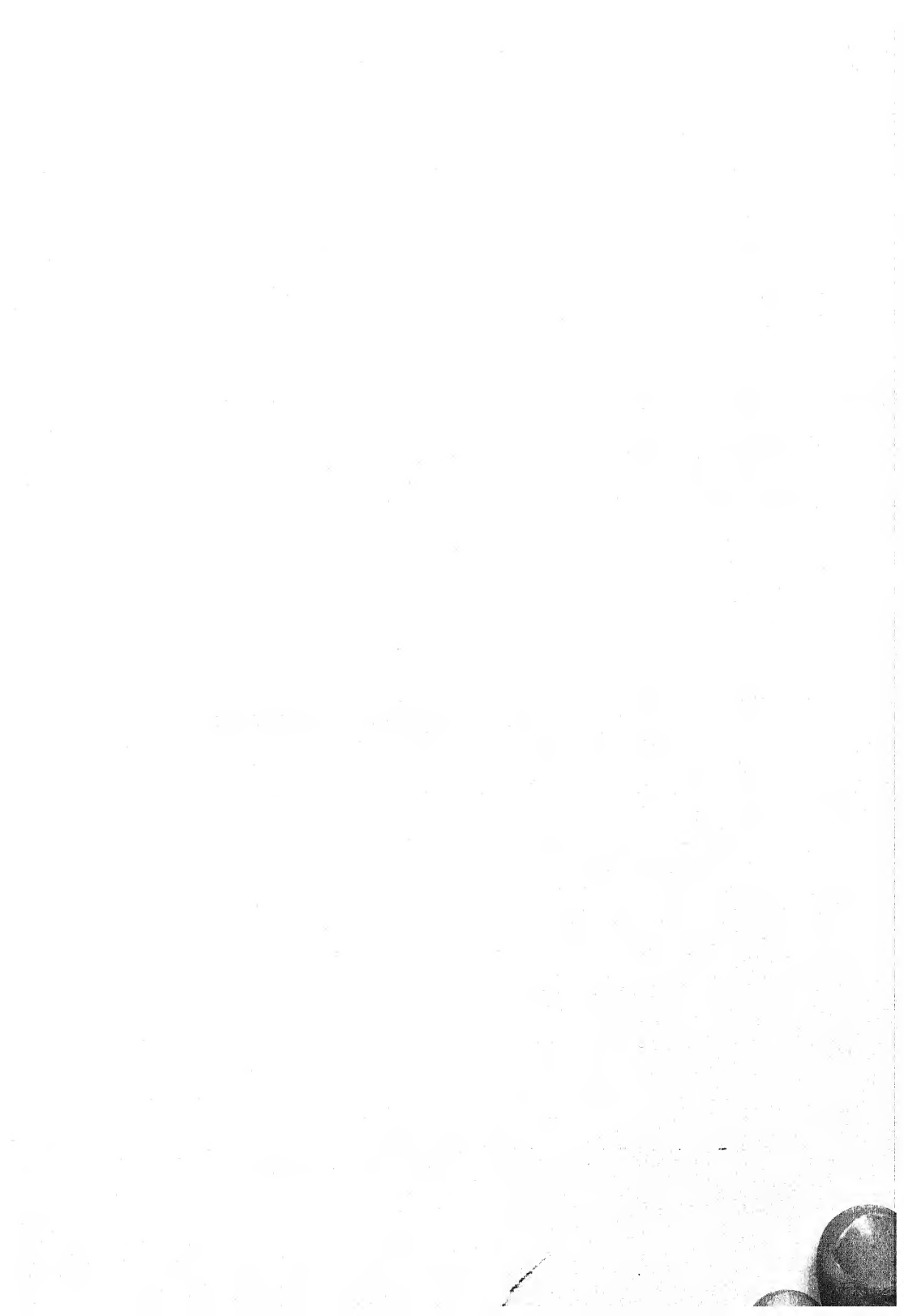
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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Golophon of the Maitreya Vyākaraṇa—year 17 of Gopāla II.

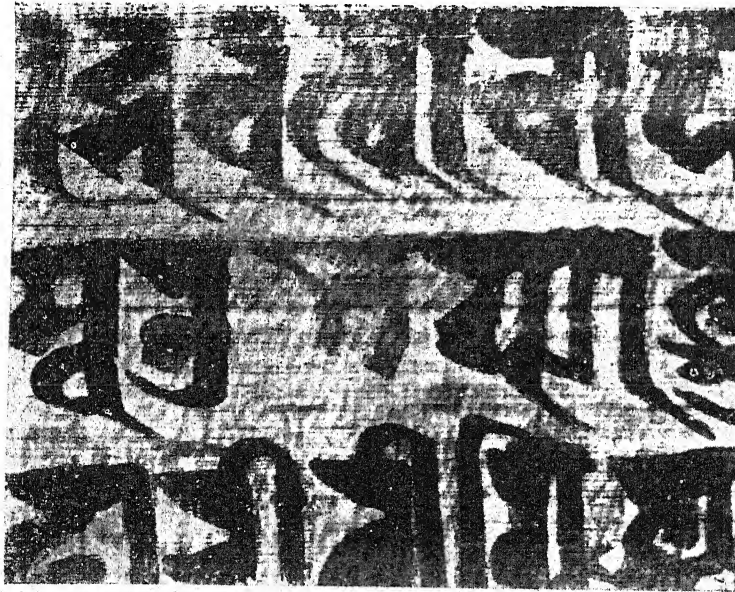
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Jaynagar image inscription—the year 35 of Palapāla.





Bargaon Pillar inscription ; year 24 of Rājyapāla.



Date in the Colophon of the Maitreya Vyākaraṇa—magnified 4 times.

III.--Pala Chronology.

By—Prof. R. D. Banerji, Benares.

Seventeen years have elapsed since the publication of my monograph on the Pālas of Bengal and during this period, though much new material has not been discovered, numerous theories have been propounded by different scholars about Pāla chronology. The most prolific writers on this subject are Professor R. C. Majumdar and Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya. Each of them has contributed three articles on this subject during the past decade ; Professor Majumdar has written :—

- (1) " The Colophons of four ancient Sanskrit Manuscripts " ¹,
- (2) " The Chronology of the Pāla kings " ² and
- (3) " The Chronology of the Sena kings " ³.

Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has also contributed three articles :—

- (1) A Chronology* of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal " ⁴,
- (2) " Date of Lakṣmanasena and his predecessors, " ⁵ and
- (3) " Dates of early historical records of Bengal " ⁶.

A number of votive inscriptions discovered during the last seventeen years : has made it necessary to reconsider the problem of Pāla Chronology. The chronology of the Senas is but an unimportant part of the chronology of the kings of Bengal as it covers less than a century, while the Pālas ruled almost uninterruptedly for four centuries and a half, beginning in the eighth and ending in the last decade of the twelfth. The following inscriptions and manuscript records have to be taken into consideration for the reconstruction of Pāla chronology :—

- (1) The Nālandā plate of Devapāla—the year 39, ⁷.

¹ *J. & P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 301—3.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XVII, 1921, pp. 1—6.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 7-16.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLIX, 1920, pp. 189-193.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. LI, 1922, pp. 145-148, 153-158.

⁶ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, 1927, pp. 571-591.

⁷ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 310-27.

(2) The Bihar image inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla—the year 54¹.

(3) The Bargaon or Nālandā pillar inscription of the time of Rājyapāla—the year 24².

(4) Colophon of a manuscript of the *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa*—the year 57 of Gopāla II³.

(5) The Jaynagar image inscription of the time of Palapāla—the year 35.⁴

A few words of explanation are necessary regarding these five records. All of them are not fresh discoveries. The Nālandā plate of the year 39 was discovered during the recent excavations at Nālandā and this date has been utilised by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya in his recent contribution to this subject, but while rejecting the date of the Bargaon pillar inscription of the year 24 of Rājyapāla he has accepted that on the Bihar image dedicated in the year 54 of Nārāyaṇapāla. This learned scholar has gone so far as to suggest that the Bargaon pillar inscription is a record of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Rājyapāla⁵. It is incomprehensible to me how that unfortunate prince can be made to rule over eastern Magadha. Rājyapāla, the Pratihāra, was hemmed in on three sides; on the south by the Chedī king Gāṅgeya and the Chandella king Gaṇḍa, on the east by Mahīpāla I of Bengal and on the west by the Tomaras of Delhi and the Kachchhapaghātas of Gopādrī or Gwalior. It was not possible for him to occupy any part of Magadha even for a single day.

The *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa* is a work on Buddhist philosophy and a palm-leaf manuscript of the same was discovered by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasad Śāstri, M.A., C.I.E., Ph.D. and added to the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This manuscript was copied during the reign of one of the three

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLVII, 1918 p. 110.

² *Ibid.* p. 111.

³ *Descriptive Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 13.

⁴ *Cunningham Arch. Survey Report*, Vol. III, pl. XLV. no. 33.

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III. p. 585.

Gopālas of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal. The duct of writing being the same as that in the manuscript of the *Aṣṣasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* copied in the sixth year of the reign of Mahipāla, I¹, it has been correctly assigned to Gopala II by the learned discoverer. I had the honour of examining the colophon of this manuscript in his presence and found that the last leaf of this manuscript was reinked at some later date but at the time the scribe omitted to ink the numerals of the date. This proves that these two numerals had become indistinct at the time of reinking. I showed this date to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar a few days later and he is of opinion that the date cannot be 57. Mr. Johan Van Manen, who was consulted by us, suggested that the date may be reproduced from a micro-photograph. At my request Lt. Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, M.D., I.M.S., Director of the Zoological Survey of India has kindly taken the micro-photograph which is reproduced here. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the numerals should be read as 11, but Mahamahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasad Śāstri still maintains that it is 57. I am of opinion that this date is 17. 1 and 7 of this particular type are to be found in the manuscript of the *Aṣṣasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* copied in the sixth year of the reign of Mahipāla I. The pagination of this manuscript is in two different types of numerals; on the left hand side pages are numbered in old Indian numerals, but on the right hand side the decimal system has been used. It is on this side that this particular form of 1 and 7 are to be found. If Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya had taken the trouble of examining the original manuscript of the *Maitre a Vyākaraṇa* in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal then he would not have accepted this extremely doubtful reading and plunged into a series of blunders in his latest contribution to the subject.

The Jaynagar image inscription of the 35th year of the reign of Palapāla was discovered by Cunningham as early as 1871, but evidently he could not read it and had to remain satisfied with publishing an eye-copy. I tried my best to find

¹ *Pālas of Bengal Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 76, pl. XXXVI.*

this image in 1910 and 1911 and visited Jaynagar twice for that purpose. As I could not find the image I had to omit it from my monograph on the Pālas. Twelve years afterwards the locality of the inscription was made known to me in an unexpected manner. Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, writing to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Khaira Professor of Phonetics in the Calcutta University in June 1924, sent him three pencil rubbings of this inscription, which he found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington and asked him to have it deciphered by some of his colleagues. Professor Chatterjee was kind enough to entrust me with this work. One word of explanation is necessary with regard to the Bargaon pillar inscription of the time of Rājyapāla. Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya is inclined to doubt the authenticity of this inscription. This record was edited by me in 1918 but the editors of the Indian Antiquary omitted to publish a facsimile. In order to make up this defect I publish a facsimile here. The pillar with the inscription can be seen in the Jain temple at Bargaon.

Pāla Chronology depends upon numbers of synchronisms, e.g., that of Dharmapāla with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III and the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhāṭa II; of Mahipāla I with Rājendra Choḷa I of Tanjore and Gaṅgeyadeva of Tripurī. The majority of the dates of Pāla inscriptions are in regnal years and only two are dated in the Vikrama era. Even these two dates cannot be regularly connected with Pāla kings. The Sarnath image inscription of V. S. 1083=1026 A.D., was inscribed at a time when Mahipāla I was either dead or had lost all hold upon Benares. The Gaya image inscription of V. S. 1232 mentions a king named Govindapāla who cannot be connected with the Imperial Pālas as yet. So we have to depend almost entirely upon synchronisms with kings of other dynasties whose dates are known to us. The earliest of these synchronisms is that of Dharmapāla, the second king of the Pāla dynasty with Govinda III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan and the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhāṭa II. The certain dates

of Govinda III range from 794 to 814, A.D.,¹ and the only known date of Nāgabhaṭa II is 815 A.D.² of the Buchkala inscription. Therefore some part of Dharmapāla's reign must fall between 794 and 814 A.D. In trying to reconstruct Pāla Chronology without examining the original sources Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya committed a number of serious blunders. The Gaya inscription of Govindapāla was incised in the year *Vikārī*, V. S. 1232=1175 A.D. This year coincided with the 14th regnal year of Govindapāla; but instead of introducing the regnal year with the usual phrase *kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya* the composer of the record uses the unusual phrase *gata-rājya*. I had taken this phrase to mean that in 1175 A.D., the reign of Govindapāla had become a thing of the past in Gaya and therefore his accession had taken place in 1161. Messrs. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya³ are of opinion that the reign of Govindapāla came to an end in 1161 A.D., and therefore his accession took place sometime before that date. The fault of such calculations will become apparent even if we take 1161 to be the first year of Govindapāla's reign and add up the known regnal years of Pāla kings :—

Dharmapāla...	...	32	Vigrahapāla III	...	13
Devapāla ...	...	39	Mahipāla II	...	X
Śūrapāla ...	...	3	Śūrapāla II	...	X
Nārāyanapāla	...	54	Rāmapāla ...	...	42
Rājyapāla ...	...	24	Kumārāpāla...	...	X
Gopāla II ...	...	57	Gopāla III ...	...	X
Vigrahapāla II	...	26	Madanapāla	...	19
Mahipāla I...	...	48	Palapāla ...	...	35
Nayapāla I...	...	15	Govindapāla	...	X

If we take 1161 A.D. to be the date of the accession of Govindapāla even then the total of the reigns of Pāla kings becomes much too excessive for the synchronism of Dharmapāla with Govinda III. If we exclude 32 years of the Khalimpur

¹ *Epi. Ind. Vol. III. p. 105; Vol. VII. pp. 104-5.*

² *Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 199-200.*

³ *J. & P. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 6, note 2; Ind. Ant., Vol. LI, 1922, 156.*

plate of Dharmapāla then the total length of reigns of the Pala kings from Devapāla to Palapāla comes to 385 years and therefore the death of Dharmapāla and consequently the accession of Devapāla must be placed in 776 A.D., which is absurd in view of the fact that the accession of Govinda III cannot be placed earlier than 793 A.D. After the re-discovery of the Jayanagar image inscription of Palapāla I am forced to include him in the list of Pala kings, because like Govindapāla his name ends with the affix *pāla*, though he cannot as yet be connected with the dynasty founded by Gopāla I, and the inscription was discovered in an area where the latest inscription of Madanapāla was also discovered. Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya perceived this difficulty and tried to establish his conclusion by doubting the authenticity of the Bargaon pillar inscription of the year 24 of the reign Rājyapāla, by transferring the regnal year 26 in the manuscript of *Pañcha-rakṣā* from Vighrapāla II to Vighrapāla III and by attributing a reign of 5 years to Rājyapāla and 26 years or 9 years to Vighrapāla II.¹ Professor Ramesh Chandra Majumdar had not ventured to reject the evidence of a contemporary epigraph in order to prove a pre-conceived idea. He has correctly attributed a reign of 24 years to Rājyapāla and introduced a reign of 26 years in the case of Vighrapāla III with caution.² If we consider the length of the reigns of Pala kings from Devapāla to Mahipāla I and take 1026 A.D. to be the last year of the reign of Mahipāla I, then also we find that the result is absurd in the view of the synchronism of Dharmapāla with Govinda III:—

Devapāla	...	...	...	39
Śūrapāla I	...	...	...	3
Nārāyaṇapāla...	...	...	...	54
Rājyapāla	...	...	...	24
Gopāla II	...	...	...	57
Vighrapāla II	...	...	...	26
Mahipāla I	...	...	...	48
Total				251

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, 1927, pp. 584, 590.

² *J. & P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 6.

If we deduct this period of 251 years from 026 then we get 775 as the date of the accession of Devapāla. If we accept the latest view of Professor Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya and accept 1036 to be the year of the death of Mahipāla I¹ even then we find that we have to place the date of the death of Dharmapāla and the accession of Devapāla in 785 A.D., i.e., at least 8 years before the accession of Govinda III, which is equally absurd. The facsimile of the Bargaon pillar inscription of the year 24 of Rājyapāla will prove that the length of his reign cannot be manipulated according to the needs of particular writers and the micro-photograph of the numerals in colophon of the *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa* will prove that the regnal year of Gopāla II cannot be 57. The longest period which this indistinct date is capable of being taken is 17. Therefore we get the following dates of Pāla kings from contemporary records :—

Gopāla I	...	...	...	X
Dharmapāla	...	...	...	32
Devapāla	...	...	...	39
Śūrapāla I	...	...	...	3
Nārāyaṇapāla	...	..	...	54
Rājyapāla	...	...	...	24
Gopāla II	...	...	...	17(11?)
Vigrahapāla II	..	...	...	26
Mahipāla I	...	...	...	48
Nayapāla	...	...	...	15
Vigrahapāla III	...	...	...	13
Mahipāla II	...	...	...	X
Śūrapāla II	...	...	...	X
Ramapāla	...	...	...	42
Kumārāpāla	...	...	...	X
Gopāla III	...	...	...	X
Madanapāla	...	...	...	19
Palapāla	...	...	...	35
Total				367

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, 1927, p. 524.

If we accept the contention that 1161 A.D. was the date of Govindapāla's accession then we find that the latest date to which we can assign the accession of Dharmapāla is 794 A.D. This date does not militate against the synchronism of that king with Govinda III, but we must bear in mind that we have only taken the reign lengths as known to us from votive records, which are by no means conclusive and therefore does not prove that Dharmapāla did not reign for more than 32 years or Mahipāla I more than 48 years. We have moreover to account for the reigns of at least four princes :—Mahipāla II, Śūrapāla II, Kumārapāla and Gopāla III. Now the date of the accession of Dharmapāla cannot be brought down beyond 814 A.D. in view of his synchronism with Govinda III. This leaves a margin of 20 years only for the very probable longer reigns of all these princes and the unknown periods of the reigns of the four kings mentioned above, which is insufficient. In view of this insufficiency it is much more improbable that Govindapāla's accession took place at any date before 1161 as Messrs. Majumdar and Bhattacharya are inclined to think. In fact it would be absurd to maintain now that Govindapāla came to the throne before 1161 because a reign of at least 35 years has to be placed between him and Madanapāla. If Palapāla is not a prince of the Pāla dynasty then Govindapāla also is not. The first line of the Jaynagar image inscription reads :

✓ *Śrī-Gai(Gau)ḍes(v)ara-Palapāla-pādānām saṁ 35 Chai(tra)dī 3.*
The use of the term *Gauḍesvara* proves that Palapāla, a prince, who is known to have reigned in eastern Magadha only, still claimed to be Lord of Gauḍa or northern Bengal and therefore his claim to be considered a member of the Pāla royal family is much stronger than that of Govindapāla.

We may now return to the chronology of the early Pālas. We have seen that the accession of Dharmapāla cannot be placed later than 794 A.D., if his reign lasted for 32 years only. But there are reasons to suppose that his reign was of a much longer duration. His long wars with the Gurjara-

Pratihara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings and the acceptance of his suzerainty by the princes of Northern India, all indicate a much longer reign. There was a time when it could be supposed that a part of Dharmapāla's reign extended over the first half of the 9th century, but recent discoveries—inscriptions of other kings—tend to prove that Dharmapāla was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II as well as of his father Vatsarāja, of Govinda III as well as his father Dhruva II Dhārāvārṣa. The recent publication of the Sanjan plate of Amoghavarṣa I and the republication of the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka and the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I have thrown much stronger light on the wars of Dharmapāla and his contemporaries.

The earliest event of the reign of Dharmapāla appears to be his conquest of Kanauj, the deposition of Indrāyudha and the nomination of Chakrāyudha. This is proved by the fourteenth verse of the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I: "Who (Dhruva II) seized the white umbrellas the sporting lotuses of the Lakshmi (Goddess of Sovereignty), of the Gauḍa king as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna."¹ It is more probable that Dharmapāla, rather than Gopāla I, had come into contact with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, because the conquest of Kanauj is attributed in official Pāla records to Dharmapāla alone and not to his father Gopāla I. Therefore, it is now apparent that Dharmapāla, after the conquest of Kanauj, had come into conflict with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Vatsarāja as well as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva II. Previously the northern campaign of Dhruva II was supposed to have been solely against the Gurjara-Pratihāras. But now we have to admit that it was a general campaign against all kings of Northern India. In 783 Vatsarāja was the king of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and Indrāyudha of the Northern regions according to the Jaina *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa*.² In the Northern campaign of Dhruva II, Vatsarāja was vanquished, and therefore it was supposed upto this time, that Dhruva II had undertaken

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 244, 252.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 253.

his Northern campaign as an ally of the Gauda king, but the fourteenth verse of the Sanjan plates now proves that either at the conclusion of the Gurjara war or before it Dhruva II Dhāravarṣa had fought with and defeated a king of Gauda, evidently Dharmapāla. This proves, incidentally, that Dharmapāla's accession must be placed much anterior to the earliest known date of Govinda III i. e., 794 A. D. Dharmapāla was the conqueror of Kanauj and it is possible for that king of Gauda only who was the master of Kanauj to meet an advancing enemy in the *Antarvedi* or the Ganges-Jumna *doāb*. We do not know whether this king of Gauda was defeated before Vatsarāja or after him, but it is much more probable that Dhruva had advanced into the *Antarvedi* after defeating his immediate neighbour, who could attack him on the left flank if he advanced direct on Kanauj. Therefore, it is evident that Dharmapāla's accession took place earlier than this exploit of Dhruva II because before the defeat of Vatsarāja by Dhruva II, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king had vanquished a king of Gauda and taken away his double white royal umbrellas. We do not know whether Vatsarāja had defeated the king of Gauda before Dharmapāla's conquest of Kanauj or after it; most probably the defeat of the Gauda king took place when he had advanced towards the west and claimed suzerainty in Northern India. It is also probable that Vatsarāja attacked Dharmapāla as an ally of Indrāyudha, the deposed king of Kanauj. What happened after the defeat of Vatsarāja by Dhruva II we do not know. We do not hear again of Indrāyudha and during the reign of Vatsarāja's son and successor, Nāgabhaṭa II, we hear of Chakrāyudha from the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I :

“Who, desirous of the great growth of virtuous acts enjoined in the Vedas, performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of the Kshatriya families ; and, after having defeated Chakrāyudha, whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others, he becomes eminent although he was humble, through modesty.

" Having vanquished his enemy, the Lord of Vaṅga, who appeared like a mass of dark, dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots, Nāgabhaṭa, who alone gladdens (the heart of) the three worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness."¹

Nāgabhaṭa II made an attempt to assume suzerainty in Northern India, when after the death of Dhruva II Dhārāvārṣa the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were in difficulties, on account of the civil war between Govinda III and his elder brother Stambha or Khambayya.² I agree with Prof. R. C. Majumdar in thinking that the kings of Andhra, Kalinga, Sindhu and Vidarbha allied themselves with Nāgabhaṭa II in a fresh campaign against Dharmapāla.³ In connection with this fact we ought to consider that Govinda III in his Northern campaign had to defeat the kings of Mālava, Kośala, Kalinga, Vaṅga, ḍāhala and Oḍraka.⁴ Combining these two sets of names we find that the allies of Nāgabhaṭa II were the Arabs of Sindh, the Gurjaras of Mālava, the kings of Orissa and the Telugu country (Kalinga and Andhra) and of the Northern Mahārāṣṭra (Vidarbha). In addition to this we should take into consideration the kings defeated by Nāgabhaṭa II; those of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya.⁵ With these three lists let us compare the list of kings given in the Khalimpur plate; Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru Yadu, Yavana, Gandhāra, Avantī, Kīra.⁶ Among these Matsya is common, Mālava and Avantī are the same, Kīra may perhaps be the same as Kirāta, while Vidarbha may be taken as the equivalent of Bhoja,—Turuṣka in the Gwalior inscription may stand for Yavana of the Khalimpur plate.

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 108, 112.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, App. p. 10, no. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 108.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 248.

Allies and subjects of Nāgabhaṭa II.	Enemies of Govinda III.	Princes subjugated by Dharmapāla.
Sindhu.	...	Yādu.
Andhra.	...	...
Vidarbha.	...	Bhoja.
Kaliṅga.	Kaliṅga.	...
Ānartta.	...	...
Mālava.	Mālava.	Avantī.
Kirāta.	...	Kira.
Turuṣka.	...	Yavana.
Vatsa.	...	...
Matsya.	Matsya.	Matsya.
Names not common	Kośala.	Madra.
	Dāhala.	Kuru.
	Oḍraka.	Gandhāra.

These three lists would prove that the Gurjara confederacy against Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla was formidable. Both the Gwalior inscription and the Sanjan plates mention the latter as the king of Vaṅga denoting thereby that Dharmapāla was regarded as the king of Eastern Bengal. At the opening of the campaign both Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla were defeated.

The real cause of the Northern campaign of Govinda III is not known to us. Though the Sanjan plates mention that Dharma, i.e., Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha came and submitted of their own accord to Govinda III, it is difficult to understand for what reasons Govinda III turned his arms against Dharmapāla. In the earlier portion of the campaign Govinda III defeated two kings named Chandragupta and Nāgabhaṭa in this campaign. Nāgabhaṭa is no doubt Nāgabhaṭa II of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty and it has been suggested by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar that Chandragupta belongs to the Somavamśi dynasty of Sirpur.¹ The next verse mentions the surrender of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. The subsequent verse refers to the conquest of Mālava, Kośala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga,

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 240.

Dāhala and Odra. The former editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* (the late Mr. Hoskote Krishna Sastri) suggested that Vaṅga should be corrected into Veṅgī. But the Sirpur and Nīlgund inscriptions mention that the king defeated was the king of Gauḍa.¹ Therefore there cannot be any doubt about the fact that Govinda III defeated Dharmapāla after the end of the Gurjara war.

As Dharmapāla must be now recognized to be a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva II Dhārāvārṣa, and it is also apparent that he fought with Vatsarāja, who was living in 783 A.D., therefore the conquest of Kanauj by Dharmapāla and the deposition of Indrāyudha must have taken place shortly after that date. The confederacy of Gurjara and other kings under Nāgabhaṭa II may have been formed just before the accession of Govinda III, approximately in 792 to 794 A.D. It will be seen below that Dharmapāla's reign came to an end shortly after or at the end of the 8th century.

Princes of three different provinces took part in the wars of Gurjara-Pratihāras with Pālas of Bengal. They belonged to two different periods of the war. Kakka of the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka appears according to the statement of Prof. R. C. Majumdar to have taken part in the wars of Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II. Prof. Majumdar quotes Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar as his authority for reading the date in the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka as V. S. 894. Prof. Bhāndarkar's suggestion is very ingenious but there are some obstacles against it which Prof. Majumdar did not consider necessary to discuss. The first point is the reading *vra*; the subscript *r* is quite detached from *v*. This is quite unusual in this inscription as in all cases, though *vra* has not been used in this record, the subscript *r* is attached to the previous consonant. The second point is the form of the numeral "9." This form is not what we find in the Barah plate of Bhoja of V.S. 893=836 A. D.²

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 102-3.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18. The symbol which Doctor R. C. Majumdar reads as "9" according to the directions of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar occurs as the final form of *t* in the Itkhauri image inscription of the 8th year of Mahīndrapāla. Such blunders are allowed to appear in the *Epigraphia Indica* now-a-days on account of the ignorance of South Indian scholars about North-Indian Epigraphy.

We have therefore no reason to accept the date in the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihara Bāuka as 894 and to think that Bāuka was a contemporary of Rāmabhadra and his father Nāgabhaṭa II. Therefore Kakka, Bāuka's father, cannot be regarded as a contemporary of Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II. Another son of Kakka was living in V. S. 918=861 A.D. Moreover we do not know whether Bāuka was older or younger than Kakkuka and it is quite probable that the Jodhpur inscription is later in date than the Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka. The date in the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka is simply *Samvat* 4 as Kielhorn read years ago.

Balavarman of the Chālukya family was the subordinate of Mahendrapāla I in Kathiawad and he was alive in G. S. 574=893 A.D., but his son Avanīvarman II was ruling in his place in V. S. 956=899 A.D., therefore Balavarman's grandfather Bāhukadhavala was taken to be a contemporary of Bhoja I by the late Dr. Kielhorn.¹ But Balavarman must have become old in 893 and therefore should really be taken to be a contemporary of Bhoja I. The earliest date for Bhoja I is 836 and his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II was alive in 815 A.D. It is therefore extremely improbable that Bāhukadhavala was a contemporary of Bhoja I specially as he claims to have defeated or destroyed Dharmapāla. It is impossible at the present day to maintain that Dharmapāla was any time of his long reign a contemporary of Bhoja I. His reign must have ended at the latest in the first decade of the 9th century when Nāgabhaṭa II, the grandfather of Bhoja I, was alive and ruling. The third prince who claims to have defeated the Pālas of Bengal is Guṇāmbhodhi I of the Kaṭachuri dynasty of the Northern Kosalā, but as he admits that he had received his estate from Bhoja I it is impossible even to discuss his contemporaneity with Dharmapāla.²

Dharmapāla's son Devapāla succeeded him and ruled over the Pāla empire for at least 39 years. During this period

¹*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 3.

²*Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 89.

the power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was at its lowest ebb Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II, ruled over his ancestral dominions sometime between 815 and 836 A.D. He was undoubtedly the contemporary of Devapāla. No inscriptions of his time are known. Some records of his son and successor Bhoja I throw strong light on the condition of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom under Rāmabhadra. The Daulatpura plates of Bhoja I indicate that in the homeland of Gurjaras (*Gurjaratrā bhūmi*), a grant made by Vatsarāja, and confirmed and continued by Nāgabhaṭa II, had fallen into desuetude in the reign of Rāmabhadra.¹ The Barah plates of Bhoja I mention that in the Kānyakubja *bhukti* (division) and the Kālanjara *maṇḍala* (district) and Udumbara *viṣaya* (parganah) a grant made by a former king named Mārāśarva or Mahārāja Śarva and Nāgabhaṭa II had fallen into desuetude during the reign of Bhoja's predecessor, i.e., Rāmabhadra, and was revived by Bhoja.² Dr. R. C. Majumdar concludes correctly that "in fact a close study of the Daulatpura plate seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa but lost by Rāmabhadra and regained by Bhoja before 843 A.D., for it speaks of the original grant by the first, its continuation by the second and renewal by the fourth king, leading to the evident conclusion that there was a break in the possession of the territory during the reign of the third. This view entirely agrees with what we know of the rival Pratihāra dynasty ; for Nāgabhaṭa II was crushed by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III and Rāmabhadra's reign was an inglorious one."³ But the same scholar very inconsistently contradicts his own statement later on ; "It appears that Nāgabhaṭa retained his hold upon Kanauj which he had conquered from Chakrāyudha transferred his capital there, and probably succeeded in offering an effective resistance to the Pālas till his death in

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 213.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 94.

833-834 A.D.”¹ Prof. Majumdar states that according to the Jaina *Prabhāvaka-charita* “Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grand father of Bhoja, died in 890 Vikrama-Samvat, and this Nāgāvaloka had been correctly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II.”² If this statement is correct then Rāmabhadra does not seem to have reigned at all ; but the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja indicates definitely that he had ruled and was not mentioned there simply because he happened to be the father of the great Bhoja I. We know now from Barah plate that Bhoja I was actually on the throne and at Kanauj in 836 A.D. Therefore, if the statement in the *Prabhāvaka-charita* is to be believed then Rāmabhadra’s reign must be reduced to a year or six months. Whatever view be accepted there cannot be any doubt about the fact that either Nāgabhaṭa II or his son and successor Rāmabhadra had lost the United Provinces and the greater portion of Rajputana before their reconquest by Bhoja I. In fact the statement of the Gwalior inscription and the mention of Nāgāvaloka as the king of Kānyakubja in 833-34 make us suspect the genuineness of the information of the Jaina work. The Daulatpura and the Barah plates of Bhoja I prove that no Gurjara-Pratihara king could have been called the king of Kānyakubja in 833. The loss of the United Provinces and a portion, at any rate, of the Gurjara home-land must have taken place after the defeat of the Gurjara confederacy under Nāgabhaṭa II by Govinda III some time before 814 and the reconquest of Kānyakubja took place in the time of Bhoja I which is definitely indicated by verse 18 of the Gwalior inscription.³

With the reconquest of Kanauj, the first empire of the Palas of Bengal came to an end and a life and death struggle began for the very existence of the kingdom of Bengal. Before January 1926 our ideas of the condition and extent of the Pāla kingdom during the period of the struggle with the Gurjara-Pratihāras were very vague. Seventeen years ago I had discussed

¹ *Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 105-6.*

² *Ibid., p. 101.*

³ *Ibid., pp. 109, 113.*

the identity of Mahendrapāla whose name is known from several votive inscriptions discovered in the Gaya district. During the last seventeen years more inscriptions of this king have been discovered in the Hazaribagh and Patna districts. During the excavation of 1925-26, a Buddhist temple was discovered at Paharpur, in the northern part of the Rajshahi district of Bengal. A stone pillar dedicated in the fifth year of a king named Mahendrapāla was discovered by me in this temple in January 1926. This inscription completes the chain of the inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla I from Una in the Junagadh state in Kathiawad to the extreme north of the Rajshahi district of Bengal. In Eastern India inscriptions of the reign of Mahendrapāla have been discovered at Guneriya near Dobhi in the southern part of the Gaya district¹ at Ramgaya² on the outskirts of the Gaya city, at Bargaon near Nālandā,³ at Itkhauri⁴ in the Hazaribagh district and at Paharpur⁵ in the Rajshahi district. Among these votive inscriptions the date of the Guneriya inscription the year 9 is the longest. The Ramgaya and the Itkhauri inscriptions come next and belong to the 8th year. I had identified this king with Mahendrapāla I, son of Bhoja I, of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty and this identification has not been challenged as yet. If the empire of Mahendrapāla extended from the centre of Northern Bengal to the south-western extremity of the Kathiawad peninsula, then where were the Palas? Votive inscriptions prove that the whole of Magadha and the greater part of Varendra or Northern Bengal had passed from the Palas to the Pratihāras. When did this transfer take place? No inscription of Bhoja I had been discovered outside the eastern limits of the modern United Provinces but the records of his son and successor Mahendrapāla I are to be found in South Bihar, Chota Nagpur

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 110.

² *Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. V, p. 64.

³ *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, 1923-24*, p. 102.

⁴ Unpublished.

⁵ Unpublished.

and Northern Bengal. It is not probable that the conquest of Magadha and Varendra took place during the reign of Mahendrapāla. It must have taken place some time during the long reign of Bhoja I.

We shall have to go back to our principal theme for a moment. As Dharmapāla was a contemporary both of Dhruva II and his son and successor Govinda III, the date of his accession must be placed much earlier than that of Govinda III. We do not know what was the actual extent of Dharmapāla's reign. His Khalimpur plate was issued in the 32nd year of reign. In consideration of the fact that he was a contemporary of two generations of Gurjara-Pratihāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings a period of 40 years may be assigned to him tentatively. As the Nālandā plate of his son and successor Devapāla was issued in the 39th year, the same period as that of his father may be assigned for his reign. We know that Nārāyaṇapāla ruled for at least 54 years and therefore a reign of 55 years would not be excessive for him. We know from the Imadpur image inscriptions¹ that Mahīpāla I ruled for at least 48 years and therefore we may tentatively accept the period assigned to that monarch by Tārānātha² (viz., 52 years). Of the remaining kings we should confine ourselves to their actual lengths of reign as known at the present date from inscriptions :

Dharmapāla	... 40	Rajyapāla	... 24
Devapāla	... 40	Gopāla II	... 17
Śūrapāla I	... 3	Vigrahapāla II	... 26
Nārāyaṇapāla	... 55	Mahīpāla I	... 52

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If we accept 1026 A.D., as the date of the death of Mahīpāla I, then we must be prepared to admit that Dharmapāla's accession took place about 769 A.D. Accepting this as a tentative basis for calculations we can arrive at the dates of the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, 1885, p. 165, note 17. *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1881, p. 98.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, 1875, p. 366.

Gurjara-Pratihāra conquest of Magadha and Varendra :—

Dharmapāla <i>circa</i>	...	...	769—809
Devapāla <i>circa</i>	...	...	809—49
Śūrapāla I <i>circa</i>	...	...	849—52
Nārāyaṇapāla <i>circa</i>	...	...	852—907
Rājyapāla <i>circa</i>	...	...	907—31
Gopāla II <i>circa</i>	...	...	931—48
Vigrahapāla II <i>circa</i>	...	...	948—74
Mahipāla I <i>circa</i>	...	...	974—1026

The earliest date of Bhoja I, 836 A.D., therefore, falls within the reign of Devapāla and this would admit of the latter's defeat by Bhoja I. Evidently Devapāla was defeated and expelled from Kanauj before 836, the date of the grant of the Barah plate. Devapāla's successor Śūrapāla I reigned up to *circa* 852 A.D. We know from the inscriptions of Nārāyaṇapāla that he was in possession of Gaya in his 7th year, *circa* 859, of Bihar in his 9th year, *circa* 861 and of Mudgagiri or Munger in his 17th year, *circa* 869 A.D. Then follows a long gap of 37 years from the 17th to the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla, *circa*, 869-906 A.D. The long and prosperous reign of Bhoja I came to an end during this period and that of Mahendrapāla begun. It is more probable that the battle of Mudgagiri or Munger, where the Pratihāra Kakka obtained victory over the king of Gauḍa, took place sometime in the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla. The Pratihāra occupation of Magadha and Varendra also belongs to his period. It was only towards the end of Mahendrapāla's reign that Nārāyaṇapāla could reoccupy eastern Magadha. Mahendrapāla ascended the throne in *circa*, 890 A.D., and he was in possession of Bihar or Uddanḍapura in *circa* 894, of Paharpur in northern Rajshahi in *circa* 895, Ramgaya near Gaya and Itkhauri in Hazaribagh in *circa* 898 and Guneriya in southern Gayā in *circa* 899 A.D. No record discovered in any part of Bihar or Bengal can be assigned to the period between 899 and 906 A.D. The Bihar image inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla proves that the Pālas had re-occupied the important post of Uddanḍapura or Bihar in

circa 906. Mahendrapāla I died after 907 and before 908 A.D.¹ Towards the close of his reign the Pratihāra grip on the north-eastern provinces of the empire appears to have weakened and this permitted Nārāyaṇapāla to re-occupy eastern Magadha. The question now arises, what was the condition of Nārāyaṇapāla and the extent of his dominions between 869 and 906 A.D. ? We know that an independent kingdom had arisen in Eastern Bengal under the Chandras, who had located their capital at Vikramapura, modern Bikrampur in Dacca district. I have proved elsewhere that Śrīchandra of Chandra dynasty of Eastern Bengal ruled before Mahipāla I² and therefore his grandfather Suvarṇachandra must have founded the kingdom at least in the middle of the 9th century. With Eastern Bengal in the hands of the Chandras and Eastern Magadha and Northern Bengal in the hands of the Gurjara-Pratihāras the Pāla dominions were limited to the northern parts of the Gangetic Delta and Western Bengal. Nārāyaṇapāla must have re-occupied Uddāṇapura from the contiguous district of Rāḍhā in Western Bengal.

Under Rājyapāla the dominions of the Pālas seem to have consisted of Western Bengal and Eastern Magadha. Rājyapāla was in possession of Uddāṇapura in the 24th year of his reign. His son and successor Gopāla II conquered the rest of Magadha and was in possession of Bodh-Gayā in the Gaya district. No inscriptions of his son and successor Vīgrahapāla II are known but this prince reigned for at least 26 years as a manuscript of the Buddhist work *Pañcharakṣā*³ was copied in that year. The date in the colophon of this manuscript raises an important question of palaeography. There were three kings named Gopāla and Vīgrahapāla and two kings named Mahipāla in the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. Inscriptions incised and manuscripts copied in the reigns of these

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 65.

² *Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, Orientalia, Vol. III, part 3, pp. 210-22.*

³ Bendall—*Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 232. *J. R. A. S.* 1910, p. 151.

princes do not refer to them as Gopāla I or Mahipāla II but simply as Mahipāla or Vighrahapāla. Prof. R. C. Majumdar raised the question of assignments of such manuscripts in 1920. If an undated English manuscript copied in the reign of an Edward or a William is discovered now, on what ground would its date be fixed? Seven Edwards and four Williams have reigned in England up to our times. If a manuscript is discovered which purports to be copied in the reign of an uncertain William or Edward, king of England but without bearing any date, then its date will have to be determined from the form of writing. This method was followed by me in assigning the dates of all manuscripts copied in the Pāla period and utilized by me for my monograph on the Pālas of Bengal. Prof. R. C. Majumdar in an elaborate paper ignores this method altogether,¹ and is therefore unable to produce any logical conclusion. It is needless to recapitulate the meaningless statements in Prof. Majumdar's paper. There were three Gopālas, three Vighrahapālas and two Mahipālas in the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. Manuscript records of the same dynasty also belong to the reigns of two other kings, Nayapāla and Rāmapāla, if we omit Govindapāla. Now Mahipāla I was the father of Nayapāla and Vighrahapāla III was the father of Mahipāla II and Rāmapāla. Gopāla III was the grandson of Rāmapāla. Let us take the manuscript records of the Pāla dynasty one by one. The earliest of them is a manuscript copied in the fifteenth year of one of the three Gopālas at Vikramasīlā. I have assigned this manuscript, following Dr. L. D. Barnett, to Gopāla II. According to Prof. Majumdar this is "another instance of a similar error on the part of Mr. Banerji, although it is shared to some extent by Dr. Barnett." Prof. Majumdar did not venture to discuss to what Gopāla this manuscript was to be assigned, if not to Gopāla II. The remaining two Gopālas were separated from Gopāla II by five and six generations. We know the form of writing in the reign of Rāmapāla,

¹ *P. & J. A. S. B., Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 301-3.*

the grandfather of Gopāla III, therefore we can say that the manuscript copied at Vikramasīlā, in the fifteenth year of a Gopāla, cannot be assigned to Gopāla III. We know the form of writing in the time of Nayapāla, the son and successor of Mahīpāla I, and from this we can deduce very easily that the manuscript of the *Aṣṭa-Sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, copied in the sixth year of the reign of a Mahīpāla, must be assigned to the reign of Mahīpāla I. For the same reason another manuscript of the same work belonging to the Cambridge University collection and copied in the fifth year of a Mahīpāla must be assigned to the same monarch. With this basis I could very safely assert seventeen years ago that the manuscript of the *Pañcharakṣā* belonging to the British Museum collection and copied in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of a Vīgrahapāla must be assigned to Vīgrahapāla II, the father and the predecessor of Mahīpāla I. Following the same method it was easy to assign the manuscript of the *Aṣṭa-Sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* belonging to the British Museum collection and copied in the fifteenth year of a Gopāla to Gopāla II, the father and predecessor of Vīgrahapāla II. It is impossible to assign these two manuscripts to any other king except Gopāla II and Vīgrahapāla II. It is needless to increase the volume of this paper by a detailed palæographical examination of these manuscript records. If Prof. Majumdar and his adherents had taken the trouble of studying manuscript palæography then they would not have cumbered the pages of the journal of a learned society with a paper in which they were totally unable to produce any logical conclusion. Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya is much worse in this respect than Prof. Majumdar. He accepts my assignment of the various manuscript records of the Pāla period but on very different grounds. It never occurred to him that palæography was the only means of determination of dates in such cases and it seems that he agreed with me simply because it suited his convenience and permitted him to propound his preposterous theories about Pāla and Sena chronology.

Only one record, the Bargaon pillar inscription, is known of Rajyapāla. Of his son and successor Gopāla II we possess no less than four, two inscriptions and two manuscripts. In the first year of his reign an image of Vāgīśvarī was dedicated at Nālandā.¹ An image of Buddha was dedicated at some time in his reign at Bodhgayā.² A manuscript of the *Maitreya-Vyākaraṇa* was copied in the eleventh or seventeenth year of his reign and finally in his fifteenth year a manuscript of the *Aṣṭa-Sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* was copied at Vikramasīlā. Nālandā and Vikramasīlā were both situated in Eastern Magadha showing that Gopāla II succeeded in keeping his ancestral possessions in south-eastern Bihar. The undated inscription from Bodhgayā is of greater importance as it shows that the whole of Magadha had passed out of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. The loss of the easternmost provinces of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, therefore, took place in the time of the successors of Mahipāla I of Kanauj, e.g., Devapāla, Mahendrapāla II and Mahipāla II. With the recapture of Magadha, the Pālas gained in importance but Northern Bengal still appears to have remained in the hands of outsiders. Gopāla II was succeeded by his son Vigrahapāla II who is known to us from one record only, the colophon of a manuscript of the *Pañcharakṣā*, copied in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. We do not know where this manuscript was copied and therefore we are not in a position to ascertain what part of the dominions of Dharmapāla and Devapāla fell to the lot of Vigrahapāla II. The Bangarh pillar inscription proves conclusively that in the tenth century there were kings in Northern Bengal who styled themselves "*Gauḍavaras*." Two important points in the Bangarh pillar inscription still remain to be decided. These *Gauḍavaras* called themselves *Kāmboj-ānvayaḥ*, "Born or descended from the Kāmboja clan or family." The Kāmbojas existed in Afghanistan where they

¹ P. & J. A. S. B., Vol. IV, p. 105.

² *Ibid.*

spoke a separate dialect belonging to the Indo-Iranian family.¹ Their descendants are still called "Kāmbōh" in the Panjab and the North-Western Frontier Provinces. Later on the Kāmbojas colonised Further India and gave their name to modern Cambodia. The Kāmbojas came into conflict with the Pālas during the reign of Devapāla, who defeated them. The 13th verse of the Munger² and Nālanda³ plates of Devapāla, when read in comparison with the 5th verse of the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla⁴ indicates that the Kāmbojas were met by Devapāla at the foot of the Himalayas. Whatever it is, the Bangarh pillar inscription proves that sometime in the 10th century the Pālas had lost Northern Bengal which was regained by Mahipāla I.

The second empire of the Pālas was re-established by Mahipāla I, who extended his dominions from Assam and Sylhet in the east to Benares in the west. In the 3rd year of his reign the Comilla district⁵ was included in his dominions, Northern Bengal in his 9th year,⁶ Bodhgayā in the 11th⁷ and Champaran or *Tirabhuktī* in the 48th⁸ year. The most important event connected with the reign of Mahipāla I was the invasion of Rājendra Choḷa I. No new inscriptions of the time of Mahipāla I have been discovered and the only fresh contribution to this particular chapter of Pāla history is the theory of Prof. S. K. Aiyangar⁹ of the Madras University about the northern campaign of Rājendra Choḷa I. Prof. Aiyangar supposes that the Chedis ruled over Bundelkhand¹⁰ and that Bihar is Daṇḍabhukti and not Uddāṇapura. The entire treatment of the

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, pp. 801-03.

² *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 305.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 320.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 355.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 328, 330.

⁷ *Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. V, p. 75.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, 1885, p. 165, Note 17.

⁹ Rājendra, the Gangaikonda Chola, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. II, pp. 317-69.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

northern campaign of Rājendra Chōla by Prof. Aiyangar has been vitiated by his faulty knowledge of North Indian topography. In volume III of the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstri, c.i.e., had indeed proposed to identify Bihar with Daṇḍabhukti, but Prof. Aiyangar forgets that the discovery of a number of inscriptions has proved beyond doubt that modern Bihar in the Patna district is Uddāṇḍapura and not Daṇḍabhukti. This is proved by two inscriptions discovered in Bihar and the statements of Tibetan and Musalman historians. Two inscribed images dedicated in the year 3 of Śūrapāla I were dedicated at Uddāṇḍapura and discovered in Bihar town¹. A metal image of a goddess dedicated in the year 54 of Nārāyaṇapāla was also dedicated in Uddāṇḍapura and discovered in the same town². The Tibetans call the place Odantapuri which is a corruption of Uddāṇḍapuri. Similarly Maulana Minhaj-us-Siraj in his *Taba-qāt-i-Nāṣirī* calls the place Adwand Bihar.³ This is a contraction of Adwandpur Bihar or the Sanskrit *Uddāṇḍapura-Vihāra*. If the Musalman historian wanted to write Daṇḍapura or simply Daṇḍa then he would not have spelt it with *ālif*, *dāl*, *waw*, *nūn* and *dāl*. It was not at all necessary for him to begin the word with a *ālif*. Prof. Aiyangar's assumption that Daṇḍabhukti is modern Bihar in Patna district is therefore unwarranted. Daṇḍabhukti is twice referred to in contemporary historical records and in both of these it is very clearly indicated that the place was situated in southern Bengal and on the borders of Orissa and not in Bihar. In the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Chōla I it is mentioned after *Oṭṭaviṣāya* or *Oḍra* and *Kosala*, i.e., *Mahakośala* and before *Takkaṇa-Lāḍa* or *Dakṣiṇa Rādhā*; therefore it must have been situated in the Midnapore district of modern Bengal. The *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin mentions a chief named Jayasimha of Daṇḍabhukti who had defeated Karṇa-Kesari of Utkala. A

¹ *P. & J. A. S. B., Vol. IV, pp.*

² *Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, 1918, p. 110.*

³ *Raverty's trans. p. 491 and note 3.*

king of Bihar too may have defeated a king of Orissa but the commentary of *Rāmāharita*, Chapter II, verse 5 proves conclusively that Daṇḍabhukti must be situated on south-western frontier of Bengal. I have refrained from giving the detailed discussion of my views of the northern campaign of Rājendra Chōla I as it will be found in my previous works.¹ I have begun with Daṇḍabhukti because the theories enunciated by Prof. Aiyangar rest on his mistaken identification of this place with Uddāṇḍapura or Bihar. In the first place the Chedis or Haihayas belonged to Dāhala, modern Baghelkhand and not Bundelkhand, and any power passing from the Central Provinces to Magadha or South Bihar in the 10th and 11th centuries would have had to contend with the rising powers of Kokalla I and his descendants. In the time of Mahipāla I of Bengal, Gāṅgeya had founded a powerful empire by defeating the Chandellas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras. It was impossible for any Rāṣṭrakūṭas to have penetrated into the Pāla kingdom without coming into conflict with Gāṅgeyadeva in the opening decades of the 11th century. As the northern expedition of the Chōla army took place before 1024, i.e., the 12th year of the reign of Rājendra Chōla I² it must have happened during the reign of Gāṅgeyadeva who was known to be ruling in 1019³ and died in 1041 A.D.⁴ Prof. Aiyangar's theories about the defeat of Chōla army and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Magadha are based on a number of mistakes. There is no proof of the existence of an independent Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Karṇāṭaka power in Bihar in the 10th or the 11th century A.D. Prof. Aiyangar assumes that the Karṇāṭakas of Bihar were defeated by the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahipāla I. There were two kings of this name in this dynasty, the second of whom is known to us

¹ *Pālas of Bengal, Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. V, pp. 71-74; Bāṅgalār Itihās (Bengalee), 2nd Edition, Vol. I, pp. 246-252.*

² *Epi. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 232.*

³ *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Darbar Library, Nepal, Vol. II, pp. 18, 34.*

⁴ *Epi. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 146.*

only from the Bayana inscription of queen Chitrālekḥā.¹ It may have been possible for Mahīpāla I, the Gurjara-Pratihāra, to have defeated the Karnāṭakas of Bihar, if any such can be proved to have existed in that country at that time. But unfortunately we possess no evidence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Karnāṭaka settlement or kingdom of Bihar in the middle of the 10th century when Mahīpāla I of Kanauj was ruling. The whole of Bihar was included in the kingdom of Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla I and possibly also that of Mahīpāla I and therefore it is inconceivable why Mahīpāla I should undertake a big campaign to defeat local chiefs of his own empire. The *Chandakausikam* was acted after a signal victory over a powerful and difficult enemy and not a subordinate but rebellious petty chief. This is exactly what the relationship between Mahīpāla I of Kanauj and the Karnāṭaka chiefs of Bihar would have been if any such had really existed.

Prof. Aiyangar's views of the northern campaign of Rājendra Chōla I are very difficult to understand. His idea seems to be that the Chōla general, after defeating the chief of Mahākośala, penetrated through Chota Nagpur into Bihar where he defeated a chief named Dharmapāla. Then he turned south-east and defeated Rapaśura of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā. In the first place Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā cannot be reached from Bihar unless one passes through Uttara Rāḍhā and in the second place the statement in the Tiruvalangadu plates that "Rapaśura was defeated and his territory taken before the general reached the territory of Dharmapāla" proves that the composer had very hazy notions of the position of these places in the map of India. Prof. Aiyangar, who relies entirely on the Tiruvalangadu plates in preference to the Tirumalai rock inscription, has been clearly non-plussed. If the Chōla general had really passed through Chota Nagpur into Bihar then why should he come back to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā (Howrah and Hoogly districts of Bengal) and then return to Uttara Rāḍhā (Murshidabad, Birbhum and Burdwan districts of Bengal) at all

¹ *Ann. Progs. p. Arch. Survey of India, Western Circle for the year ending with 31st March 1919, pp. 43-44.*

because Uttara Rāḍhā must be crossed before one can get into southern Rāḍhā from Magadha? Professor Aiyangar has in fact placed himself in the same position as the late Professor Kielhorn, who identified Lāḍa of the Tirumalai inscription with Lāṭa and the late Mr. Venkayya who did the same with Virāṭa or Berar. It is almost impossible for an army to cross from Orissa into Bihar through the Garhjat States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. An army approaching Bengal and Bihar from the south must follow the natural line of communication through Orissa, Midnapur, Hoogly and Howrah to reach Vaṅga and Uttara Rāḍhā and this is exactly the route described in the Tirumulai rock inscription. The statement in the Tiruvalangadu plates that Rapaśūra was defeated and his kingdom taken before the Chōla general could reach Daṇḍabhukti proves that this record is much less reliable than the Tirumalai rock inscription. This also can be proved from the manner in which the composer of the Tiruvalangadu inscription has bungled with the name of Mahīpāla and consequently misled Professor Aiyangar into believing that the Mahīpāla mentioned is not Mahīpāla I of Bengal but a chief of Orissa named Mahīpāla. Professor Aiyangar states "It is apparently the king of this north Kalingam that is referred to in the inscription as Oṭṭa Mahīpāla. It seems clear therefore that Rājendra's general did not come into direct contact with Mahīpāla of Bengal at all, unless it be through Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, and that the Mahīpāla who actually found mention in the inscription is Mahīpāla of North Orissa."¹ Professor Aiyangar seems to forget that the Tirumulai inscription gives us the names of the chiefs and states conquered by the Chōla army in the great northern campaign in a perfectly accurate geographical order. It begins with Ādinagar, Indraratha, the chief of which was also defeated by the great Paramāra king Bhoja I of Mālava². Then it comes to Orissa or Oḍra-viṣaya, turns slightly to the west into Kośala or Sambalpur and Bilaspur, return to the coast when it speaks of Daṇḍabhukti (Midnapur

¹ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. II, p. 344.

² *Epi. Ind. Vol. VIII, App. I. p. 15.*

district) passes into southern Rāḍhā near the mouth of the Ganges or Bhāgīrathī, thence crosses the Delta into Eastern Bengal or Vaṅga. The Chōḷa army returns across the Delta to northern Rāḍhā after defeating Mahīpāla. This shows that the Chōḷa army followed the coast line from near the Chilka lake and debouched into the interior only once when it went into Kōśala. Its object was the Ganges, the great Ganges, and not the Bhāgīrathī, which is the northern boundary of Uttara Rāḍhā. From Orissa it marched straight on to the Ganges with two deviations; the first to the left or west into Mahākōśala and second to the right or the east into Eastern Bengal to meet king Govindachandra of the Chandra dynasty of Eastern Bengal, who had most probably become a vassal of Mahīpāla I and therefore a flanking movement may have been expected of him. On the return journey the Chōḷa army met Mahīpāla either in the apex of the Delta, e.g., the modern districts of Nadia and Murshidabad or just after crossing the Bhāgīrathī into Uttara Rāḍhā. Though the Bhāgīrathī was reached the Chōḷa general actually refrained from capturing and plundering Gauḍa, the ancient capital of the Pālas, which lay a few miles across the Ganges. We have no reason to believe that a roving band of South Indian marauders, like the Chōḷa army, was composed of devout ascetics who religiously refrained from rapine and plunder, filled their vessels with the holy water of the Ganges and retraced their way home with their eyes shut as soon as their objective was gained. The Tirumalai inscription says that the Chōḷa army reached Uttara Rāḍhā after putting Mahīpāla to flight. The inscription ends abruptly and therefore there is no reason to doubt the evidence of the *Chandakausikam* that a king named Mahīpāla had defeated an army of Karṇātakas. Now if this Mahīpāla was Mahīpāla of Orissa what reason there was to place his name between the defeat of Govindachandra of Vaṅgā-deśam and the arrival of the Chōḷa army in Uttara Rāḍhā. The Tirumalai rock inscription is composed in such a way as to indicate that it was composed by or with the help of one who had accompanied the

Chola army in its northern campaign. If this Mahipāla was really a prince of Orissa then the composer of the Tirumalai rock inscription would have placed him before the names of Daṇḍabhukti, Takkaṇa Lādam, Vaṅgala-Deśam and Uttira Lādam. The only valid objection which may be raised is the term Karnaṭaka. It may be said that the term Karnaṭaka must refer to a Kanarese power. But no invasion of Bengal from the Kanarese country during the reign of Mahipāla I is known and in those days the people of Bengal could not distinguish between Karnaṭas and Tamils. Even in the 19th century the East India Company's Hindustani sepoys were generally known as Telengas.

Prof. Aiyangar has tried to prove that Mahipāla did not meet the Chola general who brought the water of the Ganges and that the *Chandakausikam* was enacted before a Mahipāla who was quite different from Mahipāla I, the son and successor of Vīgrahapāla II of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. His ideas of the chronology and history of North Indian dynasties do not appear to be very up-to-date and I am compelled with great reluctance to quote certain extracts from some extremely unwise statements in his paper:—

1. "What exactly it was that brought about the change of relationship between the Gurjaras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Magadha is not clear unless it be the alliance between the Chandels and Mahipāla."¹ There was a little interlude between the fall of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj and the rise of the six Rājput kingdoms of Northern India. The main actors in it were the Chedi kings Gaṅgeya and his son Karṇa.² When the Cholas appeared on the scene the Chandels had been put temporarily out of action and the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire wiped out of the map of India. There were no Rāṣṭrakūṭas in any part of Northern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.

¹ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. II, p. 341.

² *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 23; *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments*, chap. I, pp. 14-24.

2. "Hence it seems a provable hypothesis that the Karnāṭas of Magadha that figure in the records of the Pāla kings of Bengal are the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory dynasty that settled in Central India and after giving up political subordination to the mother dynasty made for itself a kingdom first in Central India and subsequently in Magadha. It is the ascent to power of Mahīpāla, the Gurjara, that brought them under a political eclipse so effectively that we lose sight of them altogether all through the tenth century. It is this fact that seems to be preserved in the gāthā of the *Chanda-Kuasikam*. There is no need therefore to postulate the Karnāṭaka contingent in Rājendra Chola's army and its being left behind to hold the territory of Magadha in behalf of Rājendra Chola." Prof. Aiyangar has perhaps forgotten the existence of the Cambay plates of Govinda IV². Mahīpāla I, a younger son of Mahendrapāla I, succeeded to the throne by removing his elder brother Bhoja II with the help of the Chandella chief Harṣa. Very shortly afterwards the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death blow to Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy in India. He invaded Mālava, captured Ujain, crossed the Jumna near Kalpi, devastated Kanauj and compelled Mahīpāla I to flee before his general, the Chālukya chief, Narasiṃha to Allahabad.³ Mahīpāla I returned to Kanauj after the retirement of Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. No Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty ever defeated any Karnāṭaka army or chief and therefore it is cruel of Professor Aiyangar to attribute the production of the drama *Chandakausikam* before this unfortunate king.

There was no "older Karnāṭa dynasty of Magadha", it was not possible for Mahīpāla I, the Gurjara-Pratihāra, to have

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 341-42

² *Epi. Ind. Vol. VII*, pp. 26-47.

³ Lewis Rice-*Karnāṭaka Śābdānuśāsana*, p. 26.

defeated any Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Karnāṭaka army. But Mahīpāla I of Bengal did actually suffer from the invasion of a South Indian army and this South Indian army could not capture or plunder the rich capital, Gauḍa; therefore it is extremely probable that the drama *Chandakausikam* by Arya-Kṣemiśvara was enacted before Mahīpāla I of Bengal during the celebrations which followed the prevention of the Chōla army from crossing the Ganges and capturing Gauḍa. I am compelled to remark at this place that Prof. Aiyangar betrays the spirit of a partisan and not that of a critical historian when he seeks to magnify his hero Rājendra Chōla I and tries to make him invulnerable.

Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has tried to discover some more fixed points in Pāla chronology. According to him "The chronology of later Pāla kings may be very approximately determined by the working of the following data :—

(1) The date of Vaidyadeva's grant; *viśuvat saṅkrānti* combined to a *Hari-vāsara*.

(2) The date of Rāmapāla's demise as given in the *Sekasubhodaya*.

(3) The date of Mahīpāla I in his 6th year, Kārtika *badi* 13 was a Tuesday."

At this stage we are concerned with the third item only. This is the date in the colophon of the manuscript of the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* copied by Bhikṣu Kalyāṇamitra-Chintāmaṇi of the Tāḍibāḍi *Vihāra* :—

Samvat 6 Kārtika-Kṛṣṇa-Trayodaśyām Maṅgalavāreṇa.

Mr. Bhattacharya has trotted out three sets of date as its equivalent :—

I. *Purnimānta*—October 21st 979 and September 27th 992.

II. *Amānta*—2nd November 986, 18th November 990 and 14th November 993¹.

III. 2nd November 986, 18th November 990 and 14th November 993².

¹ *Ind. Ant. Vol. XLIX*, 1920, pp. 189-90.

² *Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. III*, p. 584.

In September 1927 Mr. Bhattacharya was of opinion that Mahipāla's accession took place in 988, but seven years ago he was inclined to place that event in 981 A.D., on both occasions without sufficient reason. Having based his ideas on the faulty reading of the date in the colophon of the *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa*, Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has fallen into the error of stating that the date of the accession of Mahipāla I cannot be placed before 981 A.D. But as that date is not 57, his suggestions regarding this part of the Pāla chronology need not be considered seriously.

The date of the death of Mahipāla I can not be brought down beyond 1026 A. D., because the accession of Govindapāla took place in 1161 A.D., and before that date we have to place at least nine princes, out of whom the periods of the reigns of at least five are known to us :—

Nayapāla	...	...	...	15
Vigrahapāla III	...	...	...	13
Mahipāla II	...	...	...	X
Śūrapāla II	X
Rāmapāla	42
Kumārapāla	X
Gopāla III	X
Madanapāla	19
Palapāla	35

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By deducting 124 from 1161 we get 1037 as the latest possible date of the death of Mahipāla I. If we agree with Messrs. R. C. Majumdar and Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya in thinking that Govindapāla's accession took place sometime before 1161¹ then this date will have to be pushed back by a few years. But the date of the death of Mahipāla I cannot be placed either in 1030 or 1037, because, in the first place we have taken into consideration only the known lengths of reigns of certain

¹ Prof. R. C. Majumdar proposes to place this event in 1150-*P. & J. A. S. B. Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 6.*

princes as known from votive inscriptions and are by no means sure that Nayapāla did not reign for more than 15 years or Rāmapāla for more than 42 years; in the second place we have to account for a number of other reigns, very short indeed but the periods of which are totally unknown to us, e.g., Mahipāla II, Śūrapāla II, Kumārapāla and Gopāla III. A period of twelve years is certainly not over much for four unknown lengths of reign and the probable larger duration of the reign of five other Pāla kings. Therefore I consider it impossible to place the death of Mahipāla I after 1026 A.D.

Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has tried to provide us with another fixed point in Pāla chronology. This is the date of the death of Rāmapāla as recorded in a Sanskrit work, the *Sekasubhodayā*. The *Sekasubhodayā* purports to be a narrative connected with the life of a Musalman saint named Shaikh Jalāluddīn Tabrizī, who, according to this work, arrived in Bengal during the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena. The work has been recently published in the *Hṛṣīkeśa Series* edited by Mr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Research Assistant and formerly Lecturer in Comparative Philology, Calcutta University, with a foreword from the able pen of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D. LITT. (London), Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics in the University of Calcutta. This work has a history of its own. According to Dr. Chatterji the work is palpably a literary forgery;—"Although it is a forgery, its date, certainly not later than the 16th century, is sufficiently old for it to retain its importance as a valuable work on early Bengal History and Culture."¹ The date of this work cannot be earlier than the 16th century because the text mentions a Musalman king named Hasan Śāha, evidently a mistake for Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Ḥusain Shāh, the only king of that name who ruled over Bengal.²

I venture to disagree from Dr. Chatterji and think that the work does not contain a single passage which may be taken to

¹ *Sekasubhodayā*, foreword, p. v.

² *Ibid.*, text, 8th chapter p. 43.

be historically accurate. Let us consider the chapter on the death of Rāmapāla and the accession of Vijayasena, entitled "History of Vijayasena, the Grandfather of Lakṣmanasena." In spite of the discovery of the *Rāmacharita*, the publication of the Benares plates of Vaidyadeva¹ and the Manahali plate of Madanapāla² a group of Bengali writers would still persist in trotting out this work as a source of accurate historical information. According to this wonderful work Rāmapāla was the *last* king of the Pāla dynasty and after his death he was succeeded by Vijayasena, a woodcutter. What would a scholar believe? This statement of this work that Vijayasena, the founder of the Sena dynasty, was woodcutter or that of the Naihati³ and Sitahati⁴ plates and the Deopara inscription?⁵ In the same chapter Rāmapāla is said to have stated that he was the fifty-second king of his dynasty and that he was without any sons.⁶ Counting from Gopāla I, Rāmapāla is in the 12th generation and the 14th king of the Pāla dynasty. We know from the *Rāmacharita* that Rāmapāla had a son named Rājyapāla⁷ and from the Manahali plate of Madanapāla that he had at least two other sons named Kumārapāla and Madanapāla,⁸ who succeeded him on the throne. This is the historical value of the work which we are asked to believe to be a mine of correct historical information about Bengal. This chapter, the eleventh, contains a mutilated verse containing the supposed date of the death of Rāmapāla. This verse has been repeatedly doctored by a group of irresponsible writers to obtain a landmark in the history of Bengal. In order to determine the precise historical values of a date contained in a manuscript of a work of the type of the *Sekasubhodayā* we must know its antecedents. It is agreed that this

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 350-53.

² *J. A. S. B. (old series)*, Vol. LXIX, 1900, part I, pp. 68-75.

³ *Epi. Ind.* Vol. XIV, pp. 159-60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 281

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 307-11.

⁶ *Sekasubhodayā*, text, p. 60.

⁷ *Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. III, p. 37, *Ramacharita* II. 7.

⁸ *J. A. S. B. (old series)*, Vol. LXIX, 1900, part I, pp. 70-71.

work is a literary forgery, not earlier in date than the 16th century A. D. There was only one manuscript in existence from which a copy was prepared by the late Pundit Rajanikanta Chakravarti and Babu Haridas Palit, none of whom, I am afraid, would have been able to read the manuscript had it been even as old as the 14th century. No information is available about the nature of the manuscript; whether it was on palm leaf or on paper, whether there was any historical colophon at the end of the manuscript. According to the printed colophon, the work was copied for one Jagannātha Rāya, but the date of copying is not given.¹ In such a work a date is to be found in the form of a chronogram in a mutilated verse about the death of Rāmapāla. In 1912 Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitreya read it as *Śāke Yugma-Veṇu-randhra (?)—gate kanyām gate bhāskare Kṛṣṇe Vākpati-vāsare Yāmatithau yāma-dvaye vāsare Jāhnavyām jalamadyapa stv-anaśanair-dhyātvā padam chakriṇo hā Pāl-ānvaya-mauli-maṇḍanamaniḥ Śrī Rāmapālo mṛitaḥ*.² Mr. Maitreya did not attempt to deduce the date and Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, the author of *Gauḍarājamālā*, has carefully avoided any discussion of this verse in the text of his work. This verse was taken up once more in 1920 by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya when he proposed to read the first *charaṇa* as :—

Śāke yugma-kṛiṣṇu-randhra-ku-mite (?) kanyām gate bhāskare.

On this basis Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya deduced the date to be the Śaka year 1033 and equal to 21st September 1111. Mr. Bhattacharya states “ This fine *Śardūla-vikṛīṭa* stanza occurring in a mass of bad prose and worse Sanskrit has justly been taken by the late Mr. Batavyal to be a genuine record of Rāmapāla’s demise.”³ Seven years later Mr. Bhattacharya proposed to read the first *charaṇa* as *Śāke yugmaka-veda-randhra-ku-gate kanyām gate bhāskare* and makes the date to be Śaka

¹ *Sekatubhodayā*, text, p. 136.

² *Gauḍa-Rājamālā*, Introduction, p. 9.

³ *Ind. Ant. Vol. XLIX, 1920, p. 192.*

1042. According to this new emendation the date of Rāmapāla's death becomes 1020 A. D. The editor of the *Sekasubhodayā* reads the first *charaṇa* as *Śake yugma-veṇu-randhra-gate kaṇyāṁ gate bhāskare* and states in a footnote that there are two syllables less in this *charaṇa*. Curiously enough the editor has printed the numerals 922 at the end of the entire verse. Evidently this is the numerical equivalent of the date in the chronogram which places the death of Rāmapāla in the Śaka year 922=1000 A.D., i.e., in the life time of Mahīpāla I! In consideration of the fact that two syllables are missing in the first *charaṇa* the date in this verse cannot be taken to be valid and accurate according to critical methods of historical analysis. In the hands of unscrupulous scholars any date may be turned out from emendations. Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has once more threatened us in 1927 with the name of Mr. Batavyal in order to prove that the *Sekasubhodayā* is a genuine historical record. We do not know what experience the late Mr. Umesh Chandra Batavyal had of manuscript work. He is known to us for the decipherment of the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla only. In these days the work of a Hara Prasad Śāstri may count in the field of manuscript palaeography but few people are likely to place their faith in the statements of others.

In another way the date in the verse of the *Sekasubhodayā* can be proved to be a clumsy forgery. If Rāmapāla died in 1120 then the date of the accession of Govindapāla must be placed long after 1161. There are the reigns of Kumārapāla, Gopāla III, Madanapāla and Palapāla to be placed between it and Govindapāla. The known dates of Madanapāla and Palapāla alone amount to 54 years and therefore the accession of Govindapāla can not be placed before 1174; but according to Messrs. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya Govindapāla's accession took place even before 1161. Therefore the emendations proposed by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya are absurd. On the same ground his first emendation of the date, Śaka year 1033=1111 A.D.—

is also impossible. The futility of such emendations would have been apparent to Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya if he had ever attempted to deal with the original materials of Ancient Indian History and Chronology.

In another way Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has attempted to bring down the date of Rāmapāla as much as possible. The great Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra of Kanauj (1114-54) married Kumāradevī, a daughter's daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Mathana or Mahana, who was the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. According to the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī she was the daughter of a king of Piṭhi or the Gayā district named Devarakṣita, who had married Śaṅkaradevī, the daughter of Mathana or Mahana, the maternal uncle of the Rāmapāla of Gauḍa.¹ We learn from the *Rāmacharita* that Mahana, his sons Kāhṇuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, and his nephew Śivarājadeva, were the principal agents in the restoration of Rāmapāla. In this connection the commentary of the *Rāmacharita* mentions certain interesting facts concerning Mathana and Devarakṣita. The commentary on verse 8 of Chapter II informs us that Devarakṣita, king of Piṭhi, was humbled by Mathana, also that Mathana defeated a king of Magadha and Piṭhi from the back of his war-elephant Vindhyamāṇikya.² The commentary on verse 5 of the same chapter informs us that at the time of the restoration of Rāmapāla a chief named Bhīmayaśas was the master of Magadha and Piṭhi.³ The position of Piṭhi has been decided by the discovery of the Janibigha inscription of the year 83 of the era of Lakṣmaṇasena.⁴ But the general ignorance on the subject is such that Rai Bahadur Pundit Dayaram Sahni, Deputy Director General of Archæology in India, still continues to identify Piṭhi with Pittapuram because Dr. Sten Konow proposed that identification

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 323-27.

² *Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. III, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴ *Ante.* Vol. IV., pp. 266-71.

in 1909.¹ We learn from the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī that her mother's father Mathana was the chief of Aṅga (verse 7).² From these facts Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya proposes to deduce the following conclusions :—

1. That Devarakṣita, the father of Kumāradevī, was dead at the time of the restoration of Rāmapāla because Bhīmayaśas was then the chief of Magadha and Piṭhi.

2. Therefore it follows that Kumāradevī must have been born before the campaign for the restoration of Rāmapāla, which he supposes to have taken place not later than the second decade of Rāmapāla's reign.

3. With *Circa* 1110 A. D., as the date of Rāmapāla's death Kumāradevī becomes almost too old for Govindachandra.³

4. At any rate, the successor of Devarakṣita cannot be reasonably supposed to have been active before the time of the grandfather of Devarakṣita's son-in-law.⁴

All of these assumptions are faulty. Let us begin with the Gāhaḍavālas. Govindachandra had a long reign of at least forty years, 1114-54 A. D. But he was active for at least ten years during his father Madanachandra's reign. Therefore, we find him mentioned as *Mahārājaputra* and issuing a grant of land as early as 1104.⁵ Among Rajputs the marriageable age of girls vary and it is not unusual to see a bride of thirty married to a young man of twenty or fifteen. We must not apply our own conservative Bengali ideas of marriage to Rajput marriages. In the second place we do not know who Bhīmayaśas was. He may have been a Chhikkora, but it is also possible that he was an agent employed by Mathana or any of the predecessors of Rāmapāla to protect the line of the Sone against Gāhaḍavāla aggression. We know that the modern district of Shahabad or Arrah belonged to the Gāhaḍavālas in the time of Govindachandra's son and successor Vijayachandra. Possibly Devarakṣita

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IX. p. 322.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 326.

³ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 581.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 582.

⁵ *Epi. Ind.* Vol. V, App. no. 77.

was ousted from Magadha and Piṭhi on account of pro-Gāhaḍavāla propensities. In any case we have no reason to suppose that Bhīmayaśas was any relation of or amicable in feeling towards Devarakṣita. In the third place, we have no reason to suppose that Devarakṣita was dead at the time of the campaign for the restoration of Rāmapāla. The commentary on the Rāmācharita is explicit on this point. Mathana humbled the pride of Devarakṣita (*gālita-garvva*). The same verse says that Mathana defeated the Lord of Piṭhi and Magadha (*nirduduhe*).¹ There is no mention anywhere of the death of Devarakṣita at the hands of Mathana or Bhīmayaśas. Devarakṣita may have been kept in prison by Mathana and Kumāradevī may have been born long after the accession of Rāmapāla. In the fourth place there is no reason to suppose that the campaign for the restoration of Rāmapāla took place in the middle of his reign. The mention of Sūrapāla II proves that after the defeat and death of Mahipāla II, Sūrapāla II was regarded as *de jure* sovereign of the Pāla dominions, just as the infant Dauphin was styled Louis XVII after the execution of king Louis XVI of France. We do not know how and when Sūrapāla II died and when Rāmapāla's reign began. In any case it would be wrong to suppose that Rāmapāla did not invade Varendra till the second decade of his reign. His reign may have been counted from the date of the demise of Sūrapāla II but there are sufficient indications in the Rāmācharita to prove that the campaign for his restoration took place within five or six years of his accession. In the fifth place it is not necessary to suppose that the marriage of Govindachandra took place before the war for the restoration of Rāmapāla as Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya seems to suppose. The war of restoration and the campaign in Varendra must have taken place in the first decade of the reign of Rāmapāla and Kumāradevī's marriage with Govindachandra some time or long after that event. Govindachandra was a fairly active young man before the end of the 11th century A. D., and must have taken

¹Rāmācharita, II, 8.

an active part in the campaigns of his grandfather Chandradeva. The way in which he issued land grants from 1104, in his father's life time, shows that he was the *de facto* king from 1104 till his death in the 6th decade of the 12th century. We may, therefore, safely differ from Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya's assumptions in thinking that :—

1. The campaign for the restoration of Rāmapāla must have taken place in the first decade of his reign.

2. It is unnecessary to assume that Kumāradevī was born before that campaign because there is no proof of the death of her father at the hands of Mathana or Bhimayaśas before that campaign.

3. Therefore it is absolutely unnecessary to assume that Rāmapāla died either in 1111 or 1120 A.D.

As we do not know whether Bhimayaśas belonged to the Chhikkora family or not it is totally unnecessary to predicate that the "The successor of Devarakṣita cannot be reasonably supposed to have been active before the time of the grandfather of Devarakṣita's son-in-law". Bhimayaśas may have been of the same age as Chandradeva and Devarakṣita.

Among Rāmapāla's successors the only noticeable figures are those of his younger sons Kumārapāla and Madanapāla. Kumārapāla is not known to us from any inscriptions of his time but he is mentioned in :—

1. The Benares plates of his general Vaidyadeva, later on king of Kāmarūpa.

2. The Manahali plates of his younger brother Madanapāla and

3. The *Rāmacharita*.

Among these the first has been interpreted differently in recent times by Professor R. C. Majumdar of the Dacca University. I have not seen a more glaring instance of an irresponsible statement in the pages of the journal of a respectable Oriental Society. Dr. Majumdar says "It is quite clear from the wordings of the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva that Kumārapāla was the reigning king when that document was drawn up.

The year 4, the date of the document might therefore refer to the reign of Kumārapāla or that of Vaidyadeva in Kāmarupa".¹ I shall simply quote a passage from the Kamauli plates :—

(47) *Svasti Haṁsakoñchi-samāvāsita-sri-maj-jayaskundhāvā-rāta Paramamāheśvaraḥ Paramavaiṣṇavaḥ Mahārājādhi-*

(48) *rājah Paramēśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭārakah Śri-man Vaidyadevaḥ kusalā.*

I leave epigraphists to judge whether Vaidyadeva was in any way subordinate to Kumārapāla or any other king when this grant was issued and whether the date of this grant; the regnal year four, can, even by the longest stretch of imagination, be taken to be the regnal year of any other king. I am sorry to find that such remarks are tolerated by editors of journals of learned societies now-a-days.

With his usual ingenuity Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya has angled for another fixed date in Pāla chronology. Having killed Rāmapāla in 1120 according to the verdict of the *Sekasubhodayā* he finds that the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva was issued in 1138 A. D. But as there is no clear date in the eleventh chapter of the *Sekasubhodayā* and as that work is utterly unreliable it is absolutely unnecessary, nay impossible, to place the year 4 of Vaidyadeva after the first decade of 12th century because :—

1. The Kamauli grant lauds Kumārapāla but does not refer to Gopāla III or Madanapāla. Therefore the accession of Vaidyadeva must have taken place immediately before or after the murder of Gopāla III.

2. According to the calculations of late Professor Arthur Venis the date in the Kamauli grant was equal to 1077, 1096, 1115, 1123, 1134, 1142 and 1161.² Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya provides us with some more, "Between 1100 and 1150 A. D., there are seven dates roughly combining *Viśuvat* with *Harivāsara* 1104, 15, 19, 23, 34, 38 and 42."³

¹. P. & J. A. S. B. Vol. XVII 1921, p. 3, note 2.

². *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 349.

³. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 581.

Any of these dates may be taken to be the equivalent of the regnal 4 of Vaidyadeva.

3. The date of the Kamauli grant, even when fixed, can give us only an approximate idea of the date of Kumārapāla's death because some time must have elapsed after that event and the assumption of independence by the Brāhmaṇa minister and general, in Assam.

It is now certain that neither the date in the colophon of the manuscript of the *Asṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* copied in the 6th year of the reign of Mahipāla I nor the date of the grant of Vaidyadeva can help us materially in determining the date of the successors of Mahipāla I and that the date of the death of Rāmapāla as given in the *Sekasubhodayā* is absolutely unreliable. Until fresh material is available we must rely on the fixed points known to us and the known lengths of reign for the determination of the chronology of the later Pālas.

Madanapāla, one of the younger sons of Rāmapāla, ascended the throne after deposing or murdering his infant nephew Gopāla III. Madanapāla was in possession of Uddanāpura or Bihar in the Patna district in the 3rd year of his reign¹. He was in possession of a portion at least of the *Bhukti* of Paundravardhana in the 8th year of his reign when he granted the village of Kāṣṭhagiri situated in the district of Koṭivarṣa² to a Brāhmaṇa. The district or *viṣaya* of Koṭivarṣa is known to us from the time of the emperor Kumāragupta I³ and was situated in the southern part of the modern district of Dinajpur and the north-western part of Rajshahi. In the 19th year of his reign Madanapāla was in possession of Champā or Aṅga and an inscription of that year has been discovered at Jaynagar near Lakhisarai in the Munger district of Bihar and Orissa⁴. I have

¹ Cunningham—*Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. III, p. 124, no. 16.*

² *J. A. S. B. (old series), Vol. LXIX, 1900, part I, pp. 68-75.*

³ *Epi. Ind., Vol XV, p. 130.*

⁴ Cunningham—*Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. III, p. 125, no. 17 ; pl. XLI.*

been accused of ante-dating Madanapāla's accession by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya; "The pet theory of Mr. Bannarjee that the Lakṣmaṇa era starts from king Lakṣmaṇa's accession, has been mainly responsible for the trend among recent scholars to seek for the date of Madanapāla's accession to the throne in the first quarter of the 12th century A.D., at the latest.¹"

Professor Ramesh Chandra Majumdar also agrees with Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya and places the accession of Madanapāla in 1130 A.D.² Mr. Bhattacharya is now inclined to place the accession of Madanapāla in 1134. Both Prof. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya are wrong and their attempts to place the date of the accession of Madanapāla in the second quarter of the 12th century, A.D., is due to their ignorance of the original materials for the reconstruction of Pāla chronology. The date proposed by me for the accession of Madanapāla has no connection with that of Lakṣmaṇasena or the initial year of the era of Lakṣmaṇasena. If Messrs. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya had taken the trouble of going through the printed pages of Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports to find out what original material there was for the reconstruction of Pāla chronology then they would not have committed the blunder of placing Madanapāla's accession in the second quarter of the 12th century. It is not possible for this class of writers to use fresh materials for their research work. The Jaynagar inscription of Palapāla was not known to them simply because recent writers on Pāla history like Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstri and others had not mentioned it. The discovery of this inscribed image dedicated in the 35th year of the reign of Palapāla in the Victoria and Albert Museum by Doctor L. D. Barnett of the British Museum

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol III, p. 581.

² P. & J. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 6; Mr. Bhattacharya placed Madanapāla's accession in 115 A.D. eight years ago, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIX, 1920, p. 193.

now enables me to include the name of that king in Pāla chronology; but its existence was known to me and I could read only the affix *pāla* and the date 35, from Cunningham's eye copy. As I could not read the name fully so I could not utilise the name and the date either in my monograph on the Pālas of Bengal, my History of Bengal, Volume I, first edition published in B. S. 1321 (1914 A.D.) and the second edition published in B. S. 1330 (1924 A.D.) but I felt sure that there was a long gap between Madanapāla and Govindapāla. As Palapāla was a *Gauḍesvara* and as his name ends with the affix *pāla* therefore he must be included in any scheme of Pāla chronology. Because we possess two dates of Govindapāla, V. S. 1232 and 1235-1175 and 1178 A.D., and a series of dates in regnal years up to the 39th year and because it is not possible to antedate the accession of Govindapāla beyond 1161 therefore it is not possible to place Palapāla after Govindapāla. Therefore it is not possible to place the date of the accession of Madanapāla in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century. Madanapāla reigned for at least 19 years and Palapāla for 35 years before the accession of Govindapāla in 1161, therefore the accession of Madanapāla must be placed sometime before 1107 A.D. With the accession of Govindapāla we have reached our last fixed point and a tentative scheme of chronology can now be proposed for the later Pālas :—

Mahipāla I	48 years	52 years	<i>circa</i> 974-1026.
Nayapāla	15 „	15 „	„ 1026-41.
Vigrahapāla III	13 „	13 „	„ 1041-54.
Mahipāla II	X „	2 „	„ 1054-56.
Śūrapāla II	X „	1 „	„ 1056-57.
Ramapāla	42 „	45 „	„ 1057-1102.
Kumarapāla	X „	1 „	„ 1102-03.
Gopala III	X „	1 „	„ 1103-04.
Madanapāla	19 „	22 „	„ 1104-26.
Palapāla ...	35 „	35 „	„ 1126-61.
Govindapāla	38 „	38 „	„ 1161-99.

My treatment of the data available for the reconstruction of

the history of the reign of Govindapāla has evoked a good deal of criticism during the last seventeen years and therefore this point requires detailed analysis. Govindapāla, who cannot be connected with the dynasty founded by Gopāla I, is known from two inscriptions and a number of manuscripts. One of these stone inscriptions, the Gadadhar temple inscription of Gaya was published by me in my monograph on the Pālas of Bengal but the second inscription, that of V. S. 1235¹ could not be found in 1910 and does not appear to have been discovered since. None of the recent writers on Pāla and Sena chronology, such as Prof. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar or Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, have considered it necessary to look for this important inscription, though it was prominently mentioned by the late Dr. V. A. Smith as late as 1909.²

Govindapāla is known to us from two stone inscriptions and a number of colophons of ancient manuscripts. The stone inscriptions are dated V. S. 1232 and 1235; but the manuscript colophons are dated in regnal years only and one of them proves beyond doubt that Govindapāla reigned for at least four years. In a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, now preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, it is stated clearly that it was copied in the fourth year of the reign of the *Paramesvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Paramasaugata-Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Govindapāla and the form of dating is the same as that to be found in the colophons of all manuscripts dated in regnal years of Pāla kings from Gopāla to Rāmapāla : *viṇaya-rāje samvatsare*³.

Next in order comes the date in the Gayā inscription of V. S. 1232, which goes on to state after giving the date in the Vikrama era that it was *Śrī-Govindapāladēva-gata-rāje chaturdāsa-samvatsare*. This means clearly that the rule of Govindapāla was a thing of the past, in V. S. 1232=1175 A.D. which coincided with the 14th year of his reign, i.e. from his accession

¹ Cunningham *Archæological Survey Report*, Vol. XF, p. 155.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVIII, 1909, p. 242.

³ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, Vol. VIII, p. 3.

or coronation. The third date of Govindapāla is to be found in another manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the colophon of this manuscript it is stated that it was written in *Śrī-mad-Govindapāladevasy-atīta-samvatsa* 18 *Kartika* dīne 15. The manuscript was copied at Chaṅgaḍapāṭaka, wherever that may be, at the expense of one Kṣāntirakṣita, an inhabitant of Khānodakīya Yaśārāpura. This manuscript was copied eighteen years after the accession of Govindapāla when his rule was a thing of the past. In a manuscript of the lexicon *Amara-koṣa* preserved at the same place it is stated that *Liṅga saṃgraha* was completed in *Paramabhaṭṭārak-etyādī-rājāvalī pūrvavat Śrī-mad-Govindapāliya samvat* 24 *Chaitra Śudi* 8. The scribe does not say that in that year the reign of Govindapāla was at an end. He simply refuses to write the imperial titles at full length, which may mean that the King's reign was over at that place also. The next date proves that the reign of Govindapāla was not over at all in his 37th year. A manuscript of the *Guhyāvalī-vivṛti* by Ghanadeva, now preserved in the collection of the Cambridge University was copied by a scribe named Gayākara in the 37th year of the reign of Govindapāla; *Govindapāladevānām sam* 37 *Śrāma(va)ṇa* dīne 11. There is no indication in the manner of dating which would enable us to assume that the reign of Govindapāla was over in the year 37 counted from his accession or coronation at the place where Gayākara copied these manuscripts. This date in the colophon of the *Guhyāvalī-vivṛti* proves that though in the Gayā inscription of V. S. of 1232 and in the manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and *Amara-koṣa* it is stated clearly that the reign of Govindapāla was over in the years 14, 18 and 24, it was not over in the year 37. The reign of a king, is stated to be over in the 14th, 18th and 24th years and found to be continuing in the 37th year, can only mean that this reign though over at certain places was not so at other places. Govindapāla's reign was certainly over at Gayā in the fourteenth year of his reign

and at Caṅgaḍa-pāṭaka or Yaśarāpura in the eighteenth year, but it continued at other places. I have proved above that the date of the accession of Govindapāla cannot be placed earlier than 1161 A.D. Therefore the fourteenth year of the Gayā inscription must be taken to be equal to V. S. 1232-1175 A.D., unless one is prepared to believe that Rāmapāla died long before the end of the twelfth century and Mahipāla I before 1026. The manuscript of the *Guhyāvalī vinṛti* proves that Govindapāla continued to rule over some part of Magadha or Gauḍa till the thirty-seventh year of his reign, i.e. 1198 A.D. Three ancient Buddhist manuscripts copied by the scribe Gayākara, are preserved in the Cambridge University and the *Guhyāvalī vinṛti* of Ghanadeva is the first of these three. In the colophon of the second manuscript, copied by the same *Kāyastha* Gayākara, the date of the copying is given as follows :—

Parameṣvarety-ādi rājāvalī pūrvvarat Śrī-mad-Govinda-pāladevānāṃ vinaṣṭa-rājye aṣṭatrinṣat-samvatsare abhikṣhya-māne Jyaisṭha-kṛṣṇ-āṣṭamyāṃ tithau yatra-saṃ 38 Jyaisṭha dine 8.

Now what are the reasons which led Gayākara to refuse to write the Imperial titles at full length and to use the significant term *vinaṣṭa* instead of *gata* and *atīta* to indicate that the reign of Govindapāla was over? The scribe has mentioned the name of that unfortunate monarch simply because he was the last Buddhist king of the country. The form of these two dates indicate distinctly that the reign of Govindapāla was not over in the locality in which Gayākara plied his trade in the year thirty-seven but it came to a violent end in the very next year, the year thirty-eight, i.e. in 1199 A.D. No other scribe in no other manuscript employs the distinctly forceful term *vinaṣṭa*. In the next year, the same scribe, Gayākara, copied another Buddhist manuscript. It is a copy of the *Yoga-ratna-mālā* by Kāhṇa or Kṛṣṇāchārya, now preserved in the collection of the University of Cambridge. In this case also the scribe refuses to write out the long titles and simply says *rājāvalī pūrvvarat*

but he does not use any word like *atita* or *vinasta*. It was a case of sheer hopelessness. There was no chance of any other Buddhist king coming to rule over the same area. The Buddhist monk or the Buddhist scribe waited total extermination every moment at the hands of the fanatical Musalman and therefore there was no other way of expressing a date in a regnal year of a Buddhist King except to mention the last Buddhist King, who had ceased to reign. It is impossible to understand the mentality of writers like Professor R. C. Mazumdar and Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya when they state that Govindapāla had ceased to reign in 1161 A.D. and that the date of his accession is earlier. There is no evidence anywhere else in India which would prove that a regnal year was counted after the death or dethronement of a king or the extermination of a dynasty, except in the case of Govindapāla.

To sum up, Govindapāla ascended the throne in 1161 A.D., he was ruling over eastern Magadha or Nālandā in 1165, but Gayā was in the occupation of some other power in 1175 and a Brāhmaṇa, who was indebted to the Pāla dynasty in some way, cited his name and mentioned his regnal year in that year instead of those of the ruling sovereign. In the case of scribes the case is slightly different. Buddhist scribes quoted the name and regnal years of Govindapāla, though they knew perfectly well that Govindapāla's reign was over in that area at that time. Therefore Govindapāla's name is mentioned with the word *atita* in the case of the manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* copied at Caṅgaḍa-pāṭaka or Khānodakiya-Yasārāpura in the 18th year of that king's reign and his titles are omitted in the manuscript of the *Amarakoṣa*, without the use of any such word as *gata*, *atita* or *vinasta*, copied in the 24th year. In the case of the three manuscripts copied by the scribe, Gayākara, we have definite evidence of the fact that Govindapāla was alive and ruling in the year 37, i.e. 1198 A.D., that his reign came to a violent end in the 38th year i.e., 1199, and that finally in the 39th year the scribe Gayākara saw no chance of any Buddhist king coming to rule over the same

locality and therefore used the name of Govindapāla, because he had no other means of dating a manuscript in regnal years of a Buddhist king, in 1200 A.D.

We have now to return to our principal theme. It is not necessary to discuss the opinion of Professor S. K. Aiyangar on the dates of Gopāla I and Dharmapāla, because he still thinks that the anarchy in Bengal took place in the period following 777 A.D. The same learned gentleman is inclined to place the accession of Dharmapāla in 795 A.D.¹ Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya was much nearer the mark when he placed the death of that monarch in 800 A.D. Tentatively the accession of Gopāla I may be placed in 730 A.D.

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|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Gopāla I | <i>Circa</i> 730—69 | 10. Nayapāla | <i>circa</i> 1026—41 |
| 2. Dharmapāla | „ 769—809 | 11. Vighrahapāla III | „ 1041—54 |
| 3. Devapāla | „ 809—49 | 12. Mahipāla II | „ 1054—56 |
| 4. Śūrapāla I | „ 849—52 | 13. Śūrapāla II | „ 1056—7 |
| 5. Nārāyānapāla | „ 852—907 | 14. Rāmapāla | „ 1057—1102 |
| 6. Rājyapāla | „ 907—31 | 15. Kamārapāla | „ 1102—3 |
| 7. Gopāla II | „ 931—48 | 16. Gopāla III | „ 1103—4 |
| 8. Vighrahapāla II | „ 948—74 | 17. Madanapāla | „ 1104—26 |
| 9. Mahipāla I | „ 974—1026 | 18. Palapāla | „ 1126—61 |
| | 19. Govindapāla | „ 1161—99 | |

I have not considered it necessary to discuss the evidence of Tibetan Historians regarding Pāla chronology because it has not been proved as yet that such evidence is not undiluted with fanciful names and events though greater importance is attached to it by writers like Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya and certain others.

¹ *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society New Series*
Vol. III, pp. 124-25.

can be understood by the proper study of the title of Tri-kalingādhīpati found mentioned in some inscriptions.

Before the study of the title is taken up, it is necessary to consider the significance of Modogalingam, which was thought to be the Dravidian equivalent of Trikalīṅga.

Pliny mentions Modogalingæ as a tribe living on an island at the mouth of the Ganges. In a note under the Brachmanæ, McCrindle says, in his Megasthenes's Indica, 'this tribe (Maccocalingæ) as well as the Gangarides-Calingæ and the Modogalingæ afterwards mentioned, are subdivisions of the Calingæ, a widely diffused race.' It cannot be conceived how Modogalinga, the name of a tribe of the widely diffused race of Kalinga, could be applied to a vast country divided into three Kingdoms of which Kalinga was one. How could a part include the whole? It is argued that Modo is a form of the Telugu word Mūdu (three) and galinga is the change that Calinga undergoes when it combines with 'mūlu.' In the first place it is not known if Telugu, even as a spoken dialect, existed in the days of Megasthenes and Pliny; even if it had existed, how can it be asserted that it was spoken near the mouth of the Ganges? In Telugu, when 'mūdu' combines with Kalinga, *mukkalinga* is formed but not *mūdu-galinga*. Therefore Modo-galinga cannot be split into *modo* and *galinga*.

In Kui and its allied dialects 'nga' is a plural termination added on to singular nouns ending in 'li, ta, &c.' It is also customary to name the tribes, grains, and pairs of things in plural. Because 'modogalinga' is the name of a tribe, the final 'nga' is added. If it is removed the word becomes 'modogali.' In the district of Vizagapatam in which many Khonds, as the Kuīs are called in the district, inhabit, there are many places, the names of which show their Kui origin. One of such places is Modugula, the chief seat of zamindar. The name appears to be a modified form of Modogali. What it signifies cannot be said now, but it suggests that it had its name from that Kui tribe who were called the *Modogalinga*, just as Maikal had its name from the tribe Maccocalinga and Kalinga got its name

from the tribe Calinga. I have discussed the origin and derivation of Trilinga and Kulinga (Kalinga) in the Indian Antiquary of 1926.

These two names have Dravidian origin and so are the names of the sub-sects also. Though Telugu is one of the Dravidian languages, *modogalinga* cannot be derived from that language. It has nearer affinities to the dialects of the Kuis and the allied tribes; and it cannot be understood to mean three Kalingas.

Now we shall take up the name Trikalinga. Mr. Binayak Misra said that Vajrahasta of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga conquered Orissa and assumed the title of 'Tri-kalingādhīpati.' Thus arguing he concludes that Trikalinga included Kalinga proper, Kōṅgoda and Orissa. When it is stated that he became Trikalingādhīpati after he had conquered Orissa, it is implied that Kōṅgoda had been subdued before he turned his arms against Orissa. Consequently he must have been Dvikalingādhīpati by conquering Kōṅgoda. No inscription of the Gaṅga Kings still discovered tells us about this; nor are we informed any where of the conquest of Kōṅgoda by the Gaṅga Sovereigns. The title of Tri-kalingādhīpati seems to have been assumed suddenly by Vajrahasta of the Gaṅga family. Again, Anantavarma Chodagaṅga, the grandson of this Vajrahasta had this title only till a particular year and lost it afterwards though he did not lose his sovereignty over Kalinga proper, Kōṅgoda and Orissa. None of his successors on the throne had this title ever afterwards. Had Trikalinga been really understood to comprise the three kingdoms mentioned by Mr. Misra, it is not understood why Chodagaṅga and his successors had given up the title which must have been naturally attached to the region.

This title of Trikalingādhīpati is also found in the eulogies of the kings of the Kaṭachuri-Chedi dynasty. It is also found in the charters of the Somavamsi kings of Katak. A list of the kings and their charters with dates in which this title is mentioned is hereunder given to show how the title had passed from one dynasty to another and how it was attached to the particular region which was a bone of contention between the

Gaṅga kings on the east and of the Kaṭachuri-Chedi rulers on the west.

(i) The Benares Plates of Karmadeva (Ep. Ind. Vol. ii) dated in Kaṭachuri year 793 (= A.D. 1040) mention the title of Trikaṭiṅgādhpati.

(ii) Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV) dated in Śaka year 979 (= A.D. 1057) say that the king was crowned in Ś. S. 960 (= A.D. 1038) and show that the king had the title of Trikaṭiṅgādhpati at the time when the grant was made.

(iii) Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX) dated in Śaka year 984 (= A.D. 1062) mention this title.

(iv) Narasapatam plates of the same king (Ep. Ind. Vol. XI) dated in Ś. S. 967 (= A.D. 1045) is the earliest document of the king to mention the title of Trikaṭiṅgādhpati.

(v) Chikkāli plates of the same king (Telugu Jour. Bhārati, Vol. II, part 2) dated Ś. S. 982 (A.D. 1060). The king is said to be Trikaṭiṅgādhpati.

(vi) Boddapādu plates of the same king (Telugu Jour. Bhārati, Vol. III, part 5) dated Ś. S. 982 (= 1060). The king bears the title of Trikaṭiṅgādhpati.

(vii) Vizagapatam plates Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, dated Ś. S. 1003 (= A.D. 1081), (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII) Trikaṭiṅgādhpati seems to have been a title of the king.

(viii) Vizagapatam plates of the same king (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII) dated Ś. S. 1040 (= A.D. 1118) show that the king was Trikaṭiṅgādhpati.

(ix) Vizagapatam plates of the same king (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII) dated Ś. S. 1057 (= A.D. 1135). The king had this title.

(x) Korni plates of the same king (Telugu Journ. Bhārati, Vol. II, part II) dated Ś. S. 1034 (= A.D. 1112) show that the king bore this title.

Inscriptions in the Mukhalīṅgesvara Temple (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V.)

(xi) No. 1025, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga is mentioned with the title of Trikaṭiṅgādhpati. The date of the inscription is Ś. S. 1033. But in the inscription no. 109 this particular title is not given though the other titles are given.

The two inscriptions say that the gift was made in the same regnal year of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva.

(xii) No. 1095 dated in the 45th regnal year does not mention this title.

(xiii) No. 1347, dated in the 19th regnal year mentions the title. This inscription proclaims the gift made by Lakṣmīdevī, the second wife of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva.

(xiv) No. 1348, dated in Ś. S. 1015, the 19th regnal year of the king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva gives the title of Trikaṇḍādhīpati. This also proclaims the gift made by Lakṣmīdevī, the second queen of the king.

*Inscriptions in the temple of Drākṣhārāmam (Godavari District),
(South Indian Inscriptions, vol. iv.)*

(xv) No. 1191, dated Ś. S. 1050 announces a gift by Rājaladevī, a queen of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva but does not give Trikaṇḍādhīpati amongst the other titles of the donor's husband.

(xvi) No. 1192 of the same date is a gift by Padmaladevī, a queen of the Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva; but does not mention the title of Trikaṇḍādhīpati.

(xvii) No. 1194, dated in Ś. S. 1050 announces a gift by Jayāṅkoṇḍa Choḍiyam, the Paṭṭamahādevī, the Kalinga-mahādevī of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, the title of Trikaṇḍādhīpati is not mentioned.

(xviii) No. 1195, dated in the same year is a gift of Śrīya devī, a queen of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva; the title of Trikaṇḍādhīpati is not given.

(xix) No. 1196, dated in the same year is a gift by Līladevī, a queen of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva; the title is not mentioned.

(xx) No. 1197, dated in the same year is a gift by the mother of the queen mentioned in no. 1196.

(xxi) No. 1198, dated in the same year is a gift by Kalyāṇa devī, a queen of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva. The title is not mentioned.

(xxii) No. 1198, dated in Śaka Samvat 1071 is a gift by a son of Dennava Mahādevī, the second queen of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, the title of Trikaṅgaadhipati is not given.

From the above inscriptions it appears that the title was lost to the Kalinga king, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva from the Śaka year 1057 (=A.D. 1135).

The following inscriptions of the kings of kingdoms other than Kalinga prove that the title had gone to another dynasty.

(i) Kharod inscription dated Chedi Samvat 933 (=A.D. 1180) of the time of Ratnadēva III of Ratnapura (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII). The king is mentioned with the title of Trikaṅgaadhipati.

In the family of the Haihayas, Kalinga; his son Kamala; his son Ratnarāja [I]; his son Prthivīdeva [I]; his son Jājalla [I] (defeated Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura); his son Ratnadēva [II] defeated Choḍagaṅga of Kalinga; his son Prthivīdeva [II]; his son Jājalla [II] married Somaladevi; their son Ratnadeva [III].

(ii) Lalpahād rock inscription dated Kaṭachuri year 909 (=A.D. 1156) says that the Kaṭachuri King, Narasimhadeva was the lord of Trikaṅga

(iii) Rewah plates dated in Kaṭachuri year 926 (=A.D. 1175) of the Mahārāṇaka Kirtivarṇa of Kakkareḍika mentions that the Kaṭachuri Mahārājādhirāja Jayasimhadeva was the lord of Trikaṅga (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI).

From these it is evident that the overlordship of Trikaṅga was enjoyed by the Kaṭachuri King Karnaḍadeva; in A.D. 1042 Anantavarman Vajrahastadeva of Kalinga wrested it from him. This he was able to do, taking advantage of the weakened strength of the Kaṭachuri King consequent on his feuds with the Chandels on one side and the Chālukyan King Somēśvara on the other. In the family of Anantavarman Vajrahasta, the title was retained till about A.D. 1135, when the Chedi King, Ratnadeva II defeated Choḍagaṅgadeva of Kalinga and took back the title into his family again. From the following inscriptions it can be seen that the title remained in the family of the Chedi Kings till A.D. 1239.

(iv) Rewah plates of Mahārānaka Kumārapāladeva of Kakarēdi of the reign of [Chandela] Mahārājādhirāja Trilokyavarmadeva, dated in Vikrama year 1297 (=A.D. 1239). Trilokyavarmadeva had Trikalīngādhīpati amongst his titles.

(v) Rewah plates of Mahārānaka Salakhanavarmadeva of Kakarēdi of the reign of the Kaḷachurī Mahārājādhirāja Vijayadēva, dated in Vallabhi year 1253 (=A.D. 1195). Trikalīngādhīpati was one of the titles of Mahārājādhirāja.

It is not known what has become of this title after A.D. 1239. Records have not yet been discovered to furnish this information. But there are the undated inscriptions of the Somavamsī Kings of Katak which also mention this Trikalīngādhīpati amongst the titles of these kings. Dr. Fleet assigns the period between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1100 to these kings (Ep. Ind. Vol. iii) ; but Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, on the same considerations as were taken by the learned doctor, shifts them to a century earlier. " Since the characters of the Sirpur inscriptions are believed to belong to about the 9th century, it would appear that Dr. Fleet would place an interval of a little more than 100 years to account for the palæographic difficulties." (Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, page 184ff.) These kings were the rulers of Kosāla and overlords of Trikalīnga. It may be from them that the Kaḷachurī King Karnaḍadeva had taken the territory and the title of Trikalīngādhīpati attached to that territory. In this way the title seems to have changed hands and with it the territory to which it is attached. At first it was in the family of the Somavamsī Kings of Katak but passed on to the Kaḷachurī family of Tewar, when it grew stronger. During the days of the imbecility of Tewar dynasty, the Gaṅgas of Kālīnga wrested it from them and retained it till the Ratnapur Chedis took it by force. As it appertains to a territory, that territory must be abutting on the Kosāla kingdom on the west and the Kālīnga kingdom on the east.

General Cunningham identified Mahākōsala with Nagpur and Berar and the Kālīnga Kingdom lay to the east of the Mahendra hills in the district of Ganjam of the Madras Presidency. Between these two lies the tract of land now comprising the Chhatisgarh districts of the Central Provinces, and hill states of

Orissa. It appears natural that this tract of land should be a bone of contention between the Chedis of Central India and the Kalingas of the east coast. That the Kings of Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga were aggressive even from the moment of their rise, that they strove until they got hold of the Mahendra mountain and that afterwards they carried their sway north of the Mahendra and ruled the region as far as the Rushikulya river under the name of Śvētaka, were proved by me in the Historical Geography of Kalinga in the Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XIV, no. 4. When the Gaṅgas occupied the region then called Śvētaka, now occupied by Chikali, Vizianagram Kimidi and Bodokimidi and other smaller states, they naturally came in touch with the territory which had the title of Trikalīṅgādhipati attached to it. We read in some of the grants of the vassals of the Gaṅga sovereigns that they had terrified the people living to the west of the Mahendra mountains by the sound of their war drums and also of their arrows. It may be inferred from this that the Gaṅga kings were always given trouble by the people of this region and therefore it was necessary for them to subdue these people. And they could do it only in the time of Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva. He was the first Gaṅga sovereign to assume the title of Trikalīṅgādhipati. During his time the Gaṅga sovereignty was spread from the Rushikulya in the north to about the latitude of Vizianagram in the Vizagapatam district in the south and from the sea on the east, to the foot of the Vindhya mountains in the north-west down the valley of Wainganga in the west. It was this newly acquired region that was known as the Kalinga. In my article on 'Tirilinga and Kulinga' (Ind. Ant. 1926) I showed that Kalinga was a corruption of Kulinga and that it was derived from the language of the Kuis, and Dravidian tribes found in the Eastern Ghats from the foot of the Vindhyas to the valley of the Godavari. Amongst these ghats Kuis, Kuvis, Kouuds, Gonds and Koyas, all allied to one another inhabit and most of the place names show their origin from the language of these tribes. The Maikal

range of hills forming the north-western limit of this region has its name from the language of these Kuis. *Māle* means 'high or above' and 'ka' is a contraction of *Kaliṅga*. The name of the range means 'high Kalinga'; this was the vernacular name applied formerly to the whole region and during the time when Sanskrit became the court language of the kingdoms of India, the name of Trikalīṅga was applied to it.

Thus Trikalīṅga means 'high or elevated or hilly Kalinga' and signified in those days the region of the Eastern Ghats from the uppercourse of the Mahanadi to about the source of the Languliya river in the south. It cannot be understood to signify the country occupied by the Kalinga proper, Kōṅgoda and Orissa; nor does the affix 'Tri' mean three. Researches with regard to the meaning of this 'Tri' will certainly show that it was used in the sense of 'high,' not only in the Vedas but even in some words found in Sanskrit literature and Prakrit dialects.

V.—Note on the Birhor Legend about Ravana's Abduction of Sita.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L.

The Birhors are a small Dravidian tribe living in the hills and forests of Chota Nagpur. They are short-statured, black-complexioned and dirty-looking in their appearance. The men wear their hair in matted locks. They do not use bows and arrows. The only weapon they use is a short axe.

They are of nomadic habits, wandering from jungle to jungle, and have no settled habitations. They live in huts made of the branches and leaves of trees. They earn a precarious livelihood by snaring game and monkeys and by collecting jungle-produce. They also make drums and strings from the *Coop* creeper (*Bauhinia scandens*) which are used for a variety of purposes.

They are of Dravidian origin and speak a dialect of the Mundari language, in which tongue their name "*Birhor*" signifies "Jungle-men" or "Foresters." The fact that the term "*horc*", which the Mundas apply exclusively to themselves, is also found in the last portion of the name "*Birhor*", and clearly points to the fact that the Birhors are closely allied to the Mundas.

Their religion is a curious admixture of Hindu and Kolarian ideas, that is to say, they worship the Hindu goddess Devi, and at the same time, pay devours to their own animistic godlings and goddesslings. They seek to harmonize the blending of these two antagonistic faiths, by assigning to Devi the principal place in their pantheon and by making their own tribal goddesslings her daughters and grand-daughters.

In the Census of 1911, 1024 Birhors were recorded as living in the Hazaribagh district, 927 in the Ranchi district, and the total Birhor population for the whole province of Chota Nagpur was computed at 2340 souls.

Some of the Birhors have now settled among their more civilized neighbours—the Hindus—and have adopted cultivation as their means of livelihood.

The Birhors state that they and the Khār-wārs belong to the same race which is descended from the Sun. They further affirm that seven Birhor brothers came from Khairāgarh (in the Kaimur Hills). Four of those brothers went to the east, while the remaining three stayed back in the Rāmgarh district. One day, when the three brothers were going to wage war with the chiefs of Rāmgarh, the head-dress of one of them got entangled in a tree. Thinking it to be a bad omen, he remained in the jungle. The remaining two brothers went without him, and, after gaining a victory over the chiefs of Rāmgarh, came back to the forest and derided their brother by calling him a "Birhor" or a "Jungle-man" or "Forester" or "*Chop*-collector." The latter replied by saying that he would prefer being a Birhor and reigning in the jungle to associating with such haughty men as his two brothers. The two brothers accordingly became the Rājās of Rāmgarh, while the other one remained in the jungle and became the progenitor of the modern Birhors.

By remaining near their Hindu neighbours, the Birhors have assimilated many religious beliefs into their own tribal faith. For instance, they have absorbed into the body of their own tribal beliefs and traditions the whole of the Hindu legend about Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmana and have adopted it in such a thorough way by giving it a local colouring and aboriginal touches that their adaptation of the Hindu legend may be called the "Birhor version of the Rāmāyana."

The Birhor version contains the following legend about Rāvāna's abduction of Sītā.

After Rāma, Lakshmana and Sītā had been exiled into the forest by Rājā Dasaratha, they lived in a *Kumbā* or leaf-hut in the jungle. Every day Rāma and Lakshmana used to go out a-hunting while Sītā stayed back in the hut to do the cooking for the two brothers. For some time, Sītā saw that

a beautiful small deer used to come to graze near her *Kumba* every day. When Rāmā and Lakshmana returned home from the chase in the evening, she told them: "Why do you go far in pursuit of game, while a beautiful small deer comes to graze near our hut every day? You may kill this animal." The next day, the two brothers went out in pursuit of the deer. Before going, Lakshmana gave Sītā a handful of charmed mustard-seeds saying, "If during our absence, a stranger should come near your hut, you should throw a mustard seed at him, whereupon the latter would fall down and remain dead for an hour, after which he will come to life again. Then you should throw another mustard-seed at him, whereupon he would be dead for two hours, and so on." After Rāmā and Lakshmana had gone far away in the chase of the deer, Rāvāna came near Sītā's *Kumba* and appeared before her. Thereupon, according to Lakshmana's instructions, Sītā went on throwing at Rāvāna charmed seeds, one after another, and the latter lay dead for as many hours as the number of the seeds thrown at him. But at last, Rāvāna, addressing Sītā said, "Why are you taking the trouble of throwing the charmed mustard-seeds at me one by one? Please throw them at me all at once, and I shall die for ever." Sītā acted accordingly, and Rāvāna's body burst into flames and was reduced into ashes. But, lo and behold! Rāvāna revived and rose hale and hearty from the ashes. Seizing Sītā by her hair, he carried her away in his chariot.

When Rāma and Lakshmana returned home from the chase, in the evening, they were astonished at Sītā's disappearance. Being unable to find out the cause of her disappearance, they summoned a bear who, by reason of a divine afflictus, told them that Sītā had been carried off by Rāvāna.

So the two brothers at once started in pursuit of the abducted. After they had gone for some distance, they came across a plum tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*) and enquired of it if it had seen Sītā being carried off by Rāvāna. The tree replied: "Yes, yes, I have seen her and, catching hold of her garment,

tried my best to prevent her from being carried off. But a scrap of her garment got torn and is still clinging to my thorns. But notwithstanding my effort, she has been carried off by the demon." Hearing this, Rāma was extremely pleased with the tree and blessed it by saying, "O tree, I am grateful to you for what you have done. For this good act, you will never die. Though men will hack and hew you, you will come to life again if you have even a single root remaining uninjured and intact." For this reason the jujube tree is extremely tenacious of its vitality. Then proceeding farther, they came across a paddy bird (*Ardeola grayi*) foraging for food. Rāma enquired of this bird if it had seen Sītā. It replied by saying; "I know nothing about Sītā or Pītā. I care only for appeasing the pangs of my hunger." Hearing these words, Rāma was greatly enraged and directed Lakshmana to punish the bird for its truculence by twisting its neck. Accordingly, Lakshmana seized the bird's neck and gave it such a hard pull that thereby the bird's neck became long and thin, and has remained so ever since then.

Then proceeding farther, they came across a squirrel and enquired of it if it had seen Sītā. This animal replied in the affirmative. Having got this news of Sītā, Rāma was extremely pleased and patted the tiny animal's body by stroking its back with his three fingers, whereupon the three stripes on the squirrel's back were produced and have remained ever since then. Rāma further blessed it by saying that should it fall from a great height, it would not be killed. Accordingly, the squirrels take leaps from very lofty trees and yet are not killed.*

[With the rest of this legend, I am not concerned for the purposes of this paper.]

On analysing the foregoing legend, we find that it is made up of the following incidents or story-radicals:

- (1) The heroine is abducted by a demon.

* For the full version of this legend, see *The Birhors*, By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., Ranchi : 1925, Pages 412-417.

(2) The hero, on hearing of the heroine's abduction, goes in pursuit of the abductor.

(3) The hero enquires of a tree, a bird and a small beast about the abducted heroine.

(4) The tree gives the hero news about her and tells him that it has tried to prevent her from being carried off. Thereupon the hero blesses the tree.

(5) The bird expresses its utter unconcern about her whereabouts. Thereupon the hero punishes the bird.

(6) The little beast gives the hero news about the heroine. Thereupon the hero blesses it with tenacious vitality.

We should now search the folk-lore of any kindred Dravidian people living in districts adjacent to Birhor-land, and try to find out if there is current among them any folk-tale containing the aforementioned incidents or story-radicals.

Fortunately, we find that a folk-tale answering to the above description, is current among the Santāls who are a large Dravidian tribe dwelling in Western Bengal, Northern Orissa, Bhagalpur and the Santāl Parganās. It is entitled, "*the Seven Brothers and the Bongā Girl*"* and runs as follows:—

"The youngest of seven brothers married a Bonga girl who bore him a son. A Yogi carried off the Bonga girl who eloped with him, leaving her baby-boy in her husband's house. When this boy grew up and learnt that the Yogi had carried off his mother, he went in search of them. On the way, he met several goat-herds, shepherds and buffalo-herds and enquired of them about the whereabouts of his mother and her abductor. But they could not give him any clue to their whereabouts.

Then he came to a thorny plum-tree, with a number of rags fluttering on it, and he sang:—

"Ho, ho, plum-bush,

Have you seen the Jhades Yogi on this road?"

The plum tree replied: "The Jhades Yogi brought your mother this way, and I did my best to stop them. If you do not believe me, see the rags as a proof."

* Folk-lore of the Santāl Parganās. By C. H. Rompas, London: David Nutt, 1909. Pages 218-226.

And he blessed the tree by putting his hand on it, and wended his way. And then he came to a squirrel which was chattering in a banyan-tree, and he sang :

" Ho, ho, squirrel,

Have you seen the Jhades Yogī on this road ?"

The squirrel replied : " I have been calling you since a long time. The Yogī brought your mother this way, go on and you will overtake them. And your father and uncles also came to this road."

The boy was cheered by this news, and he blessed the squirrel by putting his hand on its back and said : " You are a fine fellow to give me this clue ;" *and the marks of his fingers were imprinted on the squirrel ; and that is why squirrels have striped backs to the present day.*

In another Santali folk-tale entitled : "*Sahde Goā ā*"* we come across the following incident :—When princess Chandaini was flying away from her husband Sahde Goālā, she was pursued by a young man named Boso Munda who was desirous of making her his mistress. On the way she met various trees and beasts and requested them to do their best to delay Boso Munda ; and they agreed to do so.

Then she went on and saw a paddy-bird feeding by the road-side ; and she asked it to do its best to delay Boso Munda. The paddy-bird drove its bill into the earth and said that it would treat Boso Munda in the same way.

When Boso Munda, who was in hot pursuit, met the aforementioned trees and beasts who tried to delay him, he cut them down.

Then he came to the paddy-bird which pretended to be busily engaged in picking up insects and gradually worked its way nearer and nearer. Boso Munda let it get quite close, and then suddenly seized it and gave its neck a pull which lengthened it out considerably. " Thank you," said the paddy-bird, as he put it down, " now I shall be able to catch all the fish in a pool without moving."

* *Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas.* By C. H. Bompas. London : David Nutt, 1909. Pp. 116-123.

Thereupon Bośo Munda caught the bird again and gave its neck another strong jerk, and that is why paddy-birds have necks shaped like the letter S.

By comparing the aforementioned six incidents of the Birhor legend with the foregoing Sāntālī folk-tales, I find that the incidents nos. 3, 4, and 6 of the Birhor legend occur in the first Sāntālī folk-tale, while the incident no. 5 occurs in the second Sāntālī story.

The aforementioned story-radicals nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 are also found in the legend about Sītā and Sitālī, which is current among the Mundas who also belong to the Dravidian stock of people.*

Thus we find that the aforementioned incidents nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 are the special stock-in-trade of Dravidian folk-tales and that they do not occur in the orthodox Hindu version of the legend about Rāvana's abduction of Sītā. The Birhors borrowed the incidents from the folk-lore of their neighbouring Dravidian peoples—the Sāntāls and the Mundās—and foisted them into their own version of the legend of Rāvana's abduction of Sītā, by way of touches of aboriginal colouring, in order to make their assimilation of the Hindu legend complete.

Another aboriginal touch in the Birhor version of the legend is the insertion of the incident about Lakshmaṇa's giving Sītā a handful of charmed mustard-seeds, with instructions to throw them one by one, at any outsider who may intrude into the neighbourhood of her hut; whereupon the intruder would die. Accordingly, Sita threw them at Ravana all at once, who thereupon died. But the latter came to life again.

Now, mustard-seeds are used in exorcism. Ghosts, demons and other evil spirits have a lively dread of the mustard-seed. It is extensively used in exorcism-ceremonies throughout India. The practice of using mustard-seeds in exorcism and other

*See my paper on "The Munda Legend about Sītā and Sitālī" in the Journal of the Departments of Letters of the Calcutta University. Vol. IV(1921), pp. 303-304.

magical rites is of great antiquity, for it is mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*.*

Another incident which is not to be found in the Orthodox Hindu legend and the insertion of which has given the Birhor-adaptation a Dravidian touch is that in which Ravana, on being hit by the charmed mustard-seeds thrown at him by Sītā, falls down dead, and his body bursts into flames and is reduced to ashes; but he instantly springs up alive from the embers.

I do not know whether any similar incident occurs in any Dravidian or Kolarian folk-tale or legend. But this much is certain that it has a Greek appearance about it. For, in Greek mythology an instance of revival into life by the same kind of miraculous means took place in the case of Phoenix which was a fabulous bird of great beauty and which, after an existence of five or six hundred years in the wilderness, was said to have made its own funeral pyre, set it aflame with the fanning of its wings, perished, and afterwards, sprung into new life and youth from its own ashes.

Thus the preceding study of the Birhor version of the Hindu legend about Ravana's abduction of Sītā, has shown to us how cleverly and skilfully the primitive Birkhars have adopted an orthodox Hindu legend and assimilated it into the body of their own tribal traditions and beliefs.

* *Vide* my article entitled "*On the Silāris or Hirdlis of Eastern Bengal*" in the Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University. Vol. XV (1927), page 16. Also see the article entitled *Mustard in Magic and Religion* published in *Man in India* (Ranchi), Vol. VI, nos. 2 and 3, pages 150-151.

VI.—Notes on some South Behari Godlings of fishery and hunting.

By—Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In a paper entitled "*The Deities of Jaikar in the district of Monghyr*" by Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., which has been published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Volume XI* (1925), *Part I.* pages 181-182, the author has described the undermentioned godlings of fishery and hunting, in whom the fishermen and the *Shikaries* of the district of Monghyr in South Bihar believe and to whom they pay *devoirs* for success in fishing and hunting :—

1. *Shikāri Bābā*—the godling who presides over the catching of fishes. The fishermen do *pūja* to him and make offering of *ganja* to his godlingship with a view to obtain from him the boon of a good catch of fishes.

2. *Kamalaji*—is a goddessling who is believed to preside over the river Kamala and to control the catching of fishes.

3. *Sultan Khan*—is another godling of fishery, who is adored by the Muhammadan Thikādārs. Cocks and hens are sacrificed by them to this godling with a view to obtain from him the boon of a good haul of fishes.

4. *Gango*—The goddessling Gango is believed to preside over the fishing of Hilsa fishes and to have her dwelling place in the river Gango (River Ganges).

The following deities are believed to preside over hunting :—

(1) *Amar Singh*—is a godling who is worshipped by the *mālāhas* or boatmen of Monghyr. In this worship they themselves act as the priests. The worshipping of this godling is supposed to confer on the worshipper the boon of a good netting of water-fowls.

(2) *Gossain Bābā*—is another godling who is believed to preside over the shooting of wild water-fowls and by

worshipping! whom the worshippers hope to obtain success in the shooting of these birds.

(3) *Chandmāri*.—Is a goddessling who is believed to have her dwelling place in the river of that name, and who is also believed to preside over the shooting of water-fowls. *Puja* is also made to her for obtaining success in the shooting of these birds.

Amar Singh, Sultan Khan and Dina Bhadri are stated by the author to be deified heroes and Gossain Babā and Shikari Babā are their surnames only.

With respect to this statement I beg to state that it has been made without making sufficient enquiries, and they cannot be deified heroes, as I shall show presently.

If we examine the histories of ancient races we will find that whenever any historical personage has been renowned for his proficiency in some occupation or profession he has been canonized as a hero or god and is sometimes worshipped. Take for instance, the case of Nimrod, the son of Cush. He is stated to have built Babylon and Nineveh. But his renown rested upon his great skill and prowess in hunting wild beasts for he is stated to have been a "*mighty hunter*" or "*Hunting Giant*" "*Before the Lord*." So great was his skill in hunting that even at the present day the word '*Nimrod*' is used in the English language as a synonym for a *great hunter*, although he is not actually worshipped.

Similarly, there are current among many races of people the traditions about "*culture-heroes*", or personages who founded cities, taught them the knowledge of agriculture and of metallurgy or who like Prometheus stole fire from heaven for the use of men or who like Cadmus, taught them the knowledge of the alphabet. These '*culture-heroes*' are worshipped by those races of people even at the present day. In India the canonization of dead men into gods is still going on among the lower tribes. Then again the rulers, who have been renowned for their heroism or good government, have been apotheosized by the Hindus into gods who are actually worshipped even at

the present day. Take for instance, *Sivaji*, the renowned founder of the Maratha confederacy. His prowess was so remarkable and he was such a good administrator that he has now been canonized into a god. In one of the bastions of the Fort at Malvan in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency, there is a temple dedicated to Sivaji, in which an image of his is installed. This godling Sivaji is worshipped by the Ganda caste of fisherman.

In a similar manner, Rājā Mahipāla (of the Pāla Dynasty) of Dinajpore, is worshipped by the people of Northern Bengal as he was a good and benevolent ruler. *

Then again men of lesser renown have also been apotheosized into godlings, as will appear from the following instances :—

“ But within the last generation smaller men have attained even wider recognition. By the aid of railways and printing, the fame of a modern deity may travel a long way. Portraits of *Yashvantorāo*, a subordinate revenue officer in Khandesh, who ruined himself by promiscuous almsgiving, and sacrificed his official position to his reluctance to refuse the most impossible requests, are worshipped at the present day in thousands of devout households. Far down in the south of India, I have come across cheap lithographs of a nameless Bombay ascetic, the Swami of Akalkot in Sholapur, who died about twenty years ago. In life the Swami seems to have been an irritable saint, for he is said to have pelted with stones any ill-advised persons who asked questions about his name and antecedents. As he was reputed to be a Mutiny refugee, he may have had substantial reasons for guarding his incognito. He is now revered from the Deccan to Cape Comorin as *Dattātreyā*, a sort of composite incarnation of Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva, and has a temple and monastery of his own.” †

* Vide my article entitled “ *The village Deities of Northern Bengal* ” published in the *Hindustan Review* (printed from no. 48, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta) for February 1922, pp. 150-53.

† Vide *The People of India*, by Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., second edition, Calcutta and Simla. Thacker Spink and Co. London, W. Thacker and Co., 2 Creed Lane, E. C. 1915. pp. 229-30.

From the study of the foregoing instances we find that these godlings who are now worshipped as deified heroes were actually human beings, who were renowned for their prowess, skill in administration and for the possession of some sterling virtues of head and heart. But Mr. K. P. Mitra has not collected any evidence to show that Amar Singh, Sultan Khan and Dina Bhādrī were men, who were renowned for their skill in fishing and hunting and have therefore been deified. He should, therefore, now make enquiries and see whether there are current in the district of Monghyr any legends about these godlings and god-desslings and which prove them to have been "mighty Fishers and Hunters before the Lord." He should further enquire whether images or fetishes of these godlings are made and installed in some shrine, where *Puja* is made to them, *ganja* is offered and cocks and hens are sacrificed. Unless such evidence is forthcoming, we cannot accept his statement that they were deified heroes.

On the contrary, if we examine the customs and practices connected with fishing which are current among savage races we shall find that the godlings, who are believed by them to preside over fishing are invisible and incorporeal spirits which reside in certain images and that these images—the dwelling places of their fishing gods—are taken by them in their fishing canoes in order that they might obtain good haul of fishes. Take for instance, the fishing rites practised by the savages of the Torres Straits Islands :—"In Torres Straits Islands, magico-religious dances are held from time to time to promote the success of the fisheries. Women are forbidden to enter the turtle-fishing canoes and are excluded from the company of the fishermen. The canoes are purified by the smoke of burning herbs, and the men are anointed with a mixture of turtle-fat and charcoal. Bull-roarers are swung at the departure of the expedition; *magical images are put on board and their spirits are invited to join the crew.*"*

* *The Hand-book of Folklore.* By C. S. Burne. Revised edition 1914, London, published for the Folk-Lore Society by Sidgwick and Jackson, Limited. London 1914. Pp. 224. See also *Magic and Fetishism* by Dr. A. C. Haddon, London, Constable and Company Limited. 1910, p. 19.

Then again the Telegu Vada fishermen of the east coast of Southern India worship certain gods before they set out on their fishing expedition. The clay figures of these gods are deposited in miniature shrines made of earthen pots or of bricks and mortar, which are erected on the seashore. These images are no doubt fetish images of the animistic godlings whom they worship. These are not certainly deified heroes—a figure wearing a hat and riding on a black horse is also worshipped by them before they start out on their fishing trips. This image is called the *Bengali Bābu* and is supposed to confer on them the boon of a good haul of fishes and to make them immune from danger while out at sea. This also is certainly a fetish image and does not symbolize a deified hero. *

For these reasons I am inclined to think that Amar Singh, and Sultan Khan and Dina Bhādri are the names of some invisible and incorporeal spirits, which are believed by the fishermen, the fowlers of the Monghyr district in South Bihar to preside over fishing and fowling and who, if propitiated, by them are believed to confer success in these occupations.

* *The Customs of the World, Vol. I, pp. 468-69, by Dr. A. C. Haddon.*

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
ल	l	भ	bb
ळ	l̥	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l̥
च	ch	* (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	* (Anunāsika)	m̐̃
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh		
ञ	ñ	× (Jihvāmūlīya)	ḷ
ट	ṭ	) (Upadhmanīya)	ḥ
ठ	ṭh	5 (Avagraha)	,
ड	ḍ	Udātta	—
ढ	ḍh	Svarita	˘
ण	ṇ	Anudātta	˙